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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The North Carolina Historical Review

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COVER—The map on the cover shows Plymouth and its defenses, April 17-20, 1864. It is taken from *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65*, edited by Walter Clark, Vol. V, between pages 184 and 185. For letters telling of action during the Battle of Plymouth, see pages 75-84.

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THE EDUCATION OF WILLIAM A. GRAHAM

By Max R. Williams*

September, 1804, was characteristic of innumerable other Septembers in Lincoln County, North Carolina. Days were hot and often humid, but cool nights and frequent early morning fog anticipated fall. Vesuvius Plantation, the seat of planter-iron entrepreneur Joseph Graham, hummed with activity. Well-kept slaves busily tended corn and hay for support of livestock and cotton for an expanding market. Although for the moment the production of iron at Vesuvius Furnace, a venture requiring winter's cold, was overshadowed, Joseph Graham was negotiating a consolidation of his holdings that would make him a leading iron manufacturer in the State.

Amid the cares of business responsibility Graham paused to enjoy a frequently heard sound, as the cry of his eleventh child wafted through big, comfortable "Vesuvius." On September 5, 1804, Isabella Davidson Graham bore a fine son, her seventh. As usual at such moments parental pride caused Isabella and Joseph Graham optimistically to envision future greatness for their temporarily helpless infant. Little did they know that their hopes would be largely realized; for this child, William Alexander Graham, was destined to become one of North Carolina's most renowned sons.

William A. Graham, whose seventy-one years spanned a period of remarkable growth and change in his State, was a noted lawyer and a devoted public servant. He served in both houses of the North Carolina General Assembly and was Speaker of the House of Commons twice. He was elected for two consecutive terms as Governor of North Carolina, serving from 1845 to 1849. He was a United States and a Confederate States Senator. After having distinguished himself as Secretary of the Navy in the Fillmore Cabinet, Graham was the Whig Party's Vice-Presidential candidate in 1852. He was a long-time trustee of the University of North Carolina, his alma mater, and, after 1865, the elder statesman of State politics. He performed his duties conscientiously and ably in every capacity. Perhaps no North Carolinian held so

* Mr. Williams is a doctoral candidate at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

many offices of trust; few exerted greater influence among their contemporaries.

To those who recognize the role in history played by exceptional men, a careful analysis of the heredity, environment, and education of the child often suggests the key to understanding the man and his career. The purpose of this article is to examine the education of Governor Graham.

A child's first school is the home; his first teachers are his parents. Since there were no public schools on which to rely in early nineteenth-century North Carolina, parents who appreciated the value of education recognized their own responsibilities. The Grahams of Lincoln County were Scotch-Irish and their Presbyterian background inspired a respect for knowledge. An education was much coveted by Presbyterians for their sons. The Reverend William Henry Foote, the first historian of Presbyterianism in North Carolina, wrote that Presbyterian mothers "would forego comforts and endure toil that their sons might be well instructed, enterprising men."[1] Joseph and Isabella Davidson Graham were no exception. Unfortunately, however, she died when young William was only four. The family fell directly under the tutelage of the father, Joseph Graham.

Joseph Graham was a remarkable man whose patriotism and enterprise were well known among the people of western North Carolina. He had been trained at Charlotte's Queen's Museum and was well prepared to supervise the education of his children.[2] More emphasis was placed on formal training for his sons, although the daughters were taught the rudiments of education in addition to the skills of homemaking. Three of the seven sons of Joseph Graham—James, George Franklin, and William Alexander—were graduated by the University of North Carolina. All three received additional training. James and Will read law with Judge Thomas Ruffin of Hillsboro while George Franklin earned a medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania. The other four sons of Joseph Graham partook of whatever amount of formal education they desired. Apparently they preferred the practical experience of plantation and iron forge.[3]

William A. Graham received considerable attention from his father. There are several plausible explanations for this. Besides being the

[1] William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina Historical and Biographical, Illustrative of the Principles of a Portion of Her Early Settlers* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), 512.

[2] William Alexander Graham, *General Joseph Graham and His Papers on North Carolina Revolutionary History* . . . (Raleigh: Privately printed [Edwards and Broughton], 1904), 19, hereinafter cited as Graham, *General Joseph Graham.*

[3] Graham, *General Joseph Graham,* 174 ff.

youngest son, he was rendered motherless at age four. Perhaps Joseph Graham felt a particularly tender affection for this son, or perhaps he perceived the lad's keen intelligence. At any rate the son profited from close association with his father. It is easy to imagine that young Will accompanied his father on the frequent tours of inspection about "Vesuvius" and on the weekly trips to court day in nearby Lincolnton. The effect of this relationship is immeasurable; however, a letter written in 1836 by William to his wife to report the death of his father is indicative. Oppressed by grief, Graham wrote:

> My venerated father is no more! . . . When I look back on his multiple acts of kindness towards me, his great solicitude in my behalf, when I remember how I was literally nursed in his bosom after the premature loss of my other parent & generously supplied in every want, how carefully he endeavoured to instruct me in the principles of virtue and piety, I feel the privation most sorely.[4]

Probably Joseph Graham gave the fundamentals of education to his youngest son in the home as was the custom among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. This instruction may have been supplemented by a local old-field or subscription school although there is no conclusive evidence.[5] Most of William A. Graham's early formal education was in academies (sometimes called classical schools).

The academy was the principal source of secondary education in North Carolina during the ante-bellum period. Often the academy was nothing more than a subscription school on sounder financial footing. Most academies were State chartered and were administered by boards of trustees. Before 1800 the North Carolina Legislature chartered 41 academies; between 1800 and 1860, 287 were chartered. Aside from these organizational differences, the academy placed more emphasis on Greek and Latin than did the subscription schools. Almost every community of any size had an academy at one time or another; yet few academies were financially successful, and their operations were often of short duration. The quality of instruction varied considerably from one academy to another, depending largely on the physical facilities and the qualifications and ability of the staff. Fortunate was the town which could boast of an academy whose master was university trained. Some academies were staffed by clergymen. Discipline was usually severe, and moral regularity and a religious demeanor were virtues inculcated by nearly all of them.[6]

[4] William Alexander Graham to Susan Washington Graham, November 20, 1836, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of William Alexander Graham* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 4 volumes, 1957-1961), I, 452, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Graham Papers.*

[5] Hamilton, *Graham Papers,* I, 3.

[6] Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 284-285; Charles L. Coon (ed.), *North*

Between 1816 and 1819 William A. Graham attended academies in Lincolnton and Statesville. He was twelve years old when he was sent to Lincolnton's Pleasant Retreat Academy of which his father was a trustee.[7] Young Will was probably reluctant to leave the carefree life of a country boy, and there may be truth in the story that he was dragged by his heels from under a bed where he had hidden to avoid departing Vesuvius Plantation.[8] Graham was a student at Pleasant Retreat before it was housed in the beautiful Georgian brick structure which may be seen in Lincolnton today. Probably he enrolled in the classes in reading, writing, spelling, and mathematics.

Attendance at the academy in Lincolnton did not represent a sharp break from Graham's early life. Home was only about ten miles distant and his father was often a visitor. In addition, his roommate was Cousin Theodore Brevard of a neighboring plantation. Removal to the Statesville Academy of the Reverend John Mushat required more courage and independence, but young Will was equal to the occasion. Self-reliance and a sense of responsibility were desirable traits discerned (even in youth) by his contemporaries. A brother-in-law, the Reverend Robert Hall Morrison, said that he demonstrated from childhood a high sense of honor and truth. No less remarkable was "his exemption from the levities and vices common to youth."[9]

The Reverend Mushat had come to the Statesville Academy in 1815 and offered his students the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, English grammar, geography, Euclid's elements of geometry, natural and moral philosophy, rhetoric and logic.[10] Mushat was a reputable scholar and a stern taskmaster. He felt a keen accountability for his charges. In 1821 he published a set of rules which had doubtlessly been evolving for several years. Each student could select a store in the town with which to trade; but, to prevent youthful extravagance, a monthly check of accounts would be made. Gambling and imbibing in "ardent spirits" were strictly forbidden. A monthly check with the local tavern keepers and landlords was to be made to insure sobriety and proper conduct.[11] Although it is not certain what portion of these rules was enforced during Graham's stay in Statesville, it is obvious that the Reverend John Mushat was not a man to tolerate frivolity and moral laxness.

Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840: A Documentary History (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historial Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1915), v-xlv, *passim*, hereinafter cited as Coon, *North Carolina Schools*.

[7] Graham, *General Joseph Graham*, 164.

[8] Hamilton, *Graham Papers*, I, 72.

[9] Hamilton, *Graham Papers*, I, 72.

[10] Coon, *North Carolina Schools*, 187.

[11] Coon, *North Carolina Schools*, 187-188.

Will Graham was a diligent student who sought knowledge with a devotion which left a minimum of time for mischievous activities. During the school term, he studied several hours a day except on the Sabbath. Theodore Brevard, who accompanied his cousin to the Statesville Academy later said that "'he was the only boy I ever knew who would spend his Saturdays in reviewing the studies of the week.'" [12]

Such testaments of Graham's industry in studies should not be construed to imply a lack of sociability. Indeed, by his middle teens Will was beginning to evince the social poise and confidence which would make him a favorite among his intimates—both male and female. Later, political foes would accuse Graham of aristocratic coldness; but in actuality they were misled by a natural reserve. Thus, while he did not engage actively in the sport of his classmates, Graham was an esteemed friend.

Recesses and holidays were spent at "Vesuvius" in the pleasant company of family. Will loved the country and must have wandered over the familiar terrain of eastern Lincoln County. Years later he wrote of the rusticity of the habitations and people of his native county. In admiration he described a life "far removed from the corruptions of a seaport and the luxurious effeminacy incident to more commercial communities." [13] By tradition, on one recess, probably in the winter of 1818-1819, William A. Graham was given charge of Spring Hill Forge. Joseph Graham was absent. Although Will could turn to brother John for advice, the responsibility for forge operations was his. According to the proud father, Will presided over one of the most profitable seasons in the history of the Spring Hill works. This was no mean accomplishment for a fourteen-year old.[14]

William A. Graham was maturing rapidly. All his successes were not academic; however, his aptitude as a scholar was notable. He aspired to attend the State university in Chapel Hill as had his brothers, James and George Franklin, who graduated in the classes of 1814 and 1815 respectively.[15] In final preparation for the University Joseph Graham sent his youngest son to the widely respected Hillsborough Academy. The year was 1819 and Will was nearly fifteen.

The town of Hillsboro was itself an education for the young man from Lincoln County. Although he occupied a secure place in the society of his home county, Will Graham was scarcely accustomed

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[12] Hamilton, *Graham Papers*, I, 4.
[13] Dialectic Society Addresses, First Series, A-K, University of North Carolina Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Di Society Addresses.
[14] Hamilton, *Graham Papers*, I, 73.
[15] Graham, *General Joseph Graham*, 176, 179.

to the bustle of commercial, social, and political activity which characterized Hillsboro. Historic Hillsboro had a relatively small permanent population of about 800; nevertheless, it was a center of enlightenment in upcountry North Carolina, the county seat of populous Orange County, and the home of several notable men. Among the better known were Willie P. Mangum, Thomas Ruffin, and Archibald D. Murphey. During the summer months, Hillsboro's population was swelled by scores of well-to-do-people—young and old—who came upcountry to avoid the heat and tedium of tidewater plantations. These gay easterners must have appealed to young Graham because of his own background of piety and frugality. Here were people who used their wealth, if guardedly, in a manner calculated to bring pleasure.[16]

While William A. Graham was in Hillsboro, Dennis Heartt established in 1820 his well-known newspaper, the *Hillsborough Recorder*.[17] Advertisements in the *Recorder* reveal that Hillsboro could boast several dry goods stores, a tailor, a dressmaker, a coppersmith, a candy shop, an apothecary, plus the inevitable saddler, blacksmith, and taverns.[18] In addition, town folks could look with pride to their academy which attracted students from near and far.

On November 10, 1801, the *Raleigh Register* announced the opening of the Hillsborough Academy under the direction of the Reverend Andrew Flinn. With a proper assistant Flinn would offer "the Latin, Greek, and English Languages, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, and the plainer Branches of Mathematics." This curriculum was the common fare in the academies of the time. Both male and female students were welcomed and board was said to be readily available in the town. Tuition depended on the course pursued but was either $16.00 or $12.00 per year.[19]

The Academy prospered despite several changes in teaching personnel. In 1812 the trustees proudly reported that the Hillsborough Academy had secured the services of the Reverend William Bingham, a teacher of wide repute and great skill. At the same time Elizabeth Russell was in charge of the Female Department which offered needlework, painting, and drawing in addition to the usual courses. According to the trustees, few places could claim such academic advantages plus "salubriety [*sic*] of climate and cheapness of living in a degree superior to Hillsborough."[20]

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[16] Hugh Lefler and Paul Wager (eds.), *Orange County, 1752-1952* (Chapel Hill: [The Orange Printshop], 1953), 84 and *passim*, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Wager, *Orange County*.

[17] Lefler and Wager, *Orange County*, 125.

[18] *Hillsborough Recorder*, 1820-1822, *passim*.

[19] Coon, *North Carolina Schools*, 280.

[20] Coon, *North Carolina Schools*, 281-282.

When William A. Graham enrolled in the Hillsboro institution, it was under the principalship of a Presbyterian clergyman, the Reverend John Witherspoon. Witherspoon was ably assisted by John Rodgers, who in 1822 succeeded his superior as principal.[21] High academic standards had been maintained, and in 1818 Witherspoon had formulated rather severe rules which set the tone of discipline for the Academy. Will required little guidance in proper conduct; but it is interesting to note that academy scholars were forbidden to use profane language or "Ardent spirits" or "to lounge about any Store or Tavern, or the public streets. . . ."[22] Attendance was required daily at morning and evening worship. Strict observance of the Sabbath was to be rendered. Public worship and prescribed recitations from the Scriptures were to absorb the Lord's Day as pupils were advised to refrain from ordinary studies and every kind of amusement.[23]

Apparently Will did not find this regime unreasonable. He studied at the Hillsborough Academy for about eighteen months. Examinations for the fall term of 1820 were held in January, 1821; and on the thirteenth, after a successful recitation before Professor William Hooper of the University of North Carolina, William A. Graham was admitted to the Freshman Class in that institution.[24] If this examination were typical of those ordinarily given for freshman standing, Will Graham was probably asked to demonstrate competence in Caesar, Ovid, Cicero, the Greek Testament, Horace, and Graeca Majora.[25] It was with eagerness that Will Graham, a few months past his sixteenth birthday, went to Chapel Hill, seat of the University.

The distance between Hillsboro and Chapel Hill was not great. Though wonderfully endowed by nature, Chapel Hill was undeveloped in comparison to Hillsboro. Chapel Hill had grown slowly since lots were laid off by University trustees in 1793. As late as 1818 the town consisted of thirteen houses, two stores, a blacksmith shop, and a public house.[26] It seems reasonable to assume that when Graham attended the University, although student enrollment increased between 1818 and 1821, there were fewer than a score of dwelling

[21] Coon, *North Carolina Schools*, 282-283.
[22] Coon, *North Carolina Schools*, 283.
[23] Coon, *North Carolina Schools*, 282-283.
[24] Faculty Minutes, 1814-1821, Mss. Vol. II, The University of North Carolina Papers, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Faculty Minutes with the appropriate years. On September 25, 1820, a "Mr. Graham" was admitted to sophomore standing. Apparently this was Thomas Graham who graduated in the class of 1823. William A. Graham must have been the "Graham" admitted to the Freshman Class after an examination on January 13, 1821, in Hillsboro.
[25] Survey of Faculty Minutes, 1821-1841, Mss. Vol. III.
[26] Archibald Henderson, *The Campus of the First State University* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 56-57, hereinafter cited as Henderson, *Campus of the First State University*.

houses in Chapel Hill. Certainly local dry goods stores lacked the variety of the larger Hillsboro mercantile houses.

Despite the rather unpromising growth which characterized the first quarter century of Chapel Hill's history, its citizens were optimistic. The considerations which caused them to stake their collective futures in the village would surely be vindicated. Chapel Hill enjoyed three notable advantages. Its location was rendered choice by the works of God and men. Aside from being a spot of striking physical beauty, Chapel Hill was located at the intersection of two great highways. Just south and slightly west of the main street (called even then Franklin Street) an interstate highway linking Petersburg and Pittsboro crossed an east-west artery which stretched from New Bern westward through Raleigh to Greensboro.[27] Usually the meeting of two such highways would have signaled a commercial life for the immediate vicinity, but the destiny of Chapel Hill was bound to the educational institution about which it grew. The University of North Carolina (though university was probably a misnomer when Graham came to Chapel Hill in 1821) was the third advantage to which local people looked hopefully.

Chapel Hill, then as now, mirrored the progress of the University. Its slow growth was a testament to the early struggles of the University to overcome poverty, poorly prepared students, and the taint of Federalism. At one time in 1817, early in the second administration of President Joseph Caldwell, the University found itself in the peculiar position of having no professors. Students were taught by Caldwell and a small supporting cast of tutors.[28] But Caldwell was an unusually able man who soon effected a renaissance at Chapel Hill. The first five years of his second administration, which began in 1816, were years of transition. Upon the resignation of Headmaster Abner W. Clopton in 1819, the University's Grammar School was closed. Abandonment of the Preparatory Department with its excellent reputation as a classical school signifies that the quality of North Carolina academies was on the ascendancy. It is interesting to note that the Hillsborough Academy which prepared Graham was acknowledged as an uncommonly good classical school and became the preparatory school recognized by the University.[29] At about the same time the University admitted the impracticality of sponsoring a common dining

[27] Henderson, *Campus of the First State University*, 23.
[28] Kemp Plummer Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* . . . (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 2 volumes, 1907-1912), I, 249, hereinafter cited as Battle, *History of the University*.
[29] Battle, *History of the University*, I, 283.

hall. Steward's Hall was rented to a Mrs. Burton on condition that she supply food to student applicants at a rate not to exceed $9.00 per month the first year or $10.00 per month subsequently. Probably Graham boarded for a time with Mrs. Burton, who was in business until 1825.[30]

Even more significant to the future of Chapel Hill and the University were steps taken by President Caldwell to enlarge the faculty and to establish a new curriculum. By 1821 the University was on the threshhold of an era which would bring it fame. The faculty consisted of four professors and two tutors in addition to Caldwell, who was Professor of Moral Philosophy. In keeping with a course of study which placed more emphasis on mathematics and science, Caldwell had secured the services of two young Yale graduates with particular ability. The Reverend Elisha Mitchell, who was to become a long-time member of the faculty and a noted naturalist, was Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Mitchell's classmate, Denison Olmsted, was Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy, a position which he held until 1825 when he became a professor at Yale.[31] Both men were infused with the vigor inspired by keen intellect and both were dominant figures on the University of North Carolina campus when Graham was a student.

No doubt Graham was impressed by the broad scope of subjects offered by the University. The academies which he had attended placed primary emphasis on classical languages; the University assumed a degree of competence in Greek and Latin and gave more attention to science, mathematics, and philosophy—particularly after the sophomore year.[32] Despite these variations in curriculum there was much in student life at Chapel Hill which reminded young Graham of his academy experiences. The religious influence was unmistakable. The trustees of the University of North Carolina had consciously patterned the institution after the Presbyterians' College of New Jersey (Princeton). The laws of the University enforced a routine of hard work, religious indoctrination, and moral correctness. A typical weekday began at dawn when the students were awakened by the campus bell. After a short period of time a second bell sounded the call to morning prayers. From morning prayers until eight o'clock, from nine until noon, and from two to five in the afternoon were the hours set

[30] Henderson, *Campus of the First State University*, 53.
[31] Faculty Minutes, 1821-1841; Battle, *History of the University*, I, 300; *The University of North Carolina Catalogue, 1823-1824*, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as *University Catalogue, 1823-1824*.
[32] *University Catalogue, 1823-1824*.

aside for classes and study. Every student was expected to attend evening prayers at five o'clock in Person Hall. A bell which rang at eight in the evening in winter and nine in summer signified that every student should return to his room where silence and order were to prevail. Saturday mornings were spent in recitation as directed by the faculty. Saturday afternoons were usually reserved for pleasure, but attendance at Sunday sermons made the Sabbath a day of worship.[33] During the frequent religious services all students were to refrain from "whispering, talking, laughing, or indecent behavior of any kind. . . ."[34]

Student decorum was scarcely left to chance. Respect for the faculty was required by law. Fellow students, village and country folk were not to be insulted. Students were forbidden to "make horses race," or to keep fowls, or to "engage in any game of hazard," or to "have spirituous or fermented liquors" in their rooms, or to go to "a tavern, beer-house, or any such place for the purpose of entertainment or amusement" without permission.[35] It seems safe to venture that these rules were rather unpopular with the student body generally. Undoubtedly many rules were subverted with the ingenuity typical of every student generation confronted by odious regulations.

While the regimentation noted in the University routine discouraged some would-be scholars, William A. Graham applied his intellectual ability with characteristic diligence. The boy who spent his Saturday afternoons at the Statesville Academy in study had matured into a careful student. In a day when the exercise of memory was paramount, Professor Olmsted paid Graham a high compliment by saying that Will could exactly reproduce the chemistry lecture of the previous day.[36] Three of Graham's University notebooks which are extant reveal skillful handwriting, good spelling, and a mature literary style. The order and care of these notebooks attest that Graham was a meticulous student; however, significantly he emerges as a young man whose mind was more retentive than original or analytical.[37]

University students in the 1820's were given frequent opportunities to demonstrate the results of their studiousness. In Graham's day the University was in session two terms yearly, with one ending in December and the other in June. At the end of a session every student

[33] *The Laws of the University of North Carolina as Revised in 1813* (Hillsboro: Dennis Heartt, 1822), 4, 7-8, 11, 18, hereinafter cited as *University Laws*.
[34] *University Laws*, 11.
[35] *University Laws*, 12.
[36] Hamilton, *Graham Papers*, I, 73.
[37] William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

was publicly examined by the faculty, much to the delight of trustees, families, and friends. The examination period, particularly in the spring, was a time of gaiety, at "the Hill" because of numerous visitors who enlivened society. It was even a pleasant interlude for scholars who were well prepared for the academic ordeal. In December, 1821, William A. Graham and his fellows in the Sophomore Class were tested on their knowledge of Greek, Latin, algebra, and geometry. Graham distinguished himself by being designated one of the best seven scholars.[38] A precedent was set. Graham's name was among the praiseworthy scholars at every subsequent examination period until his graduation in 1824 when he was one of four honor students in a class of thirty-four.[39]

It is difficult to say which of Graham's professors exercised the deepest influence over his development. Certainly President Joseph Caldwell with his high sense of integrity, morality, and public responsibility was influential. The traits which he typified, however, were characteristics inculcated in Will by his father, Joseph Graham. Since Will was an apt student, it is reasonable to assume that his relations with all of his professors were proper and amicable. He was particularly impressed by the abilities of Dr. Elisha Mitchell. Probably Mitchell instilled in Graham his own enthusiasm for knowledge and stimulated the love of nature which Will had felt since his youth at Vesuvius Plantation. In 1825 when Olmsted was invited to the Professorship in Mathematics at Yale, Graham was surprised because he felt that Mitchell was "his superior not only as a Mathematician but in every department of science."[40]

All of William A. Graham's education at the University of North Carolina was not of the formal, measurable variety. He was an active participant in the affairs of the Dialectic Society, one of the two literary societies at "the Hill." Literary societies occupied a significant place on most southern campuses; and the Di, whose history was nearly as old as that of the University, exercised considerable influence on the lives of its members. By providing experience in self-government, parliamentary rules of order, and public debate, the Dialectic Society helped to develop valuable leadership. It is no mere coincidence that

[38] Student Records, May, 1820-December, 1822, The University of North Carolina Papers, University of North Carolina Library, 115, hereinafter cited as Student Records with the appropriate years.

[39] Student Records, 1820-1822, 123, 132-133; Student Records, June, 1822-June, 1824, 145, 155-156.

[40] William Alexander Graham to Thomas Ruffin, October 5, 1825, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 4 volumes, 1918-1920), I, 332.

the Di rolls included the names of future State and national leaders such as James K. Polk, Archibald D. Murphey, Thomas Ruffin, Leonidas Polk, Calvin H. Wiley, and Willie P. Mangum.[41] Innumerable other Dis were active in State government and achieved recognition in their chosen professions.

The membership of the Dialectic Society varied in size, but the usual number of active members in the early 1820's fell between seventy-five and one hundred. As a general rule the young men from Piedmont and western North Carolina found the company of the Di Society more congenial than that of its more pretentious rival, the Philanthropic Society. Weekly meetings were held in South Building during the regular sessions. The Dialectic Society was divided into four groups or classes. On a typical meeting night, after the dispatch of business, one class would exhibit composition, one would declaim, and the other two would debate a topic of current interest. Attendance was expected of all members. These meetings were conducted in an orderly fashion by close adherence to the rules of parliamentary procedure. Members who failed to maintain the proper conduct were fined.[42]

After joining the Dialectic Society in February, 1821, William A. Graham became a loyal member who actively engaged in its affairs. The fact that he missed only one regular meeting in three and a half years indicates an attention to his responsibilities which was a trademark of Graham's public career. Graham served the Di Society in numerous capacities. It was probably here that he won his first election. He held at various times the offices of president, secretary, treasurer, librarian, assistant librarian, corrector, and committeeman.[43] Significantly, he held every office in the Society except that of "censor morum." Since the "censor morum" was the disciplinarian of the Society and inspected the behavior of its members, it seems reasonable to assume that his fellows did not wish to have their conduct evaluated by the conscientious Graham.

Fortunately for the historian the Di Society maintained an archive as a depository for compositions and speeches prepared by its members. Three extant Graham works reveal a serious young man imbued with patriotism, a sense of history, and the Calvinist virtues of pro-

[41] Hallie S. McLean, "The History of the Dialectic Society, 1795-1860" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1949), 115; Dialectic Society Minutes, 1818-1826, The University of North Carolina Papers, University of North Carolina Library, *passim*, hereinafter cited as Di Society Minutes, 1818-1826.

[42] Di Society Minutes, 1818-1826, *passim*.

[43] Di Society Minutes, 1818-1826, April 10, 1821; April 3, May 22, August 10, 1822; January 8, August 6, September 17, October 11, 1823.

priety, self-reliance, and diligence. Most suggestive is the presidential address delivered at the time of his inauguration on August 27, 1823. In a verbose and pretentious style popular with orators of his day Graham praised the national Constitution for the liberties it guaranteed. He concluded of the founding fathers' work, "Never did providence so evidently interpose his kindly aid in directing Legislators. . . ."[44] After rejoicing in the absence in our institutions of primogeniture, monarchial favorites, and hereditary privileges, Graham averred in a burst of democratic enthusiasm, "Equality of right and rank is the keystone of our political arch."[45] All political offices were proclaimed open to "those whom talents and integrity recommend."[46] An idealistic Graham praised the Western Hemisphere by saying that only here can exist a "government which extends to every citizen those invaluable privileges which nature designed to be possessed by the whole human family."[47] While he depicted a glowing future for America, Graham interjected a note of warning. He cautioned his listeners that, despite the promise of America, personal eminence would be attained only by personal exertion. Shallow upstarts might gain passing success, but their ultimate harvest would reflect their youthful preparation. "Superiority of intellect is the avenue to distinction in every . . . department," advised Graham who felt that "the man who in his youth has treasured up that which gold cannot purchase stands unmoved amid the contentions of party and the storms of adversity."[48] This address, which states so clearly the personal philosophy of William A. Graham, ended with an exhortation to his fellow students to use the opportunity which was theirs to ready themselves for responsible citizenship.

One can only speculate as to the impact of the Dialectic Society on Graham. In addition to affording experience in leadership and public speaking, membership in the Di brought with it a wide number of acquaintances and provided the basis for lasting friendships. There were, however, less positive influences which defy evaluation. For example, one wonders how Graham was affected by such debates in the society as these: "Should the United States encourage manufactures?" "Ought the United States establish a national college?" "Should free schools be established in North Carolina?" "Should honest debtors

[44] Di Society Addresses, Graham Inaugural, August 27, 1823, 1, hereinafter cited as Di Society Addresses, Graham Inaugural.
[45] Di Society Addresses, Graham Inaugural, 2.
[46] Di Society Addresses, Graham Inaugural, 2.
[47] Di Society Addresses, Graham Inaugural, 2-3.
[48] Di Society Addresses, Graham Inaugural, 3.

be imprisoned?" "Should North Carolinians confine their trade exclusively within their own state?" "Should suffrage be universal?"[49] These questions touched subjects which would be controversial throughout much of Graham's public career. Were these debates, in part, responsible for an evolving political philosophy which one day led him into the Whig Party? Certainly Graham favored State aid to education and internal improvements as early as his college years.[50]

Graham's University years were formative. The young man who emerged had utilized his educational opportunities well. Will had been encouraged by the moral and financial support of a wise parent, but only he could supply the industry to develop his intellect. Because of his academic standing, he was accorded the honor of delivering the classical oration at the graduation of his class, the class of 1824. The boy who needed the coercion of being dragged from under a bed to begin his formal schooling had come far. Graham's education did not end with conclusion of his formal training. He went on to read law with Judge Ruffin in Hillsboro; but this too was only a prelude to a life-long quest for the growth which comes only from knowledge and its wise application.

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[49] Di Society Minutes, 1818-1826, April 10, March 20, March 6, 1822; September, 1823; January 15, April 28, 1824.

[50] Hamilton, *Graham Papers*, I, 131-132. This undated composition was written while Graham was a member of the Dialectic Society.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND THE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION

By John L. Bell, Jr.*

The separation of Negro communicants from white congregations and their formation into separate Negro churches was one of the most significant developments in the Synod of North Carolina of the Presbyterian Church in the United States[1] from 1865 to 1875. This important transition resulted from the interaction of these major elements: the civil and political freedom of the Negro, the work of missionaries sent to North Carolina by the Northern Presbyterian Church, and North Carolina Presbyterians' denial to the Negro of a social and religious equality in the church to which he thought himself entitled by virtue of his newly-gained freedom.

Southern Presbyterians tried to remain neutral in the religious controversies over slavery which raged before the Civil War. They successfully avoided conflict over slavery and averted until 1861 a schism with their northern brethren such as had occurred in Baptist and Methodist ranks in the 1840's. In order to prevent a schism, Southern Presbyterians had officially disclaimed any interest in emancipation, which they strictly viewed as a political province, and had actively ministered to the religious needs of their slaves. Even after they separated from Northern Presbyterians, members of the 1861 General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church still proclaimed themselves "neither the friends nor the foes of slavery" having no authority "either to propagate or abolish it." The General Assembly further declared that the determination of slavery's existence or non-existence belonged exclusively to the State. "We have no right . . . to enjoin it as a duty, or to condemn it as a sin," asserted the assembled divines.

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[1] The southern branch of the Presbyterian Church, after 1865, was officially "The Presbyterian Church in the United States," as distinguished from its parent body, and northern branch, "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." For purposes of clarity and brevity, the former will be called the "Southern Presbyterian Church," and the latter the "Northern Presbyterian Church," in this study.

"The social, civil, political problems connected with this great subject transcend our sphere. . . ." [2]

An indifference to the fate of the institution of slavery did not, however, preclude an interest in the subjects of slavery. By 1865 eleven thousand North Carolina Presbyterians had gathered almost two thousand Negro communicants into nearly two hundred white churches.[3] However, Negro members did not enjoy the same privileges as white members. Negroes, because of provisions of North Carolina law, became ministers with difficulty; they were forbidden to learn to read and write in Sabbath schools.[4] Presbyterians, as did other denominations, voluntarily made racial distinctions in all religious services to maintain the system and discipline of slavery. Negroes, especially when they formed a large part of the congregation, sat apart from the whites either in the rear seats of the churches or in galleries.[5] Negroes were denied admission to church office to remind them further of their subservient place in the church and society.[6]

The Southern Presbyterian Church justified its ministry to Negroes and their subordinate position in the church by affirming their humanity and immortality, but by denying their social and intellectual equality with whites. The church demonstrated the Negro's humanity and immortality by tracing his origin to Adam and Eve. Because whites also descended from this primogenial pair, then whites and Negroes together must experience a "common humanity" and immortality.[7] Therefore, the Southern Presbyterian Church, in accordance with its primary mission of preparing human beings for life after death, assumed its obligation to the immortal soul of the Negro, "one whom God the Father waiteth to receive as a returning prodigal to his heart and to his home." [8]

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[2] *North Carolina Presbyterian* (Fayetteville), February 21, 1866, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Presbyterian.*

[3] Individual church minutes contain the only record of the number of Negro church members. Only a few records were available for research. From these, the writer conservatively estimates that there were about 2,000 Negro Presbyterians in North Carolina in 1865. Several of these records apportioned Negro membership as from 15 to 40 per cent of the total membership. The Synod of North Carolina had 13,974 members in 1866. Fifteen per cent of 13,974 is approximately 2,000.

[4] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1831, c.VI, s.l; 1832, c.IV, s.l.

[5] Samuel Caldwell Alexander and John K. Goodman, *History of Back Creek Presbyterian Church. Rowan County, N. C., for 100 Years* (n.p.: *c.* 1905), 33; *North Carolina Presbyterian,* April 18, 1866.

[6] "The General Assembly of 1869," *The Southern Presbyterian Review,* XX (July, 1869), 406.

[7] "The Future of the Freedmen," *The Southern Presbyterian Review,* XIX (April, 1868), 275-276; *North Carolina Presbyterian,* May 16, 1866; for similar theories, see also William Sumner Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 200-284.

[8] George D. Armstrong, *The Christian Doctrine of Slavery* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1857), 131-132, hereinafter cited as Armstrong, *Doctrine of Slavery.* Armstrong was a Presbyterian minister in Norfolk, Virginia.

Recognition of common human characteristics among whites and Negroes did not lead white Presbyterians to disavow what to them appeared as real and everlasting racial differences. To Southern Presbyterians, the Negro race, because it had existed for many generations in sin and barbarity, had become deeply degraded and intellectually inferior to the white race.[9] White Presbyterians feared that they might acquire inferior Negro characteristics through social contact with Negroes. For that reason and purposes of discipline, they adhered to social customs which prevented the social mingling of the races in the churches. Colored Presbyterians' best religious interests in slavery and even in emancipation demanded that whites, superior in intellect, morality, and ability, should have complete control over Negro communicants. The above rationalizations justified and made possible the acceptance of Negro slaves into white congregations, but at the same time denied to Negro communicants the full rights of church membership.

Emancipation of all slaves in North Carolina in 1865 brought Presbyterians face-to-face with new social and ecclesiastical problems concerning the proper relations between free Negro church members and the white congregations with which they worshiped. Between 1865 and 1875 the exigencies of the new social order posed to the church such questions as: What is the Christian duty of the church toward the freedmen; shall freedmen be entitled to equal church privileges with whites; must the church educate its Negro members; shall the church provide separate churches and ministers for freedmen; and, shall freedmen have a ministry of their own color? The Presbyterian Church in North Carolina tried to solve these problems by applying the religious and racial concepts developed by the Church in a slave society. A paternalistic care for the Negroes' religious welfare continued to be the duty of white Presbyterians who paradoxically qualified their solicitude with slavery-inspired concepts of the marked degradation, sinfulness, and inferiority of the Negro race.

Recognizing their spiritual salvation as its prime duty toward the freedmen, the General Assembly of 1865 advised its churches that "the debt of love and service" which they owed to their colored members was in no degree lessened by the abolition of slavery. The church's commission to carry the gospel to all lands and all people was to be fulfilled best by retaining its Negro communicants and preaching to

[9] The term "white race" is used loosely to describe all whites in the South who qualified as such by law. Armstrong, *Doctrine of Slavery*, 131.

North Carolina State Library
Raleigh

them regularly.[10] Ecclesiastical separation of the races would "threaten evil to both races, and especially to the colored. . . ." Presbyterians were urged "to dissuade the freed people from severing their connexion with our churches, and to retain them with us as of old." In 1866 the General Assembly further counseled its churches to give the gospel to the Negroes, to encourage them in worship, to baptize their children, and to organize colored Sabbath schools.[11]

North Carolina Presbyterians were urged to give to the Negroes "counsel, sympathy and aid." Concord Presbytery, located in Piedmont and western North Carolina, requested its churches to aid the Negroes as the good Samaritan had aided the stranger who lay injured by the roadside. "We cannot, we dare not, like the inhuman priest and Levite, pass by on the other side; but, like the good Samaritan, it is our duty to extend all practicable aid to them, in their hours of need."[12] The Gaston Bible Society affiliated itself with the Presbyterian Church in Gaston County to encourage the possession and reading of the Bible. The Society proclaimed that the happiness and prosperity of future generations in North Carolina would depend upon the improved intelligence and morality of the Negroes. The Society therefore pledged itself to encourage efforts for the moral and intellectual improvement of the Negro race, to disapprove "unreasonable prejudices" against the elevation of Negroes, and to supply destitute white and colored families in its vicinity with Bibles.[13]

Non-religious motives also prompted North Carolina Prebyterians to express anxiety for the welfare of the Negro race. The *North Carolina Presbyterian*, official organ of the Synod of North Carolina, advocated the continuation of the Negro in his accustomed place in society as a common laborer. The Negro, best suited for common labor by "natural constitution" and past training, said the *Presbyterian*, would thus become indispensable to the economic recovery and resource development of the South. The South faced a labor shortage, however, due to the idleness of large numbers of Negroes. The pangs of want eventually would teach Negroes the necessity of honest, hard labor, but this would be a slow process. The *Presbyterian* urged its readers to hasten the formation of an adequate labor supply by finding work for the freedmen, by assisting them to obtain a fair wage, by

[10] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., 1865* (Augusta, Georgia: Constitutionalist Job Office, 1865), 370-371, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of the General Assembly* with appropriate year.
[11] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1866*, 35-36.
[12] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, May 16, 1866.
[13] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, March 13, 1867.

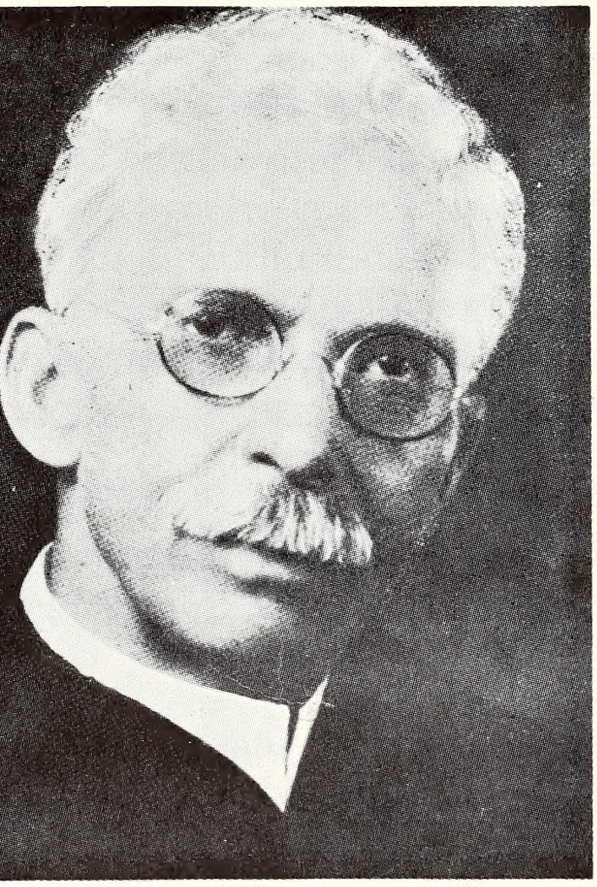
soliciting "wholesome laws" to restrain their excesses, and by encouraging them to remain among their white friends.[14]

The constant fear of Negro riots also moved Presbyterians to advocate white religious control over freedmen. Presbyterians considered preaching the gospel the highest possible demonstration of their love for the unfortunate Negroes. Preaching the gospel would indicate not just a temporal concern for them but an interest in their eternal welfare. Thus, reasoned the *Presbyterian,* Negroes, who could plainly see that white Christians desired only to effect the Negroes' religious welfare, would be content to live in peace with their white brethren. "In this way, then," urged the *Presbyterian,* "we take the best means for allaying the prejudice which so many of his race have against us, and the best measure for securing ourselves against the outbreak of these prejudices into open and confessed bitterness and hatred."[15] Concord Presbytery advised its white communicants in the interest of "peace and safety" to educate their Negro members who otherwise might turn for education to northern teachers.[16] Southerners feared and oftentimes ostracized northern teachers who usually taught by lesson or example doctrines of racial equality which were inimical to the interests of southern society.[17]

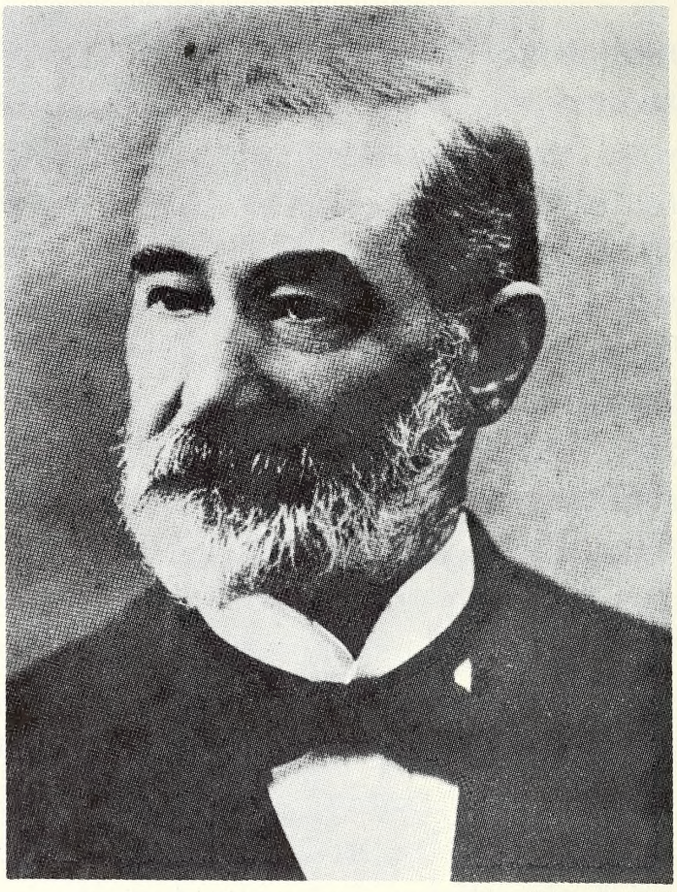
A genuine concern for the spiritual and material welfare of Negroes led North Carolina Presbyterians to institute numerous Negro Sabbath schools directed by individual churches. Even though Sabbath schools proved inadequate to the real educational needs of Negro children and adults, they nevertheless gave tangible evidence of humanitarian concern and contributed their small part to the elevation of Negroes in North Carolina.

Southern Presbyterians advanced two opposite opinions concerning the education of Negroes. Many white Presbyterians believed strongly in the inherent inferiority of Negroes and thought the Negro unable to achieve, under any circumstances, the intellectual position of the white man; a very small group, said the *Presbyterian,* considered the Negro amenable to the highest degree of education and capable of intellectual achievement comparable to any white man. The former view of limited education prevailed among North Carolina Presbyterians. But, in line with their traditional emphasis on education, they nevertheless agreed that Negroes were "capable of elevation to a de-

[14] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* May 16, 1866.
[15] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* August 8, 1866.
[16] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* May 16, 1866.
[17] For the attitudes of southerners toward northern teachers of freedmen, see Henry Lee Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941), *passim.*



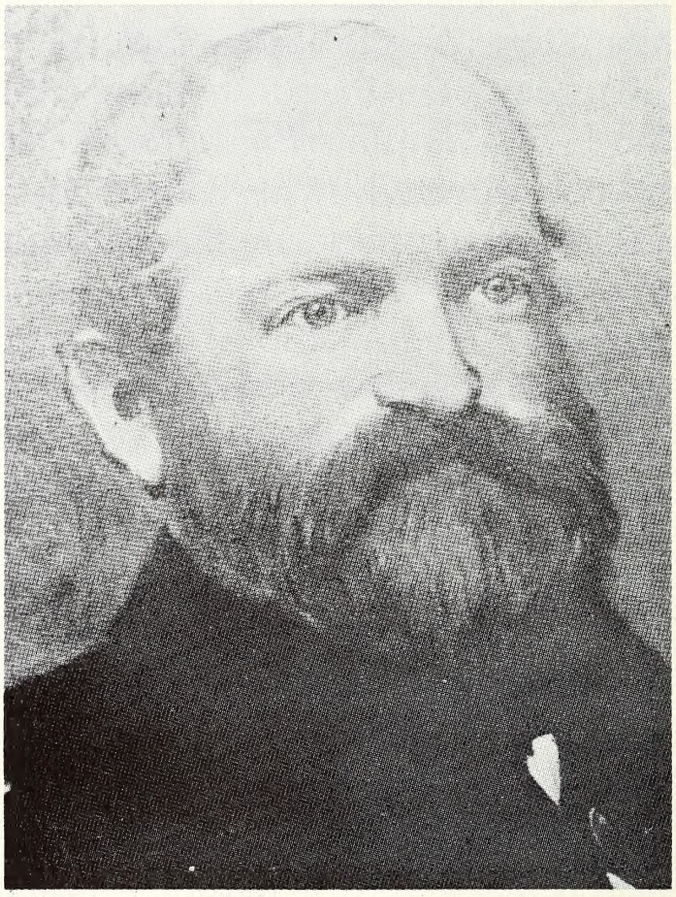
DR. HENRY LAWRENCE MCCROREY



REVEREND SAMUEL CARRUTHERS ALEXANDER



DR. STEPHEN MATTOON



MAJOR HENRY J. BIDDLE

om *Down Through the Years . . . Johnson C. Smith University*, compiled by Arthur Henry George. with permission of Johnson C. Smith University.

our leaders who were active in Presbyterian work with the Negroes are pictured ve.

gree that will be a great advance upon their present condition of ignorance and helpless dependence." [18]

The General Assembly of 1866 recognized the urgent need for immediate elementary education for Negroes but found itself with inadequate funds to co-ordinate any South-wide program of education. Even as late as 1867, the General Assembly had on hand for the benefit of the colored people only $422.55—hardly enough money for even a county educational program. The Publications Committee did not have the resources to print and distribute among the freedmen a primer and spelling book which had been prepared for that purpose.[19] The General Assembly perceived that for financial reasons the burden of Negro education must lay upon the individual churches. It impressed upon ministers, elders, and congregations their duty "to organize Sabbath schools for colored children and adults, in which they shall be taught to read the word of God, and be instructed in the duties of religion." [20] The General Assembly specifically delegated this duty to the church sessions in a resolution of November, 1866, recommending that "Sabbath schools for the benefit of the freed people, especially the young, be established in connexion with our churches, and that the sessions of the churches take these schools into their charge, and provide suitable teachers for them." [21]

All three of North Carolina's presbyteries complied with the recommendation of the General Assembly. Fayetteville Presbytery had begun organizing Sabbath schools even before the November, 1866, resolution. It reported in September, 1866, several schools in operation "under the care of discreet men," who gave instructions in "Bible and elementary Catechism." [22] In 1867 the eastern presbytery reported the establishment of Sabbath schools for the Negroes "in some instances." [23] The Fayetteville Presbyterian Church in 1872 reported its colored Sabbath school to be making encouraging progress.[24]

Concord Presbytery also concurred in the recommendation in favor of Negro Sabbath schools.[25] The Rocky River Church in Cabarrus County boasted a Sabbath school taught by six or eight whites, both

[18] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, August 29, 1866.
[19] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1866*, 69; *1867*, 197.
[20] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1866*, 13.
[21] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1866*, 36.
[22] *Minutes of the One Hundred and Seventh Sessions of the Presbytery of Fayetteville, Held at Sardis Church, Cumberland County, N. C., September 13th-15th, 1866* (Fayetteville: North Carolina Presbyterian Office, 1867), 9, hereinafter cited as *Minutes of the Fayetteville Presbytery* with appropriate year.
[23] *Minutes of the Fayetteville Presbytery, 1867*, 10.
[24] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, January 24, 1872.
[25] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, May 15, 1867.

males and females. The approved course of Sunday study included spelling, reading, introductory catechisms, Bible history, and church doctrines.[26] The First Presbyterian Church in Charlotte conducted a Sabbath school in the Church basement for several years after the War. There the "Blue Back Speller" helped at one time as many as fifty Negro children to learn their Bible lessons.[27]

Orange Presbytery followed her sister presbyteries in 1867 in granting official sanction for Sabbath schools which had begun operation within her bounds the previous year.[28] In February, 1869, Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church accommodated seventy Negro children in one Sabbath school staffed by six white teachers.[29] The First Presbyterian Church in Greensboro worked efficiently to determine its need for Negro Sabbath schools and their mode of operation. Elders Jesse H. Lindsay and Richard Sterling composed the committee which in April, 1866, felt itself bound "as a church and as Christians, to afford them [the Negroes] the moral training in our power." The elders talked with Negro parents who expressed the desire to have their children instructed properly by their former masters. Lindsay and Sterling therefore recommended to the Church that "we proceed to organize a Sabbath School for the moral and religious improvement of all who may be disposed to attend." Elder John C. Wharton was appointed superintendent, and each elder was required to attend at least one session of the school each month. When the necessary teachers were secured in June, 1866, the school began operation and continued until the majority of the Negroes withdrew in a body from the Church in April, 1868. At that time the Church dissolved the school and disbanded its 113 pupils.[30]

Although North Carolina Presbyterians expressed a genuine concern for the religious welfare of Negroes, they paradoxically qualified their solicitude with the concept that any Negro was the social and intellectual inferior of any white man. This belief stemmed from the former real and imaginary necessities of maintaining slave discipline and the purity of the white race. Expressions of their belief in Negro inferiority centered mainly in North Carolina Presbyterians' denial to the Negro of "social equality" with his white brethren.

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[26] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, June 26, 1867.

[27] (Mrs.) J. A. Fore, *First Presbyterian Church, Charlotte, N. C.* (Charlotte: Privately printed, 1933), 25-26.

[28] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, November 27, 1867.

[29] Entry for February, 1869, in the Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church Records, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[30] John W. Simpson, *History of the First Presbyterian Church of Greensboro, North Carolina, 1824-1945* (Greensboro: Piedmont Press, 1947), 47-49, hereinafter cited as Simpson, *First Presbyterian Church, Greensboro.*

Scanty evidence indicates that some Presbyterian leaders in North Carolina realized the anachronism of maintaining the social beliefs and customs of a slave society when in fact emancipation had potentially ushered in a new age of freedom. These leaders fought helplessly against an enormous tide of lay and clerical opinion which either silenced them or caused them to sever relations with the southern church. Bartholomew Fuller, editor of the *North Carolina Presbyterian,* urgently pleaded with his white subscribers in the summer of 1866 to seize the golden opportunity for better race relations by the elevation of the Negro race through education. Fuller deplored the fact that Presbyterians in eastern North Carolina possessed the means to educate the Negroes in their midst but were unable to obtain white teachers. Available teachers had refused to instruct Negroes because white social leaders considered such an occupation socially degrading. "We have stood too much aloof from our former slaves," decried Fuller, "as though we could not be approached by them in any other relation than that which formerly subsisted between us, without a necessary contamination, or at least a loss of dignity. The time for such ideas has passed away." [31] Editor Fuller, until he resigned in January, 1868, never again pleaded the case of the Negro so strongly; perhaps public opinion effectively silenced his outspokenness as in the case of the Reverend Mr. Alexander.

Samuel Caruthers Alexander graduated from Columbia Theological Seminary in 1861 and soon thereafter accepted the combined pastorate of the Steele Creek and Pleasant Hill Presbyterian churches in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.[32] In 1865 occurred an unrecorded event which caused Steele Creek Church to request Concord Presbytery to sever the relations between the Church and Alexander. Concord Presbytery complied with the request and dismissed Alexander in December, 1865, but he remained a short while as pastor of Pleasant Hill Church.[33] Presbyterian publications, although they referred sev-

[31] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* August 29, 1866.

[32] Henry Lawrence McCrorey, "A Brief History of Johnson C. Smith University," *The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes,* I (April, 1933), 29, hereinafter cited as McCrorey, "Johnson C. Smith University." Samuel Caruthers Alexander should not be confused with Samuel Caldwell Alexander, who remained throughout this period a minister in good standing with the Fayetteville Presbytery. "Caruthers" is also spelled "Carruthers" and "Carothers." See Arthur Henry George (comp.), *Down Through the Years . . . Johnson C. Smith University,* (Charlotte: Privately printed, 1962), 10-11; E. C. Scott (comp.), *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1861-1941* (Atlanta, Georgia: Hubbard Printing Company, revised and supplemented, 1942-1950, 1950), 7; and Alfred Nevin and Others (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Including the Northern and Southern Assemblies* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania: Presbyterian Encyclopaedia Publishing Company, 1884), 23.

[33] John Douglas, *The History of Steele Creek Church, Mecklenburg, N. C.* (Columbia, South Carolina: Presbyterian Publishing House, 1872), 71.

eral times to Alexander's dismissal, never mentioned the cause for his removal. They assumed the story to have spread by word of mouth. His offense, which evidently was too heinous to appear in print, may be inferred from the action he took after leaving his Mecklenburg pastorates. He remained in the neighborhood "preaching to the blacks," aided in the formation of the Negro Catawba Presbytery for the Northern Presbyterian Church, and helped to found Biddle Memorial Institute in Charlotte for the education of the freedmen.[34]

Because of their disillusionment with the action of southern churches toward Negro members, Alexander and his fellow ministers, S. S. Murkland and Willis L. Miller, left the Southern Presbyterian Church to form the Negro Catawba Presbytery and later to join the Northern Presbyterian Church. "We regret to say that little can be expected from the Southern Church for the real benefit of the blacks," explained the expatriates to the Northern General Assembly. "Inveterate prejudices, engendered by slavery, produce an indisposition to recognize the claims of the colored people." White churches admitted Negroes "only to the restricted privileges of slavery times, and very little special effort is put forth in their behalf. A few, only, see that the welfare and conservation of Southern society depends upon the moral and intellectual elevation of the blacks; the masses are still unwilling to do much in such a cause."[35] Because Alexander, Murkland, and Miller, while still members of the southern church, stood for new racial relations based on the recognition of the Negro as a social equal, they "lost caste, their families were put out of society, and they were published everywhere as unworthy."[36]

The Presbytery of Fayetteville began church judicial proceedings against the Reverend Mr. James Sinclair in October, 1865, on a charge of gross immorality. The specifications on which Sinclair was to be tried included selling a free Negro into slavery in 1862, selling intoxicating liquors, attempting to steal a barrel of ice, being seen drunk, and committing adultery with a free Negro woman in a hotel at Wilmington.[37] The simultaneous uncovering of long-standing offenses, the minor nature of one offense, and even his short term as Freedmen's Bureau agent in 1865 suggest that Sinclair may have been unjustly arraigned.[38] Failing to appear for trial before the presbytery in De-

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[34] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, October 31, 1866; McCrorey, "Johnson C. Smith University," 29.
[35] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, November 7, 1866.
[36] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, April 14, 1869.
[37] *Minutes of the Fayetteville Presbytery, 1865*, 28-32.
[38] *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, at the First Session, Thirty-Ninth Congress* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), 167, hereinafter

cember, 1865, Sinclair was accordingly suspended from the ministry in February, 1866.[39]

North Carolina Presbyterians had not heard the last of James Sinclair. Even before his dismissal from the ministry of the Southern Presbyterian Church, he had organized a Negro church in Lumberton and had taught nearly one-fourth of his ninety-three communicants the rudiments of reading and writing.[40] Sinclair claimed that his fellow ministers persecuted him because he had little sympathy for the southern "cause" or customs. He appealed for aid to the Northern General Assembly which accepted him as a missionary to the Negroes of North Carolina. The irate and indignant *North Carolina Presbyterian* justified Sinclair's dismissal on grounds of gross immorality and urged the Northern General Assembly to correct its error "in giving him a commission to labor as their representative among the freedmen in North Carolina."[41] But James Sinclair disregarded the animosity aimed at him and continued in his mission work.

The Reverend Mr. John C. Sinclair, father of James Sinclair and pastor of the Barbecue Presbyterian Church in Harnett County, became infuriated when he heard of the charges to be made against his son. In October, 1865, the elder Sinclair applied for and received honorable dismissal from Fayetteville Presbytery to return to his native Island of Mull, Scotland. Instead of returning to Scotland, he traveled northward, joined a presbytery in Pennsylvania, and returned in 1866 to North Carolina to minister for two years to the Negroes.[42]

The work of S. C. Alexander and the Sinclairs after their break with the Southern Presbyterian Church indicates that these and several other ministers, contrary to the wishes of North Carolina Presbyterians, favored relative social and religious equality between the races. Indeed, Presbyterians had no great objection to the minimum Negro education in which Alexander and the Sinclairs were then engaged. Southern Presbyterians themselves had established numerous Sabbath schools for Negro communicants. But they feared and despised any person, even one of their own ministers, who by planting the seed of equality in Negro minds, should aspire to disrupt a social system based on the inherent inequality of the races.

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cited as *Report on Reconstruction.* Also, the charges against Sinclair originated as rumors. *Minutes of the Fayetteville Presbytery, 1865,* 24.

[39] *Minutes of the Fayetteville Presbytery, 1865,* 32.

[40] *Report on Reconstruction,* 174.

[41] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* June 13, 1866.

[42] D. P. McDonald, "A History of Barbecue Church in Harnett County, North Carolina," 21, manuscript history (typed copy prepared by Paul Green in 1927) in North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library; *Minutes of the Fayetteville Presbytery, 1865,* 25; *North Carolina Presbyterian,* November 7, 1866.

Proposals for the training of Negro ministers elicited from Presbyterians in North Carolina strong opposition to social equality for Negroes. In 1867 a petitioner of Fayetteville Presbytery liberally advocated Negro ministers, naturally more sympathetic and influential than white pastors, for Negro congregations. But here, stated the petitioner, the line must be drawn. If Negroes became ministers, they must also form separate ecclesiastical courts; they must separate themselves completely from the white churches. It was the consensus that members of Fayetteville Presbytery would not permit themselves "to become instrumental in constituting any such *mongrel* church courts as would follow a general introduction of colored men into the ministry and eldership in our church." The petitioner conceded the brotherhood of races through the common ancestry of Adam and Eve, but both races had been subjected for ages "to influences of climates, education and social habits so dissimilar that *permanent differences* now exist: differences of such a character as forbid anything like social equality. The natural instincts of both races forbid it, when unperverted by erroneous, fanatical and pernicious teachings."[43]

If Negro ministers became members of white presbyteries, they would, by the generally accepted rules, be on terms of equality with white ministers, and should be allowed to associate with their white co-workers on terms of equality. To prevent "mingling on the same terms of equality at the social board, and round the family hearth," the petitioner of Fayetteville Presbytery proposed independent Negro ministers and churches. This plan was to be several years in winning the approval of the General Assembly which vainly tried to hold the Negroes in white churches.[44]

The attitude of the Presbyterian press toward the formation of a Negro presbytery in Georgia affords another example of strong opposition to Negroes' crossing the social barrier. In May, 1866, Hopewell Presbytery in Georgia ordained three Negro ministers to preach to colored congregations. The three Negro ministers, finding themselves excluded from "that parity which belonged to them in right of their office," established Knox Presbytery and refused to associate with either the Northern or Southern Presbyterian Church. They had earlier proposed that social equality must necessarily follow ecclesiastical equality. Because social equality was impossible to achieve in the Southern Presbyterian Church, the three Negro ministers chose to relinquish their hollow claim to ecclesiastical equality in order to ful-

[43] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, April 24, 1867.
[44] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, April 24, 1867.

fill among themselves the common courtesies due one human being to another. The *North Carolina Presbyterian* approved the course taken by the Negro ministers and intimated that if Negro church members were unwilling to accept the social ideas and customs practiced within the church, they could depart immediately and found their own churches.[45]

The press further deplored the fact that Negroes, who had obtained political equality through the right to vote, were next seeking ecclesiastical and social equality. The *Presbyterian,* through the words of R. L. Dabney, urged "those who believe this whole thing [Negro equality] to be wrong in principle—that it will inevitably result in degrading white men and dragging them down to the position of the negro—to set their faces like a flint against this great iniquity." Furthermore, the effort of radical politicians to bring about equality of the races in all phases of southern life "is a sin against God—an effort to abolish the distinctions that He has established among men for wise and holy purposes." [46]

The work of the Northern Presbyterian Church in North Carolina also contributed to the separation of Negro members from white southern churches. Most important, the Northern Presbyterian Church provided a sympathetic white ministry which guided the Negroes in forming their own churches and securing pastors of their own color. Minimum education was unsatisfactory to northern Presbyterians. They recognized the capabilities of Negroes for higher education and accordingly developed an educational system to enable the Negroes to secure their own ministers and teachers.

James Sinclair, Samuel Caruthers Alexander, John C. Sinclair, Willis L. Miller, and S. S. Murkland have already been noted as Negrophile ministers who left the Southern Presbyterian Church to join with northern Presbyterians and engage in missionary activities among the Negroes in North Carolina. John C. Carson, John Curtis Stewart, and Leander L. Stewart, all ministers, also left the southern church when Concord Presbytery suspended them from the ministry on October 10, 1866.[47] In March, 1867, they organized a rival Concord Presbytery which was recognized by the General Assembly of the Northern Presbyterian Church. In 1870 the rival Concord Presbytery had four min-

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[45] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* October 16, 1867.
[46] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* March 26, 1868.
[47] *Minutes of the Fifty-third Session of the Synod of North Carolina, Held in Charlotte, on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of October, 1866* (Fayetteville: North Carolina Presbyterian Office, 1867), 8.

isters—H. C. Atwater in addition—and a membership of seventy-one in three of its five congregations.[48]

John C. Carson preached to the Negroes in western North Carolina after Concord Presbytery discharged him. By December, 1866, he had obtained only four Negro members, but he felt that he was gaining their confidence. The Negroes around Hendersonville had neither schools nor houses of worship for their exclusive use, and the country churches refused permission for Carson and his Negro congregations to worship in their buildings. Carson, of necessity, preached to the Negroes in sheds, unoccupied schoolhouses, and even in the courthouse in Hendersonville. "I have been, and am yet, much abused and persecuted in the work," complained Carson. "It is contrary to the policy of many at the South that these people shall ever rise in point of intelligence above the condition of slavery." [49]

The formation of Catawba Presbytery also provided an agency to aid Negro Presbyterians in North Carolina. Catawba Presbytery was organized on October 6, 1866, by Alexander, Miller, and Murkland, ministers who had been dismissed from the Southern Presbyterian Church.[50] The new presbytery had not a single church, but it still applied for admission and was accepted into the General Assembly of the northern church.[51] The *North Carolina Presbyterian*, urged by many white church members to fight the formation of a northern presbytery within the bounds of the southern church, declined to do so. "If they will work in the sphere which they have assumed to themselves, in a God-fearing spirit, desiring only to promote the cause of Christ amongst the freedmen," declared the *Presbyterian*, "we shall have but little occasion to notice them, save in the way of commendation." [52] The *Presbyterian's* attitude of silent sanction changed gradually to hostility as Catawba Presbytery began drawing Negro members from southern churches.

The Reverend Mr. Miller, a former captain in the Confederate Army who had lost his commission and later his church because of his union sentiment, was the first of the Catawba ministers to provoke the wrath of North Carolina Presbyterians.[53] They expected him to proselyte

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[48] Thomas Hugh Spence, Jr., "Through Four Eras of Concord's History," *Addresses Delivered at the Sesquicentennial Celebration of Concord Presbytery, Bethpage Church, October 16, 1945* (Morganton: n.p., n.d.), 7-8.

[49] *Pennsylvania Presbyterian*, December 22, 1866, quoted in the *North Carolina Presbyterian*, December 26, 1866.

[50] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, October 31, 1866.

[51] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, June 26, 1867.

[52] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, October 31, 1866.

[53] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, May 28, 1868.

uncommitted and nonchurch Negroes. Instead, Miller organized after one day's preaching near Concord a church of sixty Negroes, all of whom were drawn from the same Presbyterian church. The white church from which the Negroes were taken was furious over its loss because it had made special efforts to keep these Negro members under its control. The church had even given them a Sabbath school plus regular and special preaching services. "But the 'Presbytery of Catawba' could not tolerate the existence of such harmony amongst those who were in rebellion against the authority of the 'Mother Church,'" ranted the offended party. "The peripatetic Miller appeared upon the scene, and his peculiar mission was to organize a church. . . . No matter *where* he got the material, no matter *how*. . . . The precincts of another man's fold were not sacred enough to bar his invasion."[54]

Catawba Presbytery "robbed" another church of its Negro members in May, 1867. On the third Sunday of April, 1867, the Reverend Mr. Luke Dorland requested and received permission from the pastor of Rocky River Church in Cabarrus County to speak to the Negro members. When Dorland's turn came at the morning service, he refused to speak to the Negroes as long as they sat in the gallery. The congregation refused to let the Negroes sit among them. He therefore spoke after services to the Negroes in the grove outside the church. The pastor recalled that the "Rev. Doland" preached a sensible sermon and promised to return the second Sunday in May. He did return, and he organized a colored church, ordained five ruling elders "on the spot," appointed five trustees, and baptized the child of a woman suspended for "ante-nuptial fornication." The pastor of Rocky River felt strongly that the departed Negroes were "members of my spiritual household, most wrongfully, unnaturally, and unconstitutionally wrested from me." Moreover, Dorland seemed to be an unprincipled man because he associated on terms of equality with the Negroes and disrespected the discipline of Rocky River Church by baptizing the child of a suspended member.[55]

Luke Dorland, unknown to Rocky River Church, was a missionary from the Board of Domestic Missions of the Northern Presbyterian Church. He was instructed to do what he could to "save and educate" the colored people who were forming churches of their own without adequate teachers and ministers. Dorland gave lie to the belief of the Rocky River congregation that its Negro members were unable to manage intelligently their own affairs and had no part in separating

[54] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, January 9, 1867.
[55] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, June 26, 1867.

from the white church. Dorland explained that the Negro members had contacted him in January, 1867, and had requested that he aid them in organizing their own church. "But as they have often told me," said Dorland, "out of regard to the pastor's feelings, not a landholder in the bounds of that congregation would sell them a lot for a house of worship." Dorland met with the Negroes only at the request of their leaders.[56] In 1868 this colored congregation had 100 members, and when it changed its name from Rocky River to Bellefont in 1871, it numbered 161 members.[57]

Catawba Presbytery advanced rapidly in membership. By 1875 it ministered to 1,797 communicants, mainly in Cabarrus and Mecklenburg counties. John C. Sinclair and his son James aided in the establishment in eastern North Carolina of the less publicized Yadkin Presbytery, also associated with the Northern Presbyterian Church. In 1875 Yadkin Presbytery embraced roughly the area between Raleigh, Lexington, Lumberton, and Wilmington and cared for 2,293 Negro communicants.[58] Thus, by 1875 the Northern Presbyterian Church could boast 3,695 Negro communicants in North Carolina, almost double the number ever at one time in southern Presbyterian churches in the State.

The Northern Presbyterian Church also exerted a benign influence over Negro Presbyterians through its advanced educational program. Southern Presbyterians, partly through design and partly through financial stringency, had offered Negroes only the rudiments of secular and religious instruction. But Northern Presbyterians offered them not only Sabbath schools, but even day schools, a college, and a seminary for girls. The day school was the forerunner of the present-day elementary school, and as the name implies, it operated on weekdays, usually four or five months during the winter. In 1875 Yadkin and Catawba presbyteries operated fourteen day schools which enrolled 1,395 pupils. Sabbath school scholars numbered 3,471.[59]

After their dismissal from Concord Presbytery, Samuel Caruthers Alexander and Willis L. Miller sought ways to enable North Carolina Negroes to direct their own church and community life. The minimum education offered by churches and the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865 and 1866 was insufficient to the needs of trained Negro ministers and

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[56] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, July 17, 1867.

[57] Thomas Hugh Spence, Jr., *The Presbyterian Congregation on Rocky River* (Concord: Kingsport Press, 1954), 103-104.

[58] *Annual Report of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: James M'Millin, 1875), 15-16, hereinafter cited as *Annual Report* with appropriate year.

[59] *Annual Report*, 1875, 15-16.

teachers. Alexander conceived the idea of establishing a parochial school, later to be evolved into a collegiate and theological school. Both Miller and Alexander began work on this plan for higher education although hardly a dozen Negroes in Mecklenburg County could read and fewer could write.[60]

Alexander and Miller first overcame the problems of the selection of a building site and the purchase of property. Charlotte's good transportation facilities and central location in Catawba Presbytery made it the best location for a school. Alexander found the purchase of property more difficult, for "there was no place to locate either church or school buildings, . . . so great was the opposition of the white people to the work." The misfortune of a Charlotte businessman, however, turned into good fortune for Alexander. Henry B. Williams, rather than face bankruptcy, sold much of his property; a lot on "C" Street went to Alexander. The Freedmen's Bureau donated a building, and the Northern Presbyterian Church offered meager financial assistance. Miller and Alexander chose teachers to serve with them, and Catawba Presbytery inaugurated the institute on April 7, 1867.[61]

Some months previous, Alexander had appealed in the North for more financial aid. Mrs. Mary D. Biddle of Philadelphia responded and pledged $1,400 in memory of her late husband, Henry Jonathan, who was killed in the war. She granted the request of the colored people that the school be named "Biddle Memorial Institute" in honor of her husband. The first session of school began May 1, 1867, and continued for five months. From eight to ten students were instructed in Bible and catechism. They worked part time as catechists in the surrounding Negro churches.[62]

Between 1867 and 1869 a $10,000 gift from the Freedmen's Bureau and the donation of eight acres of land on the outskirts of Charlotte by W. R. Myers, a wealthy businessman, enabled Biddle Memorial Institute to expand its facilities. By August, 1869, the school had moved and built the Institute Building, two professors' houses, a small student dormitory, a stable, and fence around the grounds. The move from its cramped quarters on "C" Street to a new eight-acre campus enabled Biddle to offer a better education to its Negro students.[63]

By 1875 Alexander and Miller were no longer associated with Biddle. The Reverend Mr. Stephen Mattoon was president, and J. H. Shedd and R. M. Hall were professors. Biddle's purpose was to train

[60] McCrorey, "Johnson C. Smith University," 29.
[61] McCrorey, "Johnson C. Smith University," 30.
[62] McCrorey, "Johnson C. Smith University," 30.
[63] McCrorey, "Johnson C. Smith University," 31.

"colored preachers, catechists, and teachers, as instructors of their own race. . . ." The 1875 student body numbered 133: 10 students in the theological department, 40 in the classical, and 83 in the English and normal department. Seventy-six students professed religion and thirty-six were preparing for the ministry.[64] Biddle is still in operation, but it is known today as Johnson C. Smith University.

By the early 1870's Scotia Seminary had been founded at Concord, North Carolina, by the Northern Presbyterian Church. The school proposed to "educate colored girls in religion, and in the arts and sciences usually taught in seminaries of a high order; and in those domestic duties which belong to the highest type of wife, mother, and teacher."[65] In 1875 Luke Dorland superintended the small school with an enrollment of 93 Negro girls, 50 of whom were members of the Presbyterian Church. The girls learned through practice to cut, make, and mend their own clothing. They also performed the seminary's entire housework which included cooking, ironing, and washing. Each girl had a certain task to perform for one month. At the end of each month, the girls' duties were rotated so that no one student bore the brunt of hard work. They also worked at a time that did not interfere with classes and recitation. The seminary's buildings included one small class building, a refectory, and a small manse.[68]

Despite the benevolent acts shown by the Southern Presbyterian Church to its Negro members, they began withdrawing from white churches immediately after the war. The General Assembly approved between 1866 and 1874 several plans for keeping the Negroes in the Presbyterian Church. For all practical considerations, none of these plans permitted Negroes to participate equitably in church affairs, not even when they were the only members of the congregation. Furthermore, the church's application of its belief in social inequality conflicted with the Negro's image of himself as a free citizen. When in 1874 the General Assembly finally devised a workable plan of providing Negro ministers and churches for its colored members, it found to its surprise that most of them had already withdrawn.

Until 1869 the Southern Presbyterian Church repeatedly proclaimed that the best interests of the Negro, the Church, and the South required Negroes to remain under the care of the Church. The General Assembly of 1865 desired that the Negroes "should continue in our white churches."[67] The same church body in 1866 proclaimed the

[64] *Annual Report*, 1875, 7-8.
[65] *Annual Report*, 1884, 14-15.
[66] *Annual Report*, 1875, 8-9.
[67] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1865*, 370-371.

inexpediency of an ecclesiastical separation of Negroes from white churches. It recommended that "every warrantable effort be made affectionately to dissuade the freed people from severing their connexion with our churches, and to retain them with us as of old." [68]

North Carolina Presbyterians also encouraged Negroes to remain in white churches. Orange Presbytery rejected a resolution encouraging its churches to aid Negroes in organizing their own churches because its Negro wards might interpret the resolution as an invitation to leave the white churches.[69] In 1867 Concord Presbytery stated that "there is no disposition to drive them away from our churches; on the contrary every fitting occasion is gladly taken to assure them of the most friendly regard and solicitude for their welfare." [70] The Reverend Mr. J. Leighton Wilson of South Carolina expressed his opinion that the Negroes were unprepared for ecclesiastical autonomy. "Separate them from the whites and give them a Church to themselves," conjectured Wilson, "and the great danger will be that they will not only lose sight of the great and fundamental principles of evangelical religion, but they will . . . land in outright heathenism." [71]

The Southern Presbyterian Church could not force dissatisfied Negroes to remain in its churches, so it early established a policy whereby Negroes, if they insisted, could form their own churches. But, until Negroes trained by Presbyterian standards became ministers, the Negro churches were to remain under the control of white ministers and elders.[72] This plan still excluded Negroes from exercising autonomy in their own church affairs, and no record indicates the formation of Negro churches under white control anywhere in the South. The Negroes still hoped to form their own churches as soon as they secured their own ministers. But stringent educational requirements imposed by the presbyteries would exclude from the ministry for many years Negroes who were just learning to read and write. For example, Orange Presbytery required all candidates for the ministry to pass a rigid examination on secular and religious subjects. Candidates were examined for a knowledge of ancient and modern geography, general history, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, physical science, mental philosophy, natural and revealed theology, ecclesiastical history, sacraments, and church government.[73] How could potential Negro ministers hope

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[68] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1866,* 35.
[69] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* May 1, 1867.
[70] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* May 8, 1867.
[71] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* January 27, 1869.
[72] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1865,* 370-371; *1866,* 35.
[73] *Manual of the Presbytery of Orange Containing the Standing Rules and Directory, 1872* (Raleigh: John Nichols and Company, 1873), 11.

to learn these subjects when they had not even sufficient schools in which to learn to read and write? And without ministers, how could Negroes hope to have full voice in their own church affairs?

The General Assembly of 1869 devised a slightly different plan for separate Negro churches. Qualified Negroes would be permitted to exhort all-Negro congregations, but Negro churches would still remain under white control. When licensed Negro ministers were able to take charge of colored congregations, they would become completely separated from any white ecclesiastical organization.[74] Under this plan, the Southern Presbyterian Church had established by 1874 only six Negro churches: two in Alabama and four in South Carolina.[75]

Not until 1874 did the Southern Presbyterian Church give up its unrealistic and unsuccessful policy of maintaining white control over Negro churches. Under the new policy of 1874 Negro churches were allowed to elect their own officers and to form their own presbyteries, synods, and eventually their own general assembly. Educational requirements for the ministry were lowered so that prospective Negro ministers need only "be instructed in the doctrines of grace and in the principles of Church order. . . ." For all practical purposes, Southern Presbyterians had acted too late to keep the Negroes in their churches. Although a few individual Negroes still clung to their membership in white churches by 1874, the majority had fully separated from the Southern Presbyterian Church.[76]

The exodus of Negroes from white churches in North Carolina occurred gradually and almost inperceptibly over a period of at least fifteen years. As early as October 1, 1865, Fayetteville Presbytery noted "that the colored people seem to have lost much of that interest which they formerly manifested in the means of grace, very many of them absenting themselves altogether from the house of God."[77] The Negro members of Laurel Hill Church in present-day Scotland County organized between 1875 and 1880 three churches: Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church, Cool Spring Methodist Church, and Silver Hill Presbyterian Church.[78] In 1865 Ashpole Presbyterian Church in Robeson County listed 75 Negroes on its church roll. By 1879 these Negro members had gradually drifted away without proper dismissal.[79] Third Creek Presbyterian Church in Rowan County lost all of its "numerous"

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[74] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1869*, 389.
[75] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1874*, 395.
[76] *Minutes of the General Assembly, 1874*, 517-518, 592.
[77] *Minutes of the Fayetteville Presbytery, 1865*, 24.
[78] G. F. Kirkpatrick, *Historical Sketches of Laurel Hill and Smyrna Presbyterian Churches* (n.p., 1931), 11.
[79] C. J. McCallum, *Historical Sketch of Ashpole Presbyterian Church* (n.p., *c.* 1936), 12.

Negro members between 1867 and 1869. James Graham Ramsey, ruling elder of Third Creek Church at the time, reported that his church's Negro members withdrew to their own churches.[80] The colored members of Union Presbyterian Church near Carthage "early organized a church to themselves."[81] The First Presbyterian Church of Greensboro was one whose Negro members were influenced by northern Presbyterians. In April, 1869, all of its Negro communicants except two withdrew without notice or proper dismissal to form the St. James Presbyterian Church and associate themselves with the Northern Presbyterian Church.[82] After 1865 the Negro members of Hopewell Presbyterian Church in Charlotte "drifted more and more to their own churches." The Negro members of Hopewell organized one Methodist and two Presbyterian churches in the immediate vicinity of the mother church.[83] From the action in these individual churches, one may safely conclude that by 1880 North Carolina Presbyterian churches had lost most of their Negro members.

The Negroes' motives for leaving the white churches are difficult to ascertain from the few existing records left by the Negroes themselves. If the word of a South Carolina Negro Presbyterian may be taken as evidence of the widespread feeling of his race, however, one may see that Negro church members aspired to equality of treatment in the churches. Thomas Smyth, pastor of a Charleston Presbyterian church, accused his Negro members of desertion when they departed from the church immediately after the war. In 1871 an anonymous Negro defended his group's withdrawal. Said he, "I belong to disabuse your mind as to the causes of separation, and think it susceptible of demonstration that they [Negroes] have been more Sinned against than Sinning, we respect the rights of others and demand that ours be respected."[84] S. C. Logan of the Northern Presbyterian Church pondered the reason for the Negroes' exodus from the southern churches and queried: "May it not be that the grand idea of *Liberty* . . . has led the poor, ignorant people out of your church galleries, into

[80] James Graham Ramsey, *Historical Sketch of Third Creek Church in Rowan County, N. C.; Read at the Centennial, May 13th, 1892.* Also, *Historical Address of Rev. John K. Fleming at the Centennial of the Building, July 24th, 1935* (Statesville: Brady Printing Company, 1937), 12, 42.

[81] John K. Roberts, *History of Union Presbyterian Church* (Carthage: Kelly Printing Company, 1910), 19.

[82] Simpson, *First Presbyterian Church, Greensboro*, 58.

[83] Charles William Sommerville, *The History of Hopewell Presbyterian Church for 175 Years from the Assigned Date of Its Organization, 1762* (Charlotte: The Observer Printing House, 1939), 68, 82-83.

[84] Letter from an anonymous Negro to Thomas Smyth, July 8, 1871, Louise Cheves Stoney (ed.), Thomas Smyth, *Autobiographical Notes, Letters and Reflections* (Charleston, South Carolina: Walker, Evans, and Cogswell Company, 1914), 696.

separate assemblies, to assert their manhood and their supposed rights in the house of God?" [85] May it not be?

Two conclusions may be drawn from the preceding data concerning the relations between North Carolina Presbyterian churches and their Negro communicants after the Civil War.

First, Presbyterians sought conscientiously to solve the new intra-church racial problems within the framework of the customs and concepts evolved in a society which had approved and maintained slavery. Underlying every measure adopted for the welfare of Negro communicants was the firm belief that Negroes comprised a degraded race, permanently inferior to the white race. Accordingly, the church tried to prevent close interracial contacts in which white and Negro might regard one another as equal. The church feared that Negro inferiority and degradation might be "contracted" through social contact. And interracial marriage was not even to be thought of, for it would result in the permanent contamination of white blood. On the other hand, the church felt and expressed a genuine concern and paternalistic care for its Negro wards. The church was really interested in their spiritual welfare, but in cases of conflict between its interest in the Negroes' spiritual welfare and its attempt to prevent social equality, the church always let the latter effort prevail over the former. For this reason, Negroes were not permitted to become officers or ministers in white churches; they were not allowed to mingle with the whites during church services; they could not even have a full voice in the affairs of all-Negro congregations which remained under the care of the southern church.

Secondly, Negro communicants, impressed with the benefits of their precious emancipation, undoubtedly felt that they deserved more freedom in church affairs. They desired their own ministers, a voice in church government, a better education than what they received. Above all, they desired to be treated not as inferiors, but as the human beings which they rightly considered themselves to be. Such treatment was not forthcoming from the Southern Presbyterian Church. Therefore, Negro Presbyterians drifted gradually away from the white churches. They organized independent congregations, joined northern Presbyterian churches, or united with other all-Negro denominations.

The South's racially segregated society was slowly taking shape.

[85] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, April 14, 1869.

THE NORTH CAROLINA LOWER HOUSE AND THE POWER TO APPOINT PUBLIC TREASURERS, 1711-1775

By Jack P. Greene*

The most important single feature of the political development of the American colonies was the rise of the elected lower houses of assembly. In the century before Independence those bodies successfully sought to advance their own power at the expense of royal and proprietary executives. One of the most important powers gained in this process was that of nominating and appointing public treasurers to collect, hold, and apply moneys arising from provincial revenues.[1] Dependent upon the lower houses for their appointment and responsible to them for their conduct in office, these officers inevitably came under their control. In its narrowest implications this power was merely one manifestation of the lower houses' extensive financial authority,[2] but in its broadest sense it was an important encroachment upon executive power. The public treasurers were simply legislative officers performing executive duties. As was so often the case in colonial America, there was a wide gulf between imperial theory and experience on the one hand and American practice on the other. Authorities in London intended to set up an arrangement in America similar to the one in England by which the Crown appointed custodians of revenues granted by Parliament. But they failed either to provide such officers or to oppose seriously and systematically the lower houses' numerous appointments of public treasurers in both the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. Consequently, the colonial legislatures established precedents and a long history of uninterrupted practice to support their contention that funds should be

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[1] Provincial revenues included all money raised by the colonial legislatures and should be distinguished from Crown revenues which included quit rents, imperial customs duties, fines, and forfeitures.

[2] For a discussion of the financial powers of the lower houses see Leonard Labaree, *Royal Government in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 269-311, and Jack P. Greene, "The Quest for Power of the Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1730-1763" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1956), 128-275.

handled by officers appointed by the authority that raised them. In North Carolina the attempts of the Lower House to secure and maintain its power to nominate and appoint public treasurers beginning during the second decade of the eighteenth century constituted a serious and persistent political issue that has never received the attention it deserves.[3]

Although the paucity of records makes it impossible to determine the matter for certain, it appears that the North Carolina Lower House first appointed treasurers in 1711 at the beginning of the Tuscarora War to collect import and export duties levied to meet military expenses. Governor George Burrington's statement in 1733 that before this time there were no public treasurers and that "what Small levys were raised by the Assembly were collected by the Sheriffs or marshalls and accounted for to the Assembly who paid what Small claims there were on the Publick . . ." is probably accurate.[4] When Burrington became Royal Governor of North Carolina in 1731, he found Edward Moseley acting as public treasurer. By 1731 Moseley had been prominent in North Carolina politics for nearly a quarter of a century. One of the foremost lawyers in the colony, he had served as chief baron of the exchequer, associate justice of the general court, commissioner for running the boundaries of the colony with both South Carolina and Virginia, and member of the Council from 1705 to 1708, and 1725 to 1731. But his most conspicuous service came during his tenure as Speaker of the Lower House. Moseley had acted in that capacity from 1708 to 1711 and again from 1715 to 1723. Under the Crown he served as Speaker still a third time from 1731 to 1734, when he once again became a member of the Council, a post he held until his death in 1749. More than any of his contemporaries he was responsible for promoting a vigorous spirit of legislative opposition to colonial governors.[5]

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[3] Brief treatments of various phases of this issue may be found in Charles Lee Raper, *North Carolina: A Study in English Colonial Government* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), 145-146, 198-201; Charles S. Cooke, *The Governor, Council, and Assembly in Royal North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: Published under the direction of The North Carolina Historical Society, Volume XII, No. 1 [of *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*], 1912), 37-38; Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 144; and Alonzo T. Dill, *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 144.

[4] Burrington to Board of Trade, May 19, 1733, William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), III, 484, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

[5] A satisfactory brief biography of Moseley is Elizabeth G. McPherson, "Edward Moseley: A Study in North Carolina Politics" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1925).

The source of and authority for Moseley's appointment as public treasurer are not clear. Failure of the 1711 duty law to produce money fast enough to meet the requirements of the war led the Lower House to create a paper currency. Among the commissioners appointed to issue the currency was Moseley. In 1714 the Lower House put out additional paper and again appointed him as one of the issuing commissioners. The House also assigned him the task of supervising the process of exchanging the new currency for the old. Not until 1722, however, was Moseley actually referred to as public treasurer. By an act passed at that time to print new bills to replace the ones then circulating, the House continued Moseley as one of the issuing commissioners. But more important the act designated him public treasurer and empowered him to receive from the sheriffs a tax of five shillings per poll and all precinct and parish dues, which were to be accounted for to the Lower House. Further, Moseley was to deposit a bond of £15,000 with the governor in order to insure "his Faithfull Discharge of his Said Office and disposing of the publick Money as directed by this Act." By calling him public treasurer, empowering him to receive certain revenues arising from taxes, and requiring him to give security for the office, this act in effect made Moseley public treasurer. It also constituted an acknowledgment by the Governor and Council that the power to nominate and appoint the public treasurer, at least in this instance, belonged to the Lower House.[6]

Moseley continued to serve as public treasurer until 1729, when the House issued another new paper currency. The House again made Moseley an issuing commissioner and gave him exclusive control in the matter of exchanging the new bills for the old ones. The act to provide this new currency called him public treasurer in several places where it mentioned bills of the 1722 issue, but it did not refer to him by that title in reference to the new bills. To receive taxes levied by this act, the House appointed eleven precinct or county treasurers, one of whom was Moseley, instead of merely one treasurer as it had done in 1722. Nowhere is there any indication that the House intended for Moseley to serve as public treasurer after the old bills were exchanged. Still, he was acting in that capacity at the meeting of North Carolina's first royal legislature in 1731.[7]

[6] Burrington to Board of Trade, May 19, 1733, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 486; Statutes, Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XXV, 157-158, 173-175, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

[7] Burrington to Board of Trade, May 19, 1733, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 475-489; Act to emit £40,000, 1729, Legislative Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Who had the power to appoint the public treasurer and whether or not Moseley legally held that office became the subject of a heated controversy in April, 1731, between Burrington and the Lower House. Before leaving London, Burrington asked Board of Trade Secretary Alured Popple in December, 1730, whether the governor or the Lower House should choose the receiver of the colony's taxes. Popple replied that the Crown had appointed a receiver general for the colony and that no other receiver was needed or ought to be allowed there. But Burrington completely disregarded Popple's reply and decided that the colony did require a public treasurer to collect provincial revenues and that the Crown or the royal governor should appoint him. Accordingly, in April, 1731, he presented the Lower House with a copy of his forty-seventh instruction, which specified that no officers were to serve in the colony except under a commission from the governor or the Crown, and informed it of his intention to appoint "a fit Person" to act as treasurer until the King commissioned someone to fill that office.[8]

Burrington's proposal did not meet with an enthusiastic response. The Lower House replied that it was "very well satisfied with the Ability & Integrity of the present Publick Treasurer Ed[war]^{d} Moseley Esqr. who was appointed to that office in an Act of Assembly by the Governor Council and Assembly" and argued "that such an officer so appointed is not to be removed but by the like Power. . . ." Defending the practice on the grounds "that the Publick Treasurers of our Neighbouring Governments are appointed in like manner by the Governor Council and Assembly," the House expressed the opinion "that the 47th Instruction doth not extend to officers appointed by Act of Assembly as are the Publick and Precinct Treasurers and sundry other officers," thus implying that the instructions could not supersede established colonial customs.

The Council sided with Burrington and undertook to answer the Lower House. The Council declared that "Nothing can be more clear or Express than the latter part of the 47th Instruction wherein His Majesty declares that no officer whatever shall be appointed but by himself or his Governor which surely excludes the House of Burgesses from any share in the nomination of a Treasurer unless you can prove that the Treasurer is not a Publick officer." Concerning Moseley, the Council agreed that "he is a Person of sufficient ability" but wished

[8] Burrington to Popple, December 8, 1730; Popple to Burrington, December 10, 1730; Upper House Journals, April 22, 1731, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 89-90, 263; Instructions to Burrington, August 12, 1730, Colonial Office Papers, Class 5/323, 63-64, Public Record Office, London, hereinafter cited as Colonial Office Papers.

"that his Integrity was Equall to it . . ." and denied that he had been appointed by legal authority. But the Lower House remained firm. It put quite a different interpretation on the 47th instruction than had the Council. It expressed the opinion "that the 47 Instruction was never designed by His Majesty to Vacate such Authorities as are granted by Act of Assembly but only to prevent all Persons whatever acting by any Commission from the late Lords Proprietors. . . ." The Council's reflections upon Moseley, it asserted, were "unprecedented & a great violation and breach of the Priviledges of this House," declaring that it was "very well satisfied as well with his Integrity as his Ability, his accounts always appearing to be just and True. . . ." To answer the Council's charge that Moseley had not been appointed by legal authority, the Lower House pointed out, somewhat inaccurately, that "his appointment to that office has been by several Acts of Assembly ever since the year 1715." [9]

At this point Burrington decided to seek support from home. In letters to the Duke of Newcastle and the Board of Trade in July, 1731, Burrington complained that the "Assembly of this Province have allways usurped more power than they ought to be allowed, one instance I now give in that of chuseing a publick Treasurer (the person now in possession of the office is Edward Moseley speaker and Manager of the Assembly). . . ." He also pointed out that the currency act of 1729 "constituted eleven Precinct Treasurers who were all in the Assembly and as they have the Disposition of the Publick Money will be constantly chosen, which forms so great a Party that they can Lead the Assembly as they please." To remedy this situation Burrington urged that "a Treasurer for this Government be appointed by the Lords of the Treasury." He again called the matter to the Board's attention in February, 1732. He reported then that the "settling Treasurers by the Pretended Act in 1729 is taken from the Method in New England . . ." and pointed out that "if this were suffered here, these men would have such an influence in Elections, that scarce a man could be Chose but by their approbation, in the Assemblys they must inevitably carry every matter in Debate as they please . . .," again suggesting that "the Lords of the Treasury . . . appoint one Treasurer for the Province." But Crown officials were cautious in treating Burrington's complaints. Board Secretary Alured Popple wrote Burrington in August, 1732, asking for a report "with respect to the power claimed by the Assembly of chusing the public Treasurer of the

[9] Upper House Journals, April 26-27, May 1, 1731, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 265-269.

Province & what has been the constant practise and by what authority M[r] Moseley was originally appointed. . . ."[10]

To answer Popple's inquiry, Burrington investigated the history of the treasurership. Moseley was evasive as to how he was appointed treasurer. He referred Burrington to the legislative journals and statutes to corroborate his contentions that the "constant Practice has been for the Assembly to appoint the Treasurers and gatherers of money raised by the Assembly . . ." and that the "first of my appointments to be Publick Treasurer was by that Assembly that first emitted Publick Bills of Credit, or near that time. . . ."[11] To obtain a more accurate account, Burrington turned to the journals and statutes. He presented the results of his findings to the Board of Trade in a long letter that contained a remarkable analysis of the issues on the question of who should appoint the public treasurer. The representatives, Burrington reported, "claim it as their Right to appoint the Province Treasurer who is the keeper of the Province Money. . . ." They admit that the Crown could appoint receivers to handle "moneys ariseing out Rents and such His Majesty's dues which are an inherent and heriditary Right, . . ." he wrote, "but where the money is raised by the Assembly for particular Ends and Uses for the Defence and service of the Country, as the same is to be applyed to such uses, as the Assembly think proper to appropriate it, so they think they ought to appoint the manner and persons for the directing and manageing thereof, and insist that as they have the direction of the end they ought to have the appointment of the means or the End may be frustrated, and they further affirm that it has all along been the Practice of this Country to appoint the Treasurers for receiving the money they raise and add that it is so in other Colonys." On the governor's side, Burrington declared that "the Assembly as the legislative part of the Country is to raise and appropriate the money for the Publick Service yet the executive part of the Government being in the King and his Ministers under him as he is the Head and intrusted with the Government for the Publick Good whatever is executed and done for the Publick Service is under His Direction and to be done by his Orders and Officers. And as the Treasury of Great Britain is under His Majesty's immediate appointment tho the money is raised and appropriated by Act of Parliament," he continued, "it would be very extraordinary for the Colonys

[10] Burrington to Duke of Newcastle, July 2, 1731, and to Board of Trade, February 20, 1732; Popple to Burrington, August 16, 1732, Saunders, *Colonial Records.* III, 151, 335, 354.

[11] Moseley to Burrington and Council, April 3, 1733, Saunders, *Colonial Records,* III, 489-490.

to assert or claim a higher right or Privilege then the People of England enjoy and if the Colonys have assumed that Power in any place it may have rather passed unobserved then allowed of or Established." [12]

Despite Burrington's frequent entreaties, Gabriel Johnston, upon his appointment to the governorship of North Carolina in 1734, found the situation in regard to the public treasurer still unchanged. The Board's lack of respect for either Burrington or his measures provides a partial explanation for its inaction, but the fact that it showed little interest in a similar appeal from Johnston before he went out to the colony leads one to conclude that it simply failed to realize the importance of the treasurership in North Carolina. In the meantime, Moseley continued to act as public treasurer at least through February, 1735.[13]

Many of the colony's laws for the years between 1735 and 1740 have been lost, so what happened to the public treasurership during that time is largely a matter of speculation. In 1740 the office was divided and there were two public treasurers, one for the northern and one for the southern counties. There are substantial indications that this division took place earlier. In November, 1739, shortly after the death of William Downing, who had served as Speaker of the Lower House after Moseley's promotion to the Council in 1735 until his death in 1739, the Governor and Council appointed Chief Justice William Smith treasurer for the "Northern Counties." At the legislature's next meeting, early in 1740, it passed a law to appoint "a Treasurer for the several Counties herein mentioned in the Room of William Downing, Esq., deceased. . . ." The body of this law no longer exists, but the title certainly implies that Downing was treasurer for a limited number of counties before his death. Since the Governor and Council were probably empowered to fill vacancies in the office or offices of public treasurer in the case of the incumbent's death or removal from the province, it appears that Smith's appointment as public treasurer for the northern counties the previous November was temporary to fill the vacancy occasioned by Downing's death. In all likelihood, therefore, Downing was public treasurer for the northern counties at the time of his death.[14] How and when he was appointed to that office, who was treasurer for the southern counties, and who succeeded Downing in February, 1740, are questions that require further specu-

[12] Burrington to Board of Trade, May 19, 1733, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III 483-484.

[13] Johnston's remarks on his Instructions, 1733-1734; Upper House Journals, February 24, 1735, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 495-496; IV, 102.

[14] Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 131, 155, 275; Council Journals, November 20, 1739, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 354.

lation. Downing was probably appointed treasurer in 1735, when he was first elected speaker by one of three revenue laws then passed, none of which is extant.[15] The other treasurer was almost certainly Edward Moseley. A 1740 tax act that refers to Moseley as public treasurer for the southern counties implies that he had been serving in that office for some time. Since Moseley served as public treasurer for the entire province from 1723 to 1735, it is logical that the Lower House continued him as one of the public treasurers when that office was divided. It is equally certain that Downing's successor as treasurer of the northern counties in 1740 was his successor as speaker, John Hodgson.[16]

An appropriation law of 1740 refers to Edward Moseley and John Hodgson as treasurers for the southern and northern counties, respectively, Hodgson occupying his post until 1748 and Moseley until 1749. During their tenure the practice established in 1729 of filling the offices of precinct treasurers seems to have fallen into disuse. From 1733 to 1734 it was customary for the Lower House to nominate one to three men for each vacancy in those offices from whom the governor made the final appointment. But in an appropriations law passed in August, 1740, the Lower House assigned the duties of the precinct treasurers to the sheriffs. Subsequent vacancies in these offices appear not to have been filled, and a 1748 treasurers' law makes no mention of precinct treasurers.[17]

The 1748 law specifically defined the duties, salary, and tenure of the treasurer. It continued Edward Moseley as treasurer for the southern counties but substituted Thomas Barker for John Hodgson, who after 1746 had assumed the leadership of the opposition to Johnston and the "long assembly" during the representation controversy.[18] The treasurers were to receive from the sheriffs and hold all taxes levied by the legislature. Their salary was five per cent of their total receipts, and they were required to submit their accounts to the legislature for

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[15] The first of these acts provided for printing paper bills; the second, for levying a duty on liquors; and the third, for levying a poll tax and issuing £10,000 in additional paper. Downing's appointment could have been made in either of them. Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 117, 121.

[16] Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 155; Council Journals, February 14, 1740, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 441; James Murray to [Mr. Houston], March 25, 1740, Nina M. Tiffany (ed.), *Letters of James Murray Loyalist* (Boston: Privately printed by Riverside Press, 1901), 59.

[17] Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 151-157, 273-275; Lower House Journals, July 10, 1733, February 13, March 1, 1735, March 2, 1739, May 5, 1744; Upper House Journals, October 11, 1736, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 582, IV, 136, 153-154, 240, 403-404, 724, 730.

[18] An excellent account of the representation controversy is Lawrence F. London, "The Representation Controversy in Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XI (October, 1934), 255-270.

auditing. Their term was set at four years, and the Governor and Council were empowered to fill vacancies temporarily when the legislature was not in session. Each was required to put up a bond of £2,000 sterling.[19]

Between 1748 and 1752 there were several changes in the personnel of the treasury. Edward Moseley died in 1749 and was succeeded by Councilor Eleazer Allen. Upon Allen's death in 1750 Representative John Starkey was appointed to fill the post. When the 1748 law expired in 1752, a new law continued Starkey in one post but appointed John Haywood to the other to succeed Barker, who had resigned.[20] All of these changes and appointments took place without any opposition from Governor Gabriel Johnston, but a dispute of some importance concerning the right of nomination occurred in 1750. Moseley's sentiments had probably always lain with the Lower House, but he had been a member of the Council from 1735 until his death in 1749. His appointment to the Council did not result in his removal as treasurer, and his continuance in that office established a precedent for one of the treasurers being from the Council. The appointment of Allen, also a Councilor, to succeed Moseley in 1750 strengthened the precedent, and, upon Allen's death, the Council insisted that Councilor George Nicholas succeed him. But the Lower House nominated John Starkey for the office, and when the Council continued to insist upon Nicholas, the Lower House declared that it had always held the "right to nominate a person for that Office." The Council expressed surprise at the representatives' assertion of "an exclusive right to the nomination of such person" and alluded vaguely to "precedents to the contrary." Neither house would yield, and the Council rejected one bill to appoint Starkey, but some three months later, for reasons not now entirely clear, it finally gave in and agreed to Starkey's appointment.[21] From that date on treasurers were always members of the Lower House.

Johnston's long administration produced no serious challenge to the Lower House's authority to nominate and appoint public treasurers; under Arthur Dobbs between 1754 and 1765 it was a different story. The 1752 act was supposed to continue in force for five years, but in December, 1754, at the beginning of Dobbs' administration the Lower House appointed Thomas Barker to succeed Haywood as northern treasurer and reappointed Starkey as southern treasurer in a military

[19] Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 273-275.
[20] Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 331-332, 349-350, 378-380.
[21] Upper House Journals, April 4-5, 1750; Lower House Journals, July 9, 1750, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 1,058-1,060, 1,071-1,072; Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 349-350.

appropriation measure.[22] Although Dobbs did not object to the act at the time of its passage, he frequently assailed it along with the two treasurers during the succeeding years of his administration.

Thomas Barker and John Starkey occupied their posts as treasurers for ten and twelve years respectively after 1754, and during their tenure Dobbs subjected them to a series of violent attacks. Dobbs once described Barker as "a skipper of a new England Bark, and afterwards a hackney clerk in this Province . . ." and as a person of "mean education," but he reserved his most abusive comments for Starkey. He admitted that Starkey was "a man of good behaviour . . . and of a tolerable fortune," but he declared that this treasurer was "the most designing Man in the Province" and "a professed violent Republican in every instance taking from his Majesty's prerogative and encroaching upon the Rights of the Council, and adding to the Power of the Assembly to make himself popular. . . ." Dobbs attributed Starkey's extreme popularity to "his capacity and diligence" and to "his garb and seeming humility by wearing shoe strings a plain coat and having a bald head. . . ." By these devices, Dobbs insisted, "he seems self denied. . . ."[23]

Matters between Dobbs and the two treasurers apparently ran on smoothly between 1754 and December, 1757, when Dobbs registered his first official complaint against them in a letter to the Board of Trade. He singled out Starkey in particular for condemnation. Dobbs accused him of "opposing all taxes that do not turn out to his profit," of "attempting to gain power to the Assembly by encroaching upon his Majesty's Rights . . ." and of "having taken upon himself the payment of the allowance to the Members for their attendance which he can advance or delay as he pleases so that all the low Members who want a supply follow him like Chickens so that he sways the House against the most sensible Members in it." Dobbs further charged that Starkey was responsible for the Lower House's decision to reduce by half the number of troops in the colony's service and to refuse to provide a salary for the storekeeper at Fort Johnston that Dobbs had appointed to care for supplies sent over by the Crown. To lessen Starkey's power Dobbs proposed that the Crown disallow the 1754 appropriation bill by which the treasurers had been appointed and issue "an Instruction for the future not to pass any Law for appointing provincial Treasurers without excluding them from being Members of either House. . . ."

[22] Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 378-380, 400.

[23] Dobbs to Board of Trade, December 27, 1757; Dobbs' reply to May, 1760, resolutions of the Lower House, August 3, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 948-949, VI, 290.

He pointed out that only £3,600 in paper bills was still outstanding from those issued by that act and urged the Board to "consider whether the circulating £3,600 in Bills will be a loss equivalent to the Obstruction given to the Kings service here by that Republican Treasurer Starkey who must then quit his seat in the Assembly or place of Treasurer, In case His Majesty consents that the Assembly shall name the Provincial Treasurers which has been an Encroachment upon the Crown in other Provinces." [24]

But when the Board indicated no immediate interest in his proposals, Dobbs resolved to launch a concerted campaign to have the treasurers removed. In January, 1759, he wrote the Board, complaining further of Starkey that he acted "not as His Majesty's Treasurer for his service, but calls himself Treasurer for the Public not accountable to the Crown. . . ." He once more pressed the Board for the disallowance of the law that had appointed the treasurers and emphasized that "an approaching peace, when nothing will be required but for their own benefit will be a proper time to insist upon his Majesty's Prerogative pursuant to my instructions with a new House of Assembly before Parties are formed in it." In another letter the following May, he reiterated his complaints against the treasurers and urged anew that the act appointing them be disallowed. Further, he suggested that "his Majesty or Governor and Council here should appoint one or two Treasurers who should account with the Government here and with the Treasury in England." [25]

Dobbs' repeated complaints finally stirred the Board to act. In June, 1759, it replied that it had submitted his complaints against the treasurers to "the Lords of the Treasury for their Judgment and direction." The following August it issued its final opinion on the matter. In an unusually enlightened decision the Board declared that the "practise which has prevailed for so long a time in all the Colonies of appointing Publick Treasurers by Act of Legislature and making them accountable only to the General Assembly and in some Cases to one branch of it, is certainly irregular and it is to be wished that it had been properly checked in its infancy, but having prevailed and been acquiesced in for so long a series of years, any attempt to set it aside in the present situation of Affairs would in Our judgment be improper and therefore we cannot advise the repeal of the Aid Act passed by You in 1754,

[24] Dobbs to Board of Trade, December 27, 1757, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, V, 948-949. An excellent account of Dobbs' troubles with the Lower House is Desmond Clarke, *Arthur Dobbs Esquire, 1689-1765* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 107-200.

[25] Dobbs to Board of Trade, January 22, May 18, 1759, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 6-7, 32-34.

especially when We consider that a considerable part of the Taxes thereby to be raised would be lost by such repeal." [26] The decision was an important one, constituting as it did a frank admission by Crown officials of the futility of trying to deprive the Lower House of such a long-established power at a time when its support was needed in the war effort. It showed clearly that imperial authorities were prepared, if not officially to recognize, at least to tolerate indefinitely the lower houses' exercise of the power to nominate and appoint public treasurers.

The Board's decision might have left Dobbs with small hope of wresting the powers of nominating and appointing the public treasurers from the Lower House. With no prospect of support from the home authorities, Dobbs could well have abandoned his efforts entirely. That he did not is a testimony to his tenacity and optimism. He gave up his attempts to obtain immediate reforms, but he took pains to keep the matter fresh in the minds of imperial officials. He suggested to the Board in January, 1760, that the clause appointing the treasurers without limitation of time in the 1754 appropriation bill might be disallowed when that law expired in 1763. To illustrate "in what Manner the public accounts are carried on, when not brought before and passed by the Council, and not properly audited, when thus undigested and passed by the Assembly . . ." Dobbs sent the Board a copy of Thomas Barker's accounts. Although the Board's decision prevented him from taking any action against Starkey in his position as treasurer, Dobbs found other ways to lessen the treasurer's influence, which he had come to regard as a serious challenge to his own. He removed Starkey from his posts as justice of the peace for Onslow County and colonel of the county militia so that he would not "by favour of the Crown have an undue influence over the County upon a new Election. . . ." [27]

Thomas Barker's request for leave to resign as treasurer for the northern counties in November, 1760, presented Dobbs with an unexpected opportunity to interfere with the representatives' power of nominating and appointing public treasurers; but he was unable to turn it to his advantage. Barker sent his resignation to Speaker Samuel Swann by way of Councilor John Rieusett along with his recommendation that Rieussett succeed him as treasurer. At that particular time

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[26] Board of Trade to Dobbs, June 1, August 1, 1759, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 45-47, 54-56.

[27] Dobbs to Board of Trade, January 19, 1760; Dobbs' reply to May, 1760, resolutions of the Lower House, August 3, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 217-218, 297-298.

the Lower House was trying to push through the Council a military appropriation bill that carried a rider providing for the appointment of an agent. Previously the Council had twice rejected that bill, but the Lower House knew that only one more affirmative vote was needed to carry it. At the instigation of Swann, therefore, the Lower House decided to offer the treasurership to Rieussett as a *quid pro quo* for his support of the appropriation bill in the Council. Rieussett swallowed the bait, and by his vote the appropriation measure passed the Council. The Lower House kept its part of the bargain. It had originally nominated an assemblyman to succeed Barker, but as soon as the appropriation bill had passed the Council it allowed that body to substitute Rieussett's name in the treasurer bill, although it made a point of resolving "that it is the inherent right of this House, to nominate Persons to be appointed to the office of Public Treasurers of this Province; and altho' this House do agree to the person now proposed by the Council to serve in the office of Public Treasurer of the Northern District, yet the same shall not be drawn into Precedent, as admitting a right in the Council to propose, or nominate any Person, or Persons to be appointed to the said office. . . ." There is some indication that Dobbs may have hoped to turn this measure to his own advantage by rejecting Rieussett and appointing a nominee of his own, thereby asserting the governor's right to appoint the public treasurer. But he first had to be sure that Barker had actually resigned. Accordingly, he refused to assent to the treasurer bill until he had seen Barker's resignation. But the Lower House had anticipated such a development and did not intend to accept Barker's resignation until Dobbs had consented to Rieussett's appointment. When the House refused to show Barker's resignation to Dobbs, he rejected both the treasurer's bill and the appropriation measure. As a result the Lower House would not grant Barker leave to resign, and he served as treasurer for the northern counties for another two years. Dobbs had again come off second best to the Lower House.[28]

From 1760 to 1763 Dobbs continued to complain about the treasurers to the Board of Trade. In December, 1760, he declared that "the northern Treasurer has made payments to his favourites without my Warrants, and the Assembly this Session have ordered their Southern Treasurer to pay Publick money without any order from me. . . ." In his answers to the queries of the Board of Trade in December, 1761,

[28] Dobbs to Board of Trade, December 12, 1760; Lower House Journals, December 1-3, 1760; Upper House Journals, December 3, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 319-324, 467-469, 502-503, 508.

Dobbs particularly complained of the Lower House's manner of passing the treasurers' accounts and expressed hope that the clause to appoint the treasurers in the 1754 appropriation law might be disallowed upon the expiration of that law in June, 1763. Dobbs' continued complaints made little impression on the Board of Trade, however. For the most part the Board either ignored them or curtly dismissed them as it did in May, 1763, by referring Dobbs back to the "Sentiments and Directions" in the "Mode of appointing Treasurers" that it had set forth in 1759.[29]

With little prospect of support from home, Dobbs had no other alternative when the 1754 appropriation bill expired in 1763 than to assent to a new treasurer's bill. When the legislature convened in February, 1764, he took the initiative in offering to consent to a bill to appoint treasurers for a short term until the Crown had instructed him how they should be appointed for the future. At first the Lower House denied that the clause appointing the treasurers in the 1754 bill had expired. But Barker was still pressing the House for leave to resign, and, when both Dobbs and the Council signified their willingness to concur in the matter, the House took the opportunity to put the treasurerships on a more solid legal footing and passed a bill that continued Starkey as southern treasurer and appointed Representative Joseph Montfort to succeed Barker in the northern post. Dobbs did gain one important concession in this bill when he persuaded the Lower House to limit the treasurers' terms of office to three years. In reporting upon the act to the Board of Trade, Dobbs explained that he had passed it "to put it out of doubt, lest some should refuse to pay the public Taxes to other Treasurers should they have been appointed by the Crown."[30] By consenting to the measure Dobbs had, in effect, admitted that he was unable to prevent the Lower House from exercising the power to appoint treasurers. He probably still hoped that he might enlist the aid of the imperial authorities in his fight, but at no time after their 1759 decision was there any real possibility that his hopes would be fulfilled. Neither of Dobbs' successors was bold enough even to challenge the Lower House upon the matter, and it continued to appoint treasurers by statute for the remainder of the colonial period.

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[29] Dobbs to Board of Trade, December 12, 1760; Dobbs' Answers to Board of Trade Queries, December, 1761, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 319-324, 605-623; Board of Trade to Dobbs, May 10, 1763, Colonial Office Papers, 5/325, ff. 113-114.

[30] Dobbs to Board of Trade, March 29, 1764; Upper House Journals, February 4, March 5, 1764; Lower House Journals, February 8, March 3, 1764, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1,035-1,039, 1,091, 1,127-1,128, 1,154a, 1,199; Statutes Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 618-619.

If the governors had conceded the power of appointment to the Lower House, the Council was not yet disposed to give up its claim to the right of nomination. John Starkey's death early in 1765 paved the way for an extended controversy between the Lower House and the Council over who should succeed him. The House proposed Representative Richard Caswell, but the Council, intent upon asserting its right of nomination, held out for Councilor Lewis DeRossett. Neither side would give in, and the session ended without an agreement. To fill the vacancy until the legislature had agreed on a candidate, Governor William Tryon appointed Speaker Samuel Swann, a popular choice with the House and one well calculated not to destroy his good relations with that body.[31] The troubles over the Stamp Act kept Tryon from reconvening the House for nearly a year and a half, so Swann's tenure was longer than had been expected. When the legislature did meet again in November, 1766, the controversy threatened to be reenacted. The Lower House opened the session by complaining to Tryon about the Council's denying it the "priviledge . . . of naming their Treasurers." To restore harmony Tryon proposed to intercede with the Council to persuade it to relinquish its claims to the right of nomination until he had submitted the matter to Crown officials for a decision; but he was unable to head off another battle between the Council, once again insisting on DeRossett, and the House, supporting Assemblyman John Ashe. Only after the House agreed that it would not deem the act "as the relinquishing any rights which in your opinion you have to a joint nomination . . ." would the Council finally agree to Ashe's appointment. But the matter was still settled only temporarily, for the 1764 treasurers' bill was to expire at the end of 1767. And the Council's declaration finally consenting to Ashe that "the appointment of a Provincial Treasurer is a creation of the legislature here, dissimilar from and repugnant to the constitution of the British Government . . ." and that it had "a coequal right" with the Lower House both in "the nomination and appointment . . ." was a strong indication that the Council would revive the controversy at that time.[32]

In an attempt to prevent such a development, Tryon, like Dobbs before him, sought the aid of London authorities. Three times during the early months of 1767 he asked for a ruling on the issue. No doubt he hoped and expected that the authorities would uphold the Council's

[31] Upper House Journals, May 16, 1765; Tryon to Board of Trade, August 15, 1765, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 55-56, 107.

[32] Lower House Journals, November 6, 10, 1766; Upper House Journals, November 20, 25-27, December 1, 1766, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 312-314, 324, 327-328, 330-331, 337, 348-349, 356; Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 494-495.

right of nomination. But they appear to have ignored his requests; when the legislature met in the fall of 1767, Tryon was still awaiting a decision. Even with the Crown's positive support it is doubtful that the Council could have forced the Lower House to recognize its "coequal" right of nomination, but without that support the Council did not even make an issue of it. The fact that neither of the treasurerships was vacant made it easier for the Council to agree to the House's candidates, and it readily consented to the reappointment of both Ashe and Montfort for a term of five years.[33]

When the question came up again in 1773, the Council again failed to make a contest over the right of nomination. At that time the lower House voted to continue Montfort as northern treasurer but decided to replace Ashe with Richard Caswell, who had been a strong candidate for the post at Starkey's death in 1765. The Council made a weak bid in support of Ashe but when the House insisted on Caswell yielded without any real protest. The appointment in 1773 was for a term of only two years, but before the matter came up again North Carolina was already far along the road to revolution.[34]

Governor Josiah Martin, Tryon's successor, did not object to these arrangements, although the Lower House's tight control over the treasurers caused him serious difficulty during his tenure. When Martin refused his consent in 1772 to a measure to discontinue a one-shilling poll tax levied to sink a particular paper money issue, the Lower House had merely ordered the treasurers to stop collecting that tax. Both treasurers owed their jobs to the House, and neither could afford to ignore that body's order. When they complied with it, Martin had to threaten to prosecute them to the value of their bonds of office before he could force them to resume collecting the tax. But two and a half years later, when British repressive measures against Boston aroused the anger of North Carolinians, Martin was unable to prevent the House from effecting a similar maneuver. Martin also found that the House's replacing Ashe with Caswell in 1773 created a serious division in that body as Ashe's supporters vied with those of Caswell for control of the House so that they might be able to name the treasurer when it was time for a reappointment in 1775. This division seriously obstructed business in the House and convinced Martin that

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[33] Tryon to Earl of Shelburne, January 31, March 7, July 4, 1767; Upper House Journals, January 4, 15, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 430-431, 443, 497, 597-599, 622-623; Statutes, *State Records*, XXIII, 723-725.

[34] Upper House Journals, January 25, March 1, 1773; Martin to Earl of Dartmouth, May 30, 1773, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 378, 428, 657; Statutes, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 904-906.

the Crown should take steps to gain the power to appoint the treasurers. The Lower House had "long fatally to the policy of this Country, usurped the nomination of those Officers," he lamented in September, 1774, requesting the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to consider "whether it will not be . . . expedient if it can be done with propriety to vest in his Majesty's Governor the appointment of Treasurers. . . ." [35] Martin's request was remarkably similar to the requests of Dobbs ten and fifteen years earlier, and like those it failed to win any support at home. When royal government was overthrown in North Carolina, the Lower House's power to nominate and appoint public treasurers was undiminished.

By securing and exercising the power to nominate and appoint public treasurers the North Carolina Lower House assumed an important share of the duties of the executive and extended its authority in its limited sphere beyond that of the British House of Commons, which left the appointment of all revenue officers to the Crown. By uniting the speakership with the treasurership for much of the period between 1711 and 1748, the Lower House went even further and succeeded in combining the top legislative post with an important executive one. The inability of Governors Burrington and Dobbs to deprive the Lower House of this power demonstrated just how powerful the Lower House was becoming, and the unwillingness of London authorities to lend their support to the governors' efforts indicated during the early years their failure to recognize all of the implications involved in the Lower House's choosing and controlling such important executive officers and in the late colonial period their recognition of the folly of trying to deny the Lower House a power it had so long exercised.

[35] Martin to Earl of Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, and to Dartmouth, April 2, September 1, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 233-234, 960-961, 1,051-1,054.

BLEASEISM AND THE 1912 ELECTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

By Clarence N. Stone*

South Carolina politics in 1912 was more than a civic duty; it was a form of recreation. Gubernatorial aspirants made a joint tour of all counties in the State in accordance with a schedule arranged by the executive committee of the Democratic party. This round of "speakings," which always came in the summer after the crops had been "laid by," was the big social event of the season. People traveled great distances to have dinner on the grounds and watch the candidates perform. The speaking tour favored the stump speaker who could "whoop 'em up" and arouse enthusiasm. Such a man was Cole Blease, notorious as a demagogue, who was running for re-election as governor in 1912 against Ira B. Jones, who posed as the paragon of respectability.

Born in the Upcountry town of Newberry in 1868, Blease grew up in the highly sociable environment of his father's hotel and livery stable. Here Blease came to know intimately the common man, whom he later championed by arraigning the upper classes for their pretensions and privileges. Indeed, Blease issued his diatribes in language more in conformity with the atmosphere of the livery stable than of the governor's mansion.[1] Blease, who had first entered politics as a successful Tillmanite candidate for the State legislature in 1890, held several positions of importance before becoming Governor in 1911. He was once Tillman's Speaker of the House, and he had served in the State senate, being President pro tempore of that body for two years. Unsuccessful candidacies for governor in 1906 and 1908 preceded his victory over the prohibitionist, Featherstone, in the gubernatorial

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[1] Some biographical information concerning Blease may be found in Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944), 485-491, hereinafter cited as Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman;* and *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949: The Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and the Congress of the United States, from the First to the Eightieth Congress, March 4, 1789, to January 3, 1849, Inclusive* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session, *House Document No. 607*, 1950), 660.

primary of 1910. Following the relative ineffectiveness of agrarian reform, Blease cultivated his demagogic appeal in terms of a social protest rather than professing to be an economic reformer. Perhaps his experience with Tillmanism suggested that reform programs had little effect on the predicament of the poor man. At any rate, much of Blease's support was aroused by such incidents as the one in 1908 when Blease referred to his opponent, Governor Ansel, as a "nigger lover" because he had made "an infernal nigger" into a notary.[2] Reformer or not, "Coley" Blease inherited "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman's enemies of old—the newspapers, the railroads and other corporations, the Low Country aristocrats, the urban businessmen—the "respectable" elements of society.[3]

Thus Blease came into the governorship as the representative of the lower classes, the champion of the disreputable and the dispossessed. Under these circumstances he was not expected to and did not cease haranguing the opposition. Blease's first address to the General Assembly opened in this manner:

> Independence of thought, freedom of action, an abiding trust in and devoted love for God have won for me the greatest political victory in the history of South Carolina. Aligned against me were a united daily press and an almost solid weekly and semi-weekly press, pouring forth all kinds of falsehoods, vituperation and abuse, receiving the assistance of a number of men who call themselves ministers of the Gospel . . . —who stood behind their pulpits and gave vent to envy and malice and slanders of the most vile and malicious nature against me.[4]

The partisan battle had begun. Blease launched a bitter attack against his enemies, especially the newspapers, whose reciprocation led Blease in his first term as governor to call for stringent libel laws regarding newspapers. When the legislature passed a mild libel law, Blease returned the bill to the legislature with a message which was allegedly too vile to appear publicly, and the House of Representatives took the unprecedented step of expunging from its record the Governor's message, except for the specific objections made.[5] Actually it was

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[2] *State* (Columbia, South Carolina), July 29, 1908, hereinafter cited as *State*.

[3] One illustration of this is the infamous Buzzard Cartoon published in the *State*, reproduced in Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman*, facing page 492. Blease discussed the incident in his first address to the General Assembly, *Journal of the Senate of the State of South Carolina*, 1911, 77-82, hereinafter cited as *Senate Journal*.

[4] *Senate Journal*, 1911, 77. That many ministers opposed Blease is indicated by the frequent occurrence of ministerial associations calling for people to pray for the defeat of Blease in the 1912 primary. See the *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 7, 12, and 18, 1912.

[5] *State*, January 24, 1912.

such words as "lie" and "liar" that disturbed this sanctimonious body so greatly.

Blease quarreled with State administrators, sometimes dismissing them without authority to do so. He battled with legislators, ignoring their suggestions as to who should be appointed to fill offices ranging from Registration Supervisors to the Board of Pardons. And, not only did he thwart the patronage desires of legislators, but he also flaunted his veto power in their faces, vetoing thirty items in the appropriation bill of 1912 alone, most of which were passed over his veto. Blease also jousted with the State Supreme Court and its Chief Justice, Ira B. Jones, who emerged later as his 1912 opponent. Not all of the animosity toward Blease was among State officials, for Blease assailed the "hypocrites" and informed them that he drank whiskey when he liked. Finally, he announced that a large number of people had elected him Governor, and he expected to see his friends receive some consideration from his administration. Such candor aroused more enmity.

Blease, while despised by some segments of the State, was immensely popular with others. A journalist of the time gave this description of the poorest man's "Pitchfork Ben":

> Governor Blease is a man who possesses many attractive personal qualities. In personal intercourse with his friends he is genial and affable and possesses to a remarkable degree the ability to adapt his conversation and addresses to the point of view of his audience. He is, by profession, a criminal lawyer and has been remarkably successful in securing the acquittal of his clients before the jury.[6]

It was observed that Blease was not only quick to catch the superficial feeling of an audience, but also seemed to be at the mercy of his audience.

> Without any other fixed principle than expediency, and under the mutual hypnosis of the mass, he expresses sentiments which he denies and repudiates when they confront him in cold type.
>
> His oratory is that of Billy Sunday, headed in the opposite direction. He has mastered the art of appealing to the shallow prejudices and vicious impulses of his audience and of leading his hearers to a lower plane of thought and action. A receptive listener will leave the hall of his address with more intense hatreds, less faith in his fellowmen, decreased respect for law, a diminished veneration for the church and for moral ideals, and

[6] W. K. Tate, "After Blease—A New Program for South Carolina," *Survey*, XXXIII (February 27, 1915), 577, hereinafter cited as Tate, "After Blease—A New Program."

a greater ignorance of the real causes of conditions at which he might justly complain.[7]

Ira B. Jones, Blease's senior by seventeen years, was born in Newberry in 1851. Like Blease he attended college and excelled in debating. Following short careers as a teacher and as associate editor of the *Newberry Herald,* Jones adopted law as his profession. In 1875 he moved to Lancaster, taking with him little more than his aspirations. He, again like Blease, made his first appearance in politics as a member of the Tillmanite legislature of 1890, and became an influential member of the General Assembly. Jones served as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee one session, and as Speaker for two. From the latter post he was selected by his fellow legislators as an Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court, and later was promoted to the Chief Justiceship. After nearly sixteen years on the bench he resigned on January 9, 1912, in order to oppose Blease for the governorship.

Unfortunately, no journalist from outside the State appeared to record his personal impressions of Ira B. Jones. The ex-Chief Justice was undoubtedly a Tillmanite, but he, like Tillman to a large extent, had endeared himself to the conservatives by 1912. His political career suggests strongly that Jones was an able politician and parliamentarian, but not necessarily one suited to the tour of stump "speakings" which a predominantly rural population demanded as their rightful source of entertainment. Indeed, one historian expressed the opinion that "Jones on the stump was a failure,"[8] and Tillman is quoted as saying that Jones was "absolutely a child in Blease's hands."[9] Of utmost importance, Jones' language was not that of the "clodhopper" and the "lint-head."

South Carolina in 1912 was an overwhelmingly rural State in which Negroes, who had been disfranchised by the Tillman movement of the nineties, out-numbered the whites. Nearly two-thirds of all farms were cultivated by tenants, while almost half of the white farmers cultivated lands they did not possess. The lien system was still rampant. Negro tenancy, which had been forcing whites from the richer Coastal Plains to the poorer hill country and to the textile mills, augmented the burgeoning animosity of the poor white toward the

[7] Tate, "After Blease—A New Program," 577.
[8] David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 661, hereinafter cited as Wallace, *South Carolina.*
[9] Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman,* 495.

Negro and his "friend," the rich white.[10] Racial antagonism then was not simply a matter of ignorance or tradition, but was related to the workings of the social system and the resentments this system produced. If the Low Country aristocrat was less guilty of racial prejudice than his distant hill cousin, the same could not be said of class prejudice. Bleaseism was blossoming forth in a society epitomized in the statement of Dr. Pope, a one-time Tillmanite reformer, who announced during a smallpox outbreak that he would vaccinate white people at one hour, Negroes at another hour, and at a third hour factory people.[11] Such instances of social scorn, which were common, produced severe class antagonism as one class was convinced that only they were fit to rule, while the other was equally certain that they were as good as anyone else. These were the conditions under which that latter-day Saint George, Ira B. Jones, set out to deliver South Carolina from the demagogic dragon, "Coley" Blease.

Blease, however, understood the social and economic situation at least well enough to exploit it, whereas Jones apparently was oblivious to it. The latter dwelled on the clichés about law and order, good government, good roads, and good schools, thus branding himself as an "aristocrat." Blease excelled in articulating the biases of the poor whites in a picturesque manner which they could appreciate. The Governor did even more; he was perhaps the original "organization man," that is, fraternal organization man. He was not only a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, but a Grand Master, Grand Patriarch, and Grand Representative from South Carolina to the Grand Encampment and Grand Lodge of that organization. Palmetto braves of the Improved Order of Red Men claimed him as a blood brother, and once made him their Grand Sachem. Fellow stags in the Loyal Order of Moose made him their Dictator, and the Knights of Pythias awarded him the shield of Chancellor Commander. Blease also received honors and high offices in the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks and the Woodmen of the World.[12] In addition, he held membership in the Methodist Church and the Bar Association, but apparently was less honored by these two organizations than the others.

Joining proved very useful to "Coley" Blease as a means of capturing the vote of millworkers. These workers, almost invariably recent

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[10] Tate, "After Blease—A New Program," 576.
[11] Wallace, *South Carolina*, 656.
[12] O. L. Warr, "Mr. Blease of South Carolina," *American Mercury*, XVI (January, 1929), 27, hereinafter cited as Warr, "Mr. Blease"; and David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1935), IV, 963-965.

migrants from the farms where they had been tenants, were not unionized to any extent, but rather they had as their chief bond of cohesion common membership in the few secret societies which flourished in mill villages at that time. Since these factory families moved frequently, they knew few community ties other than these organizations.[13] Thus through frequent appearances at their social gatherings, Blease solidified the support of the textile workers behind him, the person, not his record or campaign promises.

Blease, the personality, was undoubtedly the basic issue of the 1912 election. Jones, despite frequent disavowals of making personalities the issue of the campaign, expressed his major motivation for entering the campaign as a "burning desire in my breast to reclaim South Carolina from Bleaseism." [14] To wage his campaign against Bleaseism, the ex-Chief Justice seized upon the slogan, "law and order," pointing out that the Governor had fought with every branch of the government. Jones emphasized in speech after speech how Blease's refusal to commission a judge appointed by the Supreme Court had subsequently led to the failure of a session of the Trial Court. Undermining the judiciary, granting huge numbers of pardons and paroles, and extensive use of the veto by Blease were repeatedly offered as evidence of lawlessness. "Bleaseism," charged Jones, "leads to anarchy." [15]

"Law and order" was used to appeal to the middle and upper classes. Jones made a bid for the vote of the lower classes by claiming to be the "working man's friend." In vain Jones singled out Blease's veto of the factory-inspectors bill as "proof" that Blease was a false friend of labor. The ex-Chief Justice was apparently unaware that child-labor "reform" which the factory inspectors were supposed to enforce was not a measure with overwhelming appeal to textile workers, who were more concerned with subsisting than with well-meaning reform.[16] Jones probably felt confident that he could weaken the allegiance of the poorer classes to Blease by making references to Blease's cousin, Ben Abney, a railroad attorney who lived in the Governor's mansion with the Blease family. Blease mutilated the effect of Jones' inference by saying, among other things: "If I let Ben Abney fool as many decisions out of me as he has fooled out of Judge

[13] Tate, "After Blease—A New Program," 577.

[14] *State*, March 12, 1912. The writer has followed the events in four newspapers: the *State; News and Courier* (Charleston, South Carolina), hereinafter cited as *News and Courier; Union Progress;* and the *Augusta Chronicle* (Georgia), hereinafter cited as *Augusta Chronicle.*

[15] *State*, March 16, 1912. See also the *News and Courier*, March 7, 1912.

[16] John P. Hollis, "Child Labor Legislation in the Carolinas," *The Annals*, XXXVIII (July, 1911), 114-117, points out that many mill families in South Carolina were opposed to restrictions on child labor.

Jones, I wouldn't refer to it." [17] Judge Jones won few votes in this encounter.

Blease was attacked bitterly during his career by northern journalists for his "race baiting." Even in his home State voices protested Blease's using racial prejudice as a campaign weapon. Jones himself criticized Blease for raising the racial issue, but on occasion resorted to this tactic himself. Not only did he make the statement that he intended to "beat Blease with the White man's vote," [18] but he made numerous references to the fact that Blease had pardoned Negroes as well as whites. And at the Georgetown "speaking" Jones accused Blease of being one who "loves the nigger pretty well" for having made complimentary remarks about the Negro college at Orangeburg.[19] The pro-Jones Spartanburg *Herald* participated in this tactic by publishing an editorial "indictment" of Blease which contained three counts of Negrophilism.[20]

Trying to picture Blease as a Negrophile can be seen in retrospect only as a desperate effort to lessen the Governor's electoral advantage as the foremost racist demagogue of the State, "Pitchfork Ben" notwithstanding. Blease demolished this effort in dramatic style. Certainly, the Governor explained, he had "paroled" a Negro who had killed his father-in-law, but with instructions that he was to leave the State. Furthermore, "he had killed another negro and South Carolina was the gainer in the case." [21] Blease also parried successfully the charges that he was a champion of Negro education. In speaking of his veto of the $8,000 appropriation for a heating plant in the State Negro College, the Governor declared that he was against spending that appropriation for those "beautiful black-faced doll babies." [22] Later, in his Chesterfield speech, Blease repeated his notorious statement that he "did not believe in white people's money going to educate baboons and free niggers." [23]

The Governor pushed the Jones forces into a corner on the racial issue when he brought up the fact that as a member of the State Legislature, Jones had voted against the "Jim Crow Railroad Car" bill, thus labeling Jones as a believer in "social equality." Jones exerted much energy in trying to combat this charge. He explained that the bill as proposed then was unconstitutional and impractical, that he

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[17] *State*, June 18, 1912.
[18] *Union Progress*, April 9, 1912.
[19] *News and Courier*, June 30, 1912.
[20] Reprinted in the *State*, August 15, 1912.
[21] *State*, July 3, 1912.
[22] *Union Progress*, March 12, 1912.
[23] *Union Progress*, June 25, 1912.

had voted with the overwhelming majority (79 to 33), that the vote was not against the bill, but for indefinite postponement, and that Blease had voted for him as Speaker after the vote on the "Jim Crow Car" bill. Jones concluded most of his defenses of this vote with the statement that nobody but a fool could accuse him of believing in "social equality." But the impression had been made; there were probably many "fools" in South Carolina in 1912.

The most blatant example of "race baiting" came rather ironically from the Mayor of Charleston, John P. Grace. On a tour through the Piedmont speaking for Jones, the Mayor informed one Upcountry audience that Blease had once told him a "Negro Story."[24] When Grace repeated this story of Blease's alleged advances on a Negro girl, the Governor, capable of great indignation, gave an outstanding demonstration. Grace's allegation was "infamously false" and "contemptible." No one with a gentlemanly instinct, charged Blease, could make such a "foul and filthy" statement. Making the most of an opportunity, he charged the newspapers with hypocrisy, for they had published Mayor Grace's allegations when they would not print his veto message on the libel law, simply because it contained words such as "liar."[25] One may surmise what the reactions of many of Blease's followers were to Mayor Grace's venture into demagoguery by the reaction of a Spartanburg audience who "howled down" the Mayor and threw rotten eggs at him shortly after the "Negro Story" allegations.

The "Negro Story" was not the first slanderous accusation Mayor Grace had hurled at Blease. During the sensational hearings of the Dispensary Investigating Commission, Grace charged that dispensary graft could be traced from the Charleston constabulary (an argument over the control of which caused the enmity between the Mayor and the Governor) to the Governor's office. This charge, like the others concerning Blease made before the Commission, was never substantiated.[26] The Dispensary Investigating Commission, which had been established by legislation overriding Blease's veto, reached its most sensational stage when it moved to Augusta, Georgia, to hear testimony from an Atlanta attorney, T. B. Felder, and an allegedly world-renowned detective, William Burns. Blease and Felder were enemies of long standing; the Governor one time sought to get an indictment against Felder for libel and to have him extradited to South Carolina,

[24] *News and Courier*, July 31, 1912.
[25] *State*, August 2, 1912.
[26] The most thorough account of the hearings which took place before the Commission in Augusta appears in the *Augusta Chronicle*, July 12-20, 1912.

but failed. When the Commission moved to Augusta for Felder's testimony, the Governor responded in typical Blease fashion:

> This guttersnipe, stinking, filthy, commission which has been trying to find something on me are going to crawl on their bellies to Augusta tomorrow to take the testimony of a scoundrel who is afraid to come to South Carolina.[27]

The ultimate goal of the Commission did appear to be "to find something" on Blease. Spectacular accusations and little evidence characterized most of the proceedings. Making his debut before the Commission, Felder stated:

> I will show by records that Cole L. Blease is not fit to sit in a convention of buzzards—and the absolute testimony will be presented to prove it.[28]

Although the investigation was supposed to be directed at dispensary corruption and "bootlegging," the most spectacular proceedings concerned "dictagraph testimony" allegedly proving that Blease sold pardons. Despite the headlines of the *News and Courier* which read: BLEASE SOLD PARDON, SAYS TESTIMONY BY DICTAGRAPH,[29] the evidence did not prove the charge. The testimony did indicate that a lawyer and friend of the Governor had received sizeable sums of money to try to obtain a pardon and that this lawyer was probably guilty of at least abusing his relationship with his client and with the Governor. When nothing could be proved against Blease, the matter was dropped. Charges that Blease was guilty of graft in obtaining favorable railroad legislation and franchises and of corruption in connection with the dispensary as a State Senator met the same fate. The Charleston County dispensary and constables in that county were proved to be corrupt, but this was nothing new, nor was it attributed to Blease.

The Governor's first reaction to the Augusta accusations was to label the proceedings as a "damnable conspiracy" for the purpose of injuring him in the election which had failed in view of the fact that he was receiving numbers of telegrams, letters, and telephone messages from persons who resented "the manner in which this cowardly character thief and debauch and pimp [Felder] has attempted to injure the chief magistrate of the State with the assistance of this

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[27] *State*, July 12, 1912.

[28] *Augusta Chronicle*, July 12, 1912. Detective Burns is reported to have said that as soon as he saw a photograph of Blease he knew that the Governor was a crook because his ears were lower than his eyes. *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 1, 1912.

[29] *Augusta Chronicle*, July 13, 1912.

committee."[30] Later in a more formal reply to the accusations of Felder and Burns, Blease pointed out, quite properly, that the Commission's purpose had been to investigate the State dispensary system and its termination under Governor Ansel, but it had turned first to county dispensaries and law enforcement and then to his pardoning record. The Governor, following the custom of his time, secured personal affidavits from responsible persons "clearing" him. He also defended his pardon record in great detail, maligned Felder and Burns again, charged a newspaper conspiracy, and declared, with some justification, that the talk of liquor graft in Charleston did not begin until after Mayor Grace lost control of the constabulary.[31] Blease's reply was probably at least as conclusive as the charges brought against him; or at least it appeared that way to the less partisan newspapers.[32] It is doubtful that either the Commission proceedings or the Governor's reply changed many votes in the State.

Jones utilized the Augusta proceedings by making insinuations concerning Blease rather than specific charges. He did accuse Blease of being aligned with grafters, and on the day after the Felder-Burns testimony the ex-Chief Justice referred to a crowd cheering for Blease as "hoodlums, tanked up on blind tiger whiskey."[33] Generally, Jones spoke of less colorful issues such as good government, a reformed land title system, and the need for advances in scientific agriculture. Frequently he ridiculed Blease's claims of having fostered economy by singling out the Governor's approval of a $900,000 addition to the State House. "Penny wise, pound foolish," however, was hardly a slogan which could arouse appreciable numbers of South Carolinians in 1912.

One of the big issues of the campaign for Jones and his supporters was the charge of favoritism in Blease's administration. Rewarding friends and punishing enemies were hardly peculiar to the Blease administration, but few governors have been as frank about it as Blease. In the Camden speaking in early August the Governor dared to make this statement:

Suppose they are lucky enough to beat me. I will have all of September, October, November, and December, and part of January, and if you ever

[30] *State*, July 16, 1912.
[31] *State*, July 21, 1912.
[32] See "Governor Blease in Denial," *Literary Digest*, XLV (August 17, 1912), 176. The relatively objective *Charlotte Daily Observer*, August 29, 1912, editorialized that the Felder charges strengthened Blease rather than hurt him in the primary, especially with the rural element.
[33] *News and Courier*, July 13, 1912.

saw men sweat, I'll make that Jones gang sweat blood before I get through with them.[34]

This, too, probably had little effect on the voters except to intensify their predilections.

If Jones failed to present a bold platform, Blease offered one even more insubstantial. The Governor defended his record, "stood" for economy, blamed the newspapers for the bitterness of the campaign, and charged Jones with waging a "dirty" campaign, in addition to dramatically opposing the appointments of a State insurance inspector, State railroad inspector, and a State geologist. In his Columbia speech the Governor, facing a crowd primarily composed of textile workers, was a little more concrete in declaring that he was opposed to mill mergers and to the hosiery mill operated at the State penitentiary. He charged that mill management was trying to "vote" their laborers and offered $100 to the first millworker who would make affidavit that someone tried to buy his vote. If any tries to influence your vote, the Governor declared, walk out of the mill and "be white men. I will see that you don't suffer."[35]

Blease needed no comprehensive program for electoral appeal. He excelled in ridiculing the opposition and their often unproved allegations. Having mastered the technique of assuming deep indignation, he was able at the same time to subject his opponents to stinging abuse. Consider, for example, this excerpt from the Governor's Newberry speech:

They have not only hit me, but they haven't spared my family in going down into the mire. They've published, said and done such things, I don't see how decent people stand it. The Jones men are the dirtiest set of liars that ever disgraced a state. If the kind of campaign they are making comes from Christians, then God save the churches of South Carolina.[36]

When Jones criticized Blease's voting record in the legislature, the Governor delighted his following with this retort:

A 16-year-old boy could jump up and say "Blease voted this way and Blease voted that way." I could take a monkey with a Dago to accompany him on a hand organ and he could whine out his little song just as well as Judge Jones is doing.[37]

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[34] *State*, August 8, 1912.
[35] *Union Progress*, July 23, 1912.
[36] *State*, August 14, 1912.
[37] *State*, July 7, 1912.

An attempt by the ex-Chief Justice to pilfer the Blease device of interrupting an opponent's speech with, "That's a lie," proved disastrous. When Jones tried this, Blease faced him and said:

> I wouldn't hit you for anything. If I were to jump across there and hit you, they would say that I struck an old decrepit man and that would elect you. That's what you want me to do, to hit you, but I'm too smart an old fox to be caught in your trap.

Turning to the crowd Blease continued:

> I could take him out in the back yard and tie his hands behind him and spank him like your mother used to do. If he had wanted satisfaction . . . why didn't he come to me off the stand, when ladies were not present and when no one else would have been in danger of being hurt? Even then I would do nothing but take hold of him and keep him from hurting himself.[38]

It is no wonder that Tillman said that Jones was a child in Blease's hands.

In this tumultuous campaign of 1912 many voters wondered whom Senator Tillman favored despite the fact that "Pitchfork Ben's" position as political leader of the State had deteriorated considerably since the agrarian revolt of the nineties. The Senator himself was running for re-election in the senatorial primary of that year. His position appeared to be rather safe for he had secured the support of conservative elements during his senatorial career as well as retaining the loyalty of the agrarian element which had first brought him to power.[39] There was considerable speculation as to which of the gubernatorial candidates he favored, and when the Senator maintained a neutral position publicly, this caused some consternation and not a few open letters to newspapers.

In 1910 Tillman had taken some interest in Blease's victory over Featherstone, the prohibitionist, but he did not publicly endorse his one-time legislative lieutenant.[40] Blease, defying the same elements that Tillman had defied once and using the same campaign techniques that the aging Senator had used in his younger days, naturally evoked a sympathetic feeling in his tutor. His relationship with Tillman became strained, but the two men reached an agreement whereby

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[38] *State*, July 23, 1912.

[39] Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman*, 360-372, *passim*.

[40] Simkins utilizes the Tillman correspondence in covering the relationship between the Senator and the Governor from 1910 to the 1912 campaign. Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman*, 492-498.

Tillman was to remain neutral in the gubernatorial race in 1912.[41] Tillman, however, began to develop the conviction that Blease should not be re-elected, which the Senator's biographer attributes to two main causes: Blease's defiance of the famous "Tillman dictation," and the Senator's belief that Blease was morally unfit for the position of governor.[42] Yet, Tillman was faced with stanch opposition to Jones among the old Tillmanites, one of whom wrote this to the Senator less than three weeks before the primary:

> [Blease] is not the kind of man we admire at all, but we will be damned if we haven't got to beat the Haskell gang [the conservative faction] and the Columbia *State*. . . . We have got to whip a certain crowd and we will have to do it with Blease—that damned crowd who think they ought to rule in some damn way.[43]

Thus, Tillman, who disliked the sort of campaign the Jones supporters were waging, tried to maintain his position of neutrality, but, as the campaign neared an end, this position became untenable. When Jones began to exploit a statement made by Tillman in correspondence that he, Jones, was "eminently qualified to be Governor," the Senator issued another proclamation of neutrality, and concluded that, "There are hundreds of Tillmanites in the State who are better exponents [of Tillmanism] than either Jones, Blease, or Duncan."[44]

This did not end the matter, for the Bleaseites then produced a letter from Tillman which contained the statement that Blease was "eminently qualified" to be Governor. This statement taken out of context threatened to cost Tillman the votes of the conservative faction in addition to that of many of the Bleaseites, who knew Tillman's actual position on the two candidates. The Saturday before the Tuesday primary, Tillman revealed the full contents of his letter concerning Blease's qualifications, and issued an unambiguous condemnation of the Governor. The headlines of the *State* read: SENATOR TILLMAN INDORSES JUDGE IRA B. JONES; THINKS BLEASE UNFIT FOR REELECTION TO OFFICE.[45]

Despite Tillman's explanation that he was forced to forsake a position of neutrality because Blease's followers had acted improperly in publishing misleading segments of a letter marked "private and con-

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[41] Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman*, 493.
[42] Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman*, 493-494.
[43] Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman*, 494.
[44] *State*, August 11, 1912. Duncan was a nonentity entered in the gubernatorial primary.
[45] *State*, August 24, 1912.

fidential," Blease charged that the Senator had betrayed him and broken his promise of neutrality with an "infamous eleventh hour stab." "Possibly his [Tillman's] mind has become more diseased of late than it was when I had my last talk with his confidential physician," concluded the Governor.[46]

Tillman's reasons for denouncing Blease can never be determined with certainty, but quite likely a complex of sentiments prompted this action when the incidents concerning the "confidential" letter provided the opportunity. Probably Tillman's allusions to Blease's moral unfitness for office were not sheer rationalization, nor was the Governor's charge of "insane jealousy" completely without justification, although certainly it was exaggerated. Although probably ill-founded, fear of defeat through the loss of anti-Blease votes must have had some influence on Tillman's decision. But the continuation of the feud between the two men long after the election had returned both to office suggests that a more fundamental reason than those mentioned above can be found for this particular turn of events.

Shortly after the election in an open letter Tillman described Bleaseism as personal ambition and greed, in contrast to Tillmanism which

> . . . means genuine democracy, and the rule of the people—of all the white people, rich and poor alike, with special privilege and favor to none, with equality of opportunity and equality of burden to all.[47]

In addition to rigorously criticizing the Governor's record, Tillman asserted that the people had been "bamboozled and debauched" by Blease's demagogic appeals. The Senator accused Blease of "stealing" his friends in Anderson, Laurens, and York, and concluded with the sad note that the poor farmers and factory people had turned against him while his former enemies elected him.[48]

Blease, answering open letter with open letter, defended his record and continued to criticize Tillman for failing to stand by him as a friend, but his most significant statement concerned the attitude of the poor white:

> You [Tillman] . . . say I have stolen the affection of your people from you. Not true, senator, in this contest and crisis of political affairs—it is not that they love Tillman less, but that they trust Cole L. Bease more.[49]

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[46] *State*, August 25, 1912.
[47] *State*, September 1, 1912.
[48] *State*, September 1, 1912.
[49] *State*, September 2, 1912.

From both letters it was obvious that Blease, not Tillman, was now the spokesman of the poor white South Carolinian. Even the Tory journalist, William Watts Ball, expressed the opinion that the only difference between Senator Tillman and a Bourbon Democrat was in the approach to the office. Describing "rugged Ben Tillman" as a "conservative of conservatives, a believer in property, defender of the landlords, forgetter if not antagonist of those American 'classes' who sometimes go on strike," Ball offered this insight concerning the Tillman movement:

> Probably it never occurred to him that the farmers whom he infuriated [against the aristocrats and the townspeople] were composed of distinct and not easily reconciled interests, the landowners and the tenants. He fused them, and, from the absence of anything that ever he said that would have lifted up working men whose sole possessions were their hard hands, it is to be inferred that his own confusion was as great as theirs.[50]

The agrarian rebel and the conservative senator were one and the same, not because of any sort of conversion, but because throughout his career Tillman was the spokesman for the middle-class farmer. In the 1912 campaign when factional lines were drawn on the basis of social distinctions, Blease was able to explode Tillman's rural fusion and "steal" the affections of poor white farmers and "that damned factory class," as Tillman was reported to have called the latter.

Tillman's denunciation of Blease can be seen as a logical climax to a long and virulent campaign. Opprobious "howl downs" and "whisper campaigns" fostering ridiculous and irrelevant rumors along with unsubstantiated charges and counter-charges were used by both factions. Yet the fundamental issue remained "Coley," as Blease was affectionately known, and the poor white class versus Judge Jones and the "respectable" classes. Issues, programs, and discussions meant nothing, for this was a struggle between social classes which centered on the personalities involved. The campaign, characterized by mud-slinging and billingsgate by both sides, changed few votes; rather, it released deep-seated class antagonisms inherent in the social system. The conflict was described in this manner by a northern journalist:

> Blease was first elected governor in 1910, and was re-elected in 1912. In this second campaign every newspaper of wide circulation fought him bitterly, the ministers were almost unanimously opposed to him, the pro-

[50] William Watts Ball, *The State That Forgot: South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1932), 228.

fessions were overwhelmingly against him; the men of affairs in the main dreaded him. His opponent was a man of political importance and experience. . . . The campaign was the bitterest in memory. Men lost all sense of humor. Social lines were drawn to conform to political lines. "Hoodlums" "rednecks," "blatherskites" and the like terms were freely used by the antis toward the Bleaseites, and the Bleaseites retaliated by translating these epithets into a vernacular that smacked of the soil if not of the kennel.[51]

The outcome was a narrow victory for Blease in a contest which evoked a record number of votes.[52] That the gubernatorial vote tended to follow class lines is corroborated by a breakdown of the returns by counties. Such an analysis also offers some insight into the basis of Tillman's support. Therefore, one should remember that the farms in the Piedmont and the transitional area between the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain tended to be smaller and less fertile than those of the Coastal Plain, and that white tenant farmers were relatively rare in the coastal area, or, to be more exact, in the areas where slaveholding was highest in 1860.

Of the sixteen counties in the Piedmont and transitional areas which had significant proportions of textile millworkers, Blease lost only three, one being Jones' home county, while Tillman obtained a majority in but seven. Two of these counties, Anderson and Pickens, gave Blease over 60 per cent of their vote, and three, Anderson, Pickens, and Laurens, proved to be Tillman's weakest counties in the State, offering less than 40 per cent of their vote to the Senator. The typical county in this group returned about 55 per cent of its vote for Blease and failed to give Tillman a majority.

Six of the State's counties in the Piedmont and transitional area can be classified as completely rural with no aristocratic tradition, that is they were not considered strong slaveholding areas in 1860. Blease received a majority in all of these except one, Tillman's home county. The Senator also won five of these counties, but outside his home county tended to run behind Blease. One Piedmont county, Fairfield, had been among the leading slaveholding counties in 1860; Blease failed to secure a majority in this county whereas Tillman succeeded.

Of the seven Coastal Plain counties which either had a small but significant textile mill population or lacked a strong aristocratic tradi-

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[51] James C. Derieux, "Crawling Toward the Promised Land," *Survey*, XLVIII (April 29, 1922), 178, hereinafter cited as Derieux, "Crawling Toward the Promised Land."

[52] The total vote was 140,757 (Blease, 71,552; Jones, 66,478; Duncan, 2,385), *State*, August 31, 1912.

tion or both, Blease won only four while Tillman captured all seven. Typically the Blease-Jones vote was evenly divided in this area while Tillman generally received nearly 60 per cent of the Senatorial vote.

The final category is counties in the Coastal Plain with a strong aristocratic tradition. Tillman carried all but one of these fourteen counties, Blease only five. The Governor did top the 60 per cent mark in Clarendon, the one county that Tillman lost, but generally he received less than 45 per cent of the vote. "Pitchfork Ben" obtained more than a 60 per cent majority in most of these counties.

The vote by precincts in the Piedmont county of Union is also revealing.[53] Urban non-mill wards gave Blease 42 per cent of their vote, while Tillman received 54 per cent.[54] Over 77 per cent of the vote in precincts composed of textile mill workers went to "Coley"; Tillman could muster only 30 per cent of this vote.[55] Although there were variations from precinct to precinct in predominantly rural areas, Blease obtained more than half of this vote, 54 per cent, whereas Tillman, the leader of the 1890 agrarian revolt, fell short of half with only 43 per cent.

Tillman's relatively poor showing among the poor whites can be attributed to his denunciation of Blease,[56] but whether this action by the Senator increased support for him among the upper classes is purely a matter of speculation. "Pitchfork Ben," of course, did not make as poor a showing among the lower classes as Jones, or he would not have been able to win the senatorial primary with 53 per cent of the vote whereas the Governor was re-elected by only 51.2 per cent. As both the precinct sample and the vote by county indicate, Tillman's support did overlap significantly with Blease's support in rural areas. In the towns, however, the returns point to a division in which the lower classes were strongly pro-Blease and anti-Tillman, with the reverse being the case among the upper classes.

Blease succeeded in exposing the weakness of the rural fusion upon which Tillman had risen to power and in constructing a coalition of his own composed of rural and urban whites of the poorer classes.

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[53] The vote by precincts for Union County is contained in the *Union Progress*, August 27, 1912. Union County has been selected because it is the home county of the writer and thus available for precinct analysis.

[54] Wards 1, 2, and 3. Carlisle and Jonesville, which were "rural" community centers gave 43 per cent of their support to Blease and 57 per cent to Tillman.

[55] Ward 4, Excelsior, Monarch, Buffalo, and Lockhart. The one precinct in the city of Columbia known to the writer as a mill ward was Olympia, which gave Blease 86 per cent of its votes and Tillman only 11 per cent.

[56] A resident of a rural area in Chester County (Piedmont) informed the author that the Blease-Jones vote in his neighborhood tended to divide in accordance with class lines, and that many of the poor farmers refused to support Tillman after the Senator endorsed Jones.

That both Tillman and Blease won can be attributed in part to the fact that the line between poor farmers and middle-class farmers was at best a vague one and also to the fact that personal appeal was highly important in the primary campaigns. Tillman's two opponents, Dial and Talbert, were colorless nonentities. Judge Jones, although a political figure of considerable note, proved to be an excellent foil for Blease's antics, particularly in a campaign in which social distinctions were important. The ex-Chief Justice and his supporters committed many blunders such as praising the State newspapers and making derogatory remarks about the social status of "Bleaseites."

Blease, who aroused such enthusiasm that he was the subject of many a rhyme and song, became something of a demigod to many of the poor whites in the hill country. Perhaps all too typical were the farmer who promised solemnly: "Coley, I'd vote fer you even if you was to steal my mule tonight," and the textile worker who declared: "I'd put my vote in fer Coley if I was a-standin' knee-deep in Hell."[57] Blease's majority, however, did not rest completely on such unconditional support for him as a person, but rather as a leader of the scorned classes in a kind of social class-warfare. Bleaseism, then, is best understood as a protest movement generated by social conditions rather than as merely the following of a charismatic leader or as a faction motivated by economic self-interest.

The failure to see Blease as the leader of a social protest has led journalists and scholars to picture Blease as the epitome of Southern demagoguery and political hypocrisy. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* described him as "the most pernicious fomenter of sectional and racial antagonism for political profit now in the public eye."[58] And the eminent Southern scholar, Rupert Vance, offers this interpretation:

> Blease's original contribution is found in his ability to make a class appeal without a class program. He came to hold the . . . "poor white" vote in the hollow of his hand and yet he advocated no social legislation to benefit the classes to which he appealed.[59]

The verdict is almost unanimous that Blease was a spurious child of Tillmanism, which at least "stood for certain definite reforms."[60]

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[57] Warr, "Mr. Blease," 29.

[58] "South Carolina Rejects Blease," *Literary Digest,* XLIX (September 12, 1914), 448, quoting the *Chicago Daily Tribune.*

[59] "Rebels and Agrarians All," *Southern Review,* IV (Summer, 1938), 38.

[60] Tate, "After Blease—A New Program," 575. See also C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 392-394; V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949), 144-145; Francis Butler Simkins, *A History of the South* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1953), 542-543.

To be sure Blease was an unblushing Negrophobe and racist, who dared defend lynching at the 1912 Governor's Conference with the statement that:

> When the Constitution steps between me and the defense of the white women of my State I will resign my commission and tear it up and throw it to the breezes. I have heretofore said "to hell with the Constitution." [61]

He was provincial, declaring that South Carolina needed "home men" at the head of her colleges, and advocating "Southern unions." As Governor he took such reactionary steps as vetoing a bill providing for medical examinations of school children and opposing compulsory education. His position on labor legislation was ambiguous. Through such actions as refusing to take the necessary steps for closing race tracks near Charleston whose operation was illegal, Blease tolerated a certain amount of "lawlessness." But probably the aspect of his gubernatorial career most abhorred by his enemies was the crude and violent outbursts to which his impetuous nature and fiery temper led him, especially when he was subjected to social snobbery or harsh criticism. Blease was a vindictive man, who often indulged in petty reprisals. Five days before the official expiration of his second term as Governor, he resigned with this laconic message (written in red ink): "I hereby resign as Governor of South Carolina." [62] Although Blease offered no explanation for this step, most South Carolinians knew that it was taken in order to escape taking part in the inaugural ceremonies of the Governor-elect, Richard I. Manning, a Low Country aristocrat whom Blease despised.

Blease's political sins were many, as the numerous condemnations of him indicate, but this is not the whole story of Blease or Bleaseism. It is grossly unfair to accuse Blease of being a hypocritical leader who captured Tillman's one-time reform movement, but fostered nothing constructive for the groups composing this movement. The unfairness of this interpretation of Blease is accentuated by praise for Tillman as a reformer who did so much for the common man. If Tillman stood for "certain definite reforms," what were they? He helped establish Clemson and Winthrop colleges, but took actions detrimental to the State university. "Pitchfork Ben" did battle with the railroads and shifted some of the property tax burden to the railroads and banks through property reassessment, but "his" legislature also established a

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[61] "From Calhoun to Blease," *Independent*, LXXIII (December 12, 1912), 383.
[62] *Senate Journal*, 1915, 46.

three-dollar poll tax while cutting the general property tax by a half-mill. Tillman even pushed some labor reform, limiting labor in textile mills to sixty-six hours a week. But his most spectacular "reforms" were an abortive State liquor dispensary system and a constitution under which the State still suffers.

Tillman's mild reforms were those beneficial to the middle-class farmers, an essentially conservative group. Under Tillman, these farmers undoubtedly first became a power in State politics, but later they chose Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith as their spokesman rather than Blease. Smith, who in the 1914 senatorial primary made good his promise to take the "ease out of Blease" and send him "back to the livery stable in Newberry," [63] held forth on white supremacy and little else in the Senate until 1944, when he was defeated by Olin Johnston with the aid of the textile millworkers' vote, first activated by Blease.

While no reformer, Blease did advocate measures beneficial to the poorer classes. Although an adamant opponent of compulsory education, he requested increases in teachers' salaries and in the supply of schoolbooks as well as an additional one-mill tax on property by the State to aid the poorer school districts. The establishment of a State tuberculosis hospital and the adoption of the Medical College in Charleston as a state-supported institution were measures Blease successfully promoted as Governor. At his insistence the penitentiary-run hosiery mill, criticized by the State Board of Health for unhealthy working conditions, was abolished. As Governor he requested legislation requiring uniform railroad rates, lowering the legal interest rate to six per cent, a prohibition on banks' charging for the cashing of drafts and checks, restricting cotton mill mergers and other combinations which would tend to form trusts, and the taxation of power companies. Although Blease disappointed progressives by vetoing a bill allowing cities to adopt the commission form of government, they must have felt some satisfaction over his requests for the popular election of judges and regulations concerning the granting of franchises by cities and counties. In connection with his actions as Governor during the 1914 cotton panic, Blease has even been described as "statesmanlike." [64] Blease's pardoning record has probably been subjected to more criticism than any other aspect of his administration, but one observer admitted that Blease through the use of the pardoning power "broke up a nefarious convict system in the state penitentiary." [65]

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[63] Warr, "Mr. Blease," 30.
[64] Wallace, *South Carolina*, 664.
[65] Derieux, "Crawling Toward the Promised Land," 180.

The picturing of Blease and his followers as the vanguard of white supremacy is also a misrepresentation of Bleaseism. Throughout his career "Pitchfork Ben" had been rather adept at the game of "nigger-baiting," and "Cotton Ed," a member of the Bourbon planter set, knew no equal in making demagogic appeals to white supremacy. Less colorful opponents of Blease such as Judge Jones and James Byrnes also indulged. In fact, by 1912, the conservative-aristocratic group had largely forsaken paternalism toward the Negro for a more antagonistic attitude usually associated with the poor whites of the hill country.[66] Racism, then, certainly was not the key to Bleaseism.

Possibly Blease was hypocritical in utilizing demagogic appeals to race and class feelings, but, if this be true, it is less important than the fact that he represented faithfully the innermost feelings of the poor whites. If Blease failed to offer a program of far-reaching reforms, this did not condemn him in the eyes of the poor white, who had only vague urges for economic equality and no constructive ideas as to how to achieve it. The wonders of the welfare state were unknown to the South Carolinian of 1912. When Blease condoned lax enforcement of child labor laws and opposed the enactment of compulsory education, he was the manifestation of the fear felt by many poor white families that some of these progressive measures might deprive them of badly needed income. Reform legislation characteristic of the "progressive era" not only lacked economic appeal to poor whites, but also by-passed their social grievances completely. Blease's offerings of recognition and "equality" appeared more concrete. To those accustomed to the sophistries of middle-class demagoguery his bizarre methods of championing class equality may appear strange and distasteful, but they succeeded in uniting politically for the first time poor whites of town and country.

[66] W. J. Cash, *Mind of the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), 301-303. Editorials on the N.A.A.C.P. in the *News and Courier* of May 1 and 2, 1912, are also revealing as to the retreat from paternalism by the aristocrats.

FIGHTING IN NORTH CAROLINA WATERS

EDITED BY ROY F. NICHOLS*

There was much naval activity on the North Carolina coast during the Civil War years from 1861 to 1865. Success varied from time to time and the Confederate Navy undertook one of its major efforts near Plymouth in 1864. Its famous Ram, the "Albemarle,"[1] was commissioned to win back the control of the Sounds and to break the blockade. The North Atlantic Blockading Squadron of the United States Navy was composed of more than seventy-five vessels, twelve of which were stationed in the Sounds of North Carolina.[2] The high point in the struggle for Plymouth occurred in the spring of 1864, when a Confederate attack by land and a Union naval defeat caused Union forces to surrender the Town of Plymouth on April 19. An eyewitness account of several of the more spectacular events is found in letters written by a seventeen-year old New Jersey boy, who was stationed on the U.S.S. "Miami."[3]

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[1] The "Albemarle," an ironclad ram, was built on the banks of the Roanoke River at Edwards Ferry (Halifax County). Captain James Wallace Cooke, a Beaufort native, was ordered to superintend the final building of the "Albemarle" by Gilbert Elliott. The vessel "was 152 feet long between perpendiculars; her extreme width was 45 feet; her depth from the gun deck to the keel was 9 feet, and when launched she drew 6½ feet of water, but after being ironed and completed her draught was about 8 feet. . . . The shield was 60 feet in length and octagonal in form. . . . The iron plating consisted of two courses, 7 inches wide and 2 inches thick. . . . The armament consisted of two rifled 'Brooke' guns mounted on pivot-carriages, each gun working through three port-holes. . . . She had two propellors driven by two engines of 200 horse-power, . . . steam being supplied by two flue boilers. . . ." Finishing touches were continued on the "Albemarle" as she floated downriver, with blacksmiths and carpenters hard at work. Walter Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* (Raleigh and Goldsboro: State of North Carolina, 5 volumes, 1901), V, 315-318.

[2] See "Report of Acting Rear-Admiral S. P. Lee, U.S. Navy, . . ." which lists the disposition of the vessels. Richard Rush and Others, *Official Records of the Union and Conferedate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 30 volumes, 1894-1914), Series I, IX, 633-634, hereinafter cited as *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies.*

[3] The "Miami" was an 8-gun side-wheeler (double-ender) of 730 tons built at the Philadelphia Navy Yard, where she had been launched on November 16, 1861. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, xx. She carried six 9-inch guns, one 100-lb. Parrott rifle, and one 24-lb. smooth-bore howitzer. She was first under fire as one of Commodore David D. Porter's mortar flotilla in Admiral David G. Farragut's fleet attacking New Orleans in April, 1862. The "Miami" had also seen service in the river campaign against Vicksburg in the summer of 1862. This information is contained in Sayres Ogden Nichols' service records, prepared commercially after the War. An agency contacted veterans and sold them engrossed records with

The author of the letters was Sayres Ogden Nichols,[4] who enlisted in the U.S. Navy on February 14, 1864, as surgeon's steward. He was assigned to assist Dr. William B. Mann, Assistant Surgeon, U.S. Navy.[5]

The "Miami" had been sent to join the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron in November, 1862. Most of the time for the next eighteen months the vessel was in the vicinity of Plymouth. She was there when Nichols came aboard and at that station he participated in the events which he describes in these letters home.[6] After these adventures the "Miami," with Nichols at his post, was transferred in July, 1864, to the James and Appomattox rivers, where they saw service in the Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia, campaigns. Sayres Nichols was discharged at Bermuda Hundred, March 22, 1865. He returned to his New Jersey home where he eventually married "Julia D."[7] and lived to be ninety. After some business experimentations he settled down to long service

ornamental frames which were hung by the thousands on the walls of their homes. For an account of these engagements, see Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (eds.), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: T. Yoseloff (second edition), 4 volumes, 1956), IV, 108, 147, 625-633. Pictures of the "Miami" and her officers can be found in Francis T. Miller (ed.), *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York: Review of Reviews Company, 10 volumes, 1911-1912), VI 199. Sayres O. Nichols is pictured on page 278 of Volume VI, in a large group, erroneously described as attached to the "Mendota." In the foreground there is a lad with his cap on, poring over a checkerboard. He is the writer of these letters.

[4] Nichols was born in Newark, New Jersey, May 26, 1847, son of Joseph Ogden and Eliza Dunn (Coriell) Nichols. He was the eldest of six children—the others were Amanda B., Franklin C., Judson C., Harris B., and Julia A. Sayres had attended the public schools in Newark and had served as an apprentice in a drugstore kept by his uncle, Edward Payson Nichols, M.D., a member of the class of 1848 at Princeton. The editor of these letters is the son of Franklin C. Nichols. Frederic C. Torrey, *Ancestors and Descendants of Humphrey Nichols of Newark, New Jersey* (Lakehurst, New Jersey: Privately printed, 1917); the Nichols family Bible; and the *Evening News,* (Newark, New Jersey), June 19, 1937. The letters of Sayres O. Nichols are in the Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

[5] *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 636.

[6] The Union forces began their attack on the North Carolina coast in August, 1861. They captured Forts Clark and Hatteras on August 29; Roanoke Island, February 8, 1862; New Bern, March 13, 1862; Fort Macon, April 26, 1862; and Plymouth in June, 1862. The captor of Plymouth was Lieutenant Commander Charles W. Flusser, then commanding the U.S.S. "Commodore Perry." He was Virginia born and a resident of Kentucky. He had continued to be stationed in the North Carolina waters since June, 1862, and was now commanding officer of the U.S.S. "Miami." Flusser was characterized as "one of Kentucky's most noble and chivalrous sons. . . ." In April, 1864, the Confederate government was continuing the campaign to recapture eastern North Carolina. The attempt, begun in February by General George E. Pickett, had not been successful and the Confederacy was now depending on the Ram "Albemarle," which had just been completed up the Roanoke River from Plymouth.

The Union Army stationed at Plymouth was commanded by Brigadier General Henry W. Wessells, and the Confederate Army was commanded by Major General Robert F. Hoke. Commander James W. Cooke, who superintended the completion of the "Albemarle," was in command of the Ram during the operations discussed in these letters. James Russell Soley, *The Navy in the Civil War: The Blockade and the Cruisers* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), 88-92, hereinafter cited as Soley, *Navy in the Civil War; Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 135, 47, 636, 805, 663, 194-195, 651-656, 799, 656-658.

[7] Julia Castle Dougal, who was born in Columbia, South Carolina, but who grew up in Newark.

with a large trust company. He had no more adventures. A picture of the "Miami" and an engrossed copy of her service and his hung in his bedroom until he died in 1937.

Sayres Ogden Nichols to Joseph Ogden Nichols

Onboard U.S.S. Miami
off Plymouth Apl 17

Dear Father

Have had a heavy fight. Two gunboats sunk by rebel ram. I am safe, particulars next time.

Yours affectionately
S. O. Nichols

Sayres O. Nichols to Eliza Dunn (Coriell) Nichols

On board U.S. Gunboat Miami
Albermarle Sound, N. C.
Apl. 19th 1864

A small piece of shell struck me in the hand this morning but it is only a scratch

Dear Mother

The events of the last few days have been so momentus that I hardly know to begin. On Sunday 18th Plymouth was attacked by a large force of rebels, Fort Grey, on the northern extremity was first attacked, and Capt Flusser[8] of the Miami, flag officer, of the fleet, ordered the gunboats, Whitehead[9] and Ceres,[10] to go up the river to their assistance. The Ceres returned at 8 o clock p.m. and send their gig for the Dr. We got the instruments together and went to Ceres. I got into the gig to return for some instruments which we forgot and before I reached the Miami I fainted. It was full half an hour before I recovered I took the instruments and returned to Ceres. Dr. Mann amputated one arm, two fingers took out several balls, and dressed the other wounds very skillfully. There were two killed and eight wounded.[11] Yesterday at 9 AM I took the wounded to the hospital at Plymouth At 10 AM. the gunboat Bombshell went up the river returning at ½ past 12 with one killed and two wounded, and a large hole in her bottom, which was leaking rapidly, just as she reached Plymouth

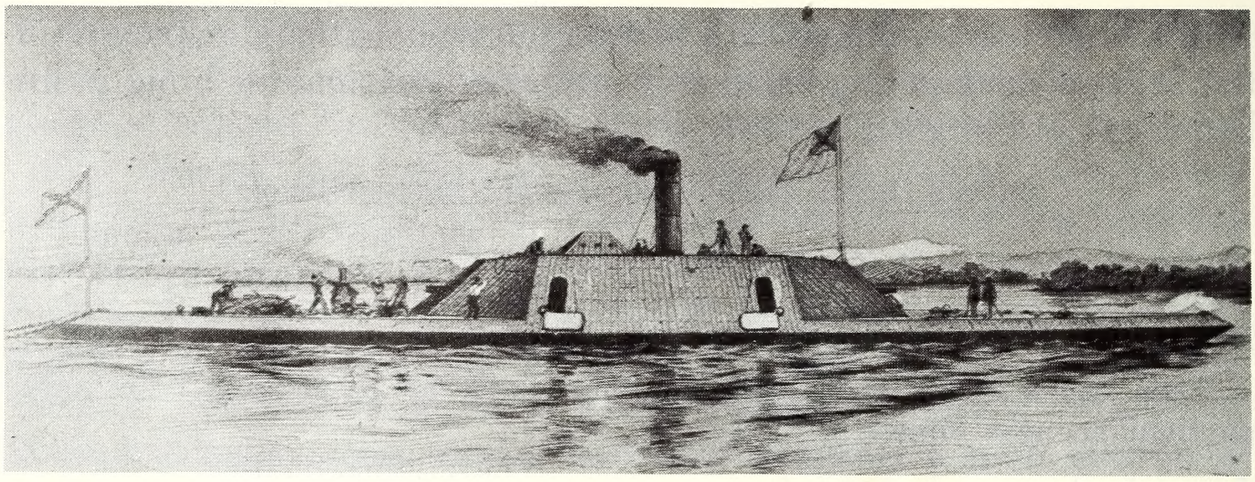
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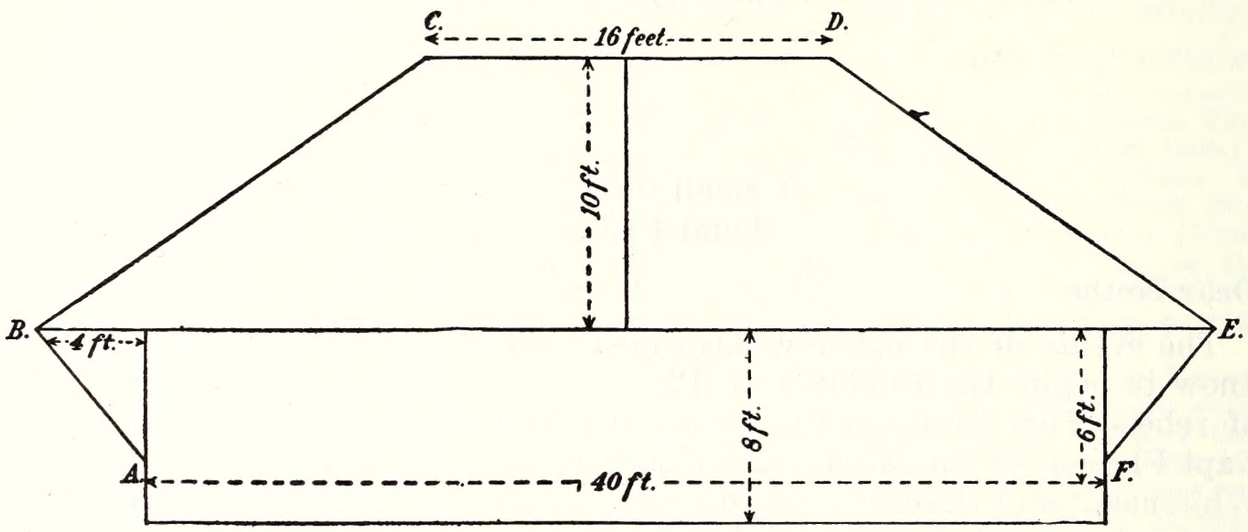
[8] Lt. Commander Flusser, while actually commanding the "Miami," was also in charge of the "Southfield," the "Whitehead," and the "Ceres." *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 634-656, *passim.*

[9] The U.S.S. "Whitehead" was a screw-steamer, carrying four guns, and was commanded at this time by Acting Ensign G. W. Barrett. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, xxi, 643-644.

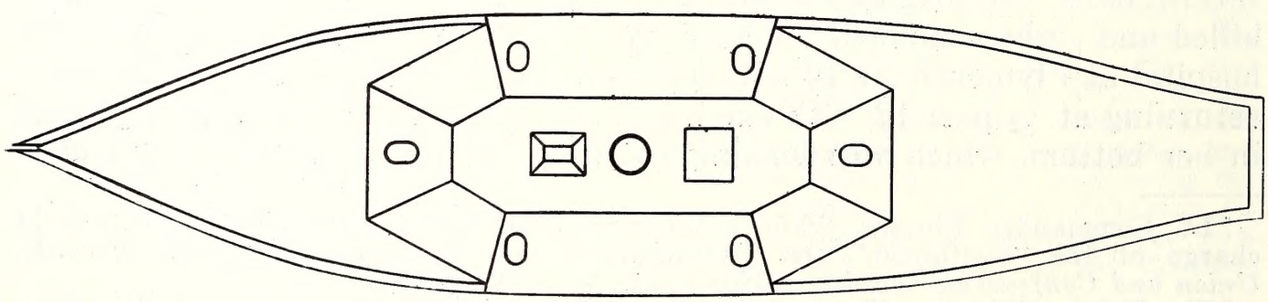
[10] The U.S.S. "Ceres" was a screw-steamer which had two 20-lb. Parrott guns in action on April 17, 1864. It was commanded on this date by Acting Master H. H. Foster. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, xix, 635.

[11] See the report of Surgeon Mann, *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 636.





A, B, C, D, E, F is to be plated. Between C and D is a hatch by which to enter the vessel.



The picture of the "Albemarle" is from the files of the State Department of Archives and History. The two drawings are from *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, VI, 66 and facing 733.

The top photograph shows the Ram "Albemarle" afloat and ready for action. The center drawing was sent by Lt. Com. C. W. Flusser to his superior officer and shows a sketch of the plated portion of the "Albemarle." The lower drawing shows the deck plan of the "Albemarle," prepared from measurements of the original vessel.

she sunk.[12] We picked up the crew with our small boats. In the meanwhile the rebels composed of cavelry, infantry and several batteries of artillery, had surrounded the town, and a heavy battle was in progress all day. At 4 o clock we opened with our guns and firing over the heads of our own forces planted our shell right in the midst of the enemy. We repulsed them three times, and finally drove them five miles back from the town. At 12 P.M a canoe came along side telling us, that the *ram* had passed the torpedoes in safty, and was coming down rapidly. We got up steam and went down nearly to the mouth of the river. At 2 this morning, we were called to general quarters and at three, the ram jammed between us and the Southfield,[13] staving her in and she sunk immediately part of her officers and crew reached us in safty, the rest were killed or taken prisoners. We fired about thirty shell at the ram but they had *no* effect on her, she is 120 feet long and 60 feet wide, . . . plated with 10 inches of railroad iron and greased 2 inches thick. Our shell glanced off without even denting her. Her men were all inside the conical house, and fired on us through loop holes They *killed* our Commander, C.W. Flusser, and wounded Ensign Hargis, Enginer Harrington and ten men,[14] Capt Flusser was awfully mangled had 19 musket balls, and pieces of shell in different parts of his body. one arm was blown off. Dr. Mann and I looked like butchers, our coats and vests off, our shirt sleaves rolled up and we covered with blood. O it was an awful sight. God grant that I may never witness the like again. As fast as the men were wounded, they were passed down to us and we laid them one at a time on the table, cut their clothes from them, and extracted the balls and pieces of shell from them. The blood was over the soles of my boots all over the berth deck, and the shrieks and groans of the wounded were heartrending. The ram kept butting us and when Capt. Flusser fell, the men seemed to lose all heart, and we ran away from the ram into the sound. Fighting is yet going on at Plymouth we can hear the guns and as we are no longer there to protect it, it will no doubt be taken. Lieut. Russell[15] one of my particular friends was shot

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[12] The U.S.S. "Bombshell" was temporarily commanded by Acting Ensign Thomas D. Stokes. It "steamed up the river to communicate with the fort, receiving several shots and [having been] put in a sinking condition. . . . she returned and sank at the wharf." The "Bombshell" was an armed transport with four guns. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 637, 644-645. This vessel is also the C.S.S. "Bombshell," captured by the Union forces on May 5, 1864; the Confederate command had raised her from the water and put her back in commission.

[13] The U.S.S. "Southfield" was a 751-ton side-wheel steamer, carrying seven guns. It was commanded by Acting Volunteer Lieutenant Charles A. French. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 638-646, *passim.*

[14] Lieutenant Commander Flusser "fell dead on the deck of his ship with the lanyard of his gun in his hand." Brigadier General H. W. Wessells reported: "In the death of this accomplished sailor the Navy has lost one of its brightest ornaments and he will long be remembered by those who knew and loved him for his intellectual worth, his social qualities, and manly bearing."

Among the wounded were Ensign Thomas G. Hargis (of Pennsylvania) and Acting Third Assistant Engineer Denis Harrington (born in Ireland). *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 654, 643.

[15] This probably was Lieutenant Robert J. H. Russell of the Twelfth New York Cavalry. At four o'clock on April 17 a mounted Union patrol had been captured by the advance guard of the Confederates, and the cavalry outpost on the Washington road had been dispersed and driven in. Russell was commanding a reinforcement, but he was severely wounded and forced back. Fort Gray was attacked at the same time.

while gallently leading his men on Sunday. This is the hardest fight any gun boats have been engaged in during the war. I am very well though sad. Will write again as soon as I have a chance. The ram is reported in sight now and as it is dark and gloomy no doubt they will attack us again to night. I must stop now and get the instruments ready in case they are necessary please hand this to Julia[16] to read for I have not time to write again and dont know when I shall. Dont be alarmed if you do not hear from me again soon. I will write when ever I have a chance Pray for me that if it be God's will that I should perish in the ensueing conflict that we may meet again in heaven. I am happy and peaceful in my mind *and not affraid to die* Kiss all for me, and if I should never return give my watch to Julia D. Good by dear mother, father and all. I trust that if parted from you here, I shall meet you all in heaven.

affectionately
S. O. N.

direct to Plymouth
or elsewhere

S. O. N. to J. O. N.

Direct to New Berne or Elsewhere,
On board U. S. GunBoat
Miami, off Eadenton N.C.
May 4th 1864

Dear Father,

How rapidly time slips around, nearly three months since I left home. Those three months have been the most eventful of my life. . . . *My health is excellent* The past few days have been full of excitement and danger, I suppose you have seen an account of the affair in the papers, but all that I have seen have been more or less incorrect. The following is, just as it happened. On Sunday Apr 17th at about ½ past 2 P.M. a battery of 6 field pieces opened from an island in the river, on fort Grey.[17] Capt. Flusser sent the gunboats Ceres, and Bombshell up to its assistance, at

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The line of defense extended from Fort Gray to "Coneby Creek," about two and a half miles below Plymouth. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 652.

[16] Julia Dougal, whom he married.

[17] Plymouth was defended by three forts and two batteries: Fort Gray, to the northwest; Fort Wessells and Battery Worth, to the west; Fort Williams, to the south; and Camphor Battery to the east. The defense consisted of the following regiments of infantry, detachments of artillery, and cavalry: "Eighty-Fifth New York Volunteers, Colonel Enrico Fardello with 450 men; Second Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, Captains John A. Brown and Joseph E. Fiske in command; Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteers, Colonel Francis Beach in charge of 400 effective men; One Hundred and First Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel A. W. Taylor and 300 men; One Hundred and Third Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel T. F. Lehmann, with 400 men; Twenty-Fourth New York Independent Battery, with six guns under Captain A. Lester Cady; detachment from Companies A and F, Twelfth New York Cavalry, Captain Charles H. Roche; two companies of the Second Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, Captain Ira B. Sampson; and two companies (native troops) of the Second North Volunteers, under Captains Thomas I. Johnson and Calvin Haggard." See map, on cover of this issue, and *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 652-653.

8 o'clock the Ceres returned, terriably torn and battered and with two men killed & eight wounded by the enemy's shell. Dr. Mann and I went aboard the Ceres, and dressed their wounds. We took off one arm, and three fingers. The firing was kept up all night, it was a terriably beautiful sight. the flashes, first and then the deep sullen reports. The flagstaff on fort Grey was shot away, but the glorious, "Stars and Stripes" were raised on the stump and continued proudly waving, till the fort was obliged, by overwhelmming numbers, to surrender, which it did on Wednesday morning. On Monday the 18th Plymouth was attacked in the rear by a force of ten or twelve thousand Our pickets were driven in, and they commenced shelling the town. Their shell bursted all around and over us scattering their pieces, rather to close for comfort. Capt Flusser and his clerk were talking together on the quarter deck and a shell passed between them. At six in the afternoon we opened on them, from the Southfield and Miami, We fired 117 shots and the Southfield over 200. At eight, we cast adrift, and the Southfield went up the river to protect fort Williams, and the Miami dropped down to fort Wessel. We afterwards ascertained that our shots were so accurate that we repulsed the rebs three times planting our shell right among them. The Bombshell was struck below the water mark in the afternoon, and just as she reached the dock, she sunk. Shortly after 12 P.M. the Whitehead came down, and reported that the ram had passed our blockade, and was coming down. The Southfield was called along side, and Commander Flusser ordered us to be made *fast* as we were before. Had his order been carried out the ram would have been sunk with the Southfield, because at first we were fastened with chains, which would have cut the ram all to pieces, but our First Lieut,[18] who is a very self-willed headstrong man, thought that his way was best, and so instead of using the chains, had us made fast with hawsers, which parted like so much yarn, when the ram struck us. Flusser, went ashore to consult with the general[19] and the first question he asked on returning was, "are we properly secured?" Mr. Wells [*sic*] said we were. At 2 A.M. the ram came in sight, it was very dark and she was close to us before she could be seen. Our 100 lb. rifle was fired at her and struck her plumb, but the shot, though solid, produced no more effect, that one of those little torpedoes we have fourth of Julys. She came right on at full speed, and striking our port bow glanced off into the Southfield, which sunk in less than 10 minutes carring the ram down with her a little way, and if we had chains instead of ropes fast, she could not have escaped sinking entirely. The ram lay under our bows about forty minutes we all that time pouring a broadside of six nine inch guns, and 100 lb. rifle shot into her, but they bounded off without doing her the least damage. One of our guns was loaded with shell instead of shot, which came back and exploded on our deck. killing Capt Flusser, and wounding Ensign Hargis Engineer Harrington and 10 men none mortally, pieces of that shell as large as my fist went through the deck in several places and knocked things around pretty livly. I had my

[18] Acting Master William N. Welles of Rhode Island. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, IX, 639-640.

[19] Brigadier General Henry W. Wessells, U.S. Army, commanding the Sub-District of the Albemarle. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, IX, 651-656.

hands full dressing the wounds, everything was covered with blood, and the smell of gunpowder was suffocating. We retreated slowly down the river and out into the sounds where we cruised till the 29th on the morning of which we found that the ram was in close persuit, we immediately hove anchor and steamed for Roanoke Island. At 8 oclock P.M. we run on a sand bank where we remained till 3 next morning. All this time the men were standing at the guns expecting an attack every moment, if the ram had come at us then, probably I would be writing this in Richmond prison, if I escaped with life. The crew were dressed in their best. I had mine on and in my pockets were, my bible mother's likeness, and a few little things which I wished to preserve. At 3 A.M. we got off and anchored at Roanoke, where we were joined by the gunboats Metabassett flagship, Sassacus, Wyluca [*sic*], Commodore Hull,[20] and Seymour,[21] which with the Miami Ceres and Whitehead made quite a fleet. This morning the Miami, Whitehead and Ceres, were ordered back up to the mouth of the river to *coax* the ram out so that the rest of the fleet might capture her. We have seen her to night but I am afraid that she will *coax* us to the bottom. For the rest of the fleet are Safely anchored in front of Roanoke Island. Notwithstanding the dangers by which I am surrounded I feel perfectly secure, "Though I walk through the valley & shadow of death, I will fear no evil for *Thou* are with me." Thank God that I can feel the comfort and peace, contained in that most blessed text, I trust dear Father that I shall be spared to see you once, but if it be His holy will that we meet no more *here,* we shall in Heaven. My box has not yet arrived. Remember me to all, and write soon to

Your loving son
Sayres

S. O. N. to J. O. N.

May 6th 1864
On board U.S. Gun Boat Miami
off the mouth, Roanoke River

Dear Father.

We have just passed through the second engagement with that ugly little customer, the ram Roanoke.[22] I have again escaped safe and sound,

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[20] These four ships were all 974-ton side-wheel steamers except the "Commodore Hull," which weighed 376 tons. The U.S.S. "Mattabessett" carried 16 guns, the U.S.S. "Sassacus" carried 12 guns, the U.S.S. "Wyalusing" carried 14 guns, and the U.S.S. "Commodore Hull" carried 6 guns. For reports on the action of these vessels in the second engagement with the C. S. Ram "Albemarle" see *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 732-768, *passim,* and ix, xx, xxi.

[21] The U.S.S. "Isaac N. Seymour" was a 133-ton side-wheel steamer, carrying 5 guns. It was sent to Baltimore in May, 1863, for repairs; was stationed at Roanoke Island on May 2, 1864, and was ordered to follow the U.S.S. "Miami" and others into action on that date; and on May 6 was used to carry the unofficial report of Lieutenant Commander F. A. Roe relative to the condition of the U.S.S. "Sassacus," which had been disabled by the "Albemarle." *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, xx, 10, 719, 720, 744.

[22] The Ram "Albemarle" was frequently referred to, even in official reports, as the "Roanoke." See the report of Henry S. Buckless, Carpenter's Mate, on the U.S.S. "Miami." *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 754.

thanks be to God. for his great mercy, and loving kindness. Yesterday afternoon at 2 oclock, the ram consorted by the steamer Cotton Planter [*sic*],[23] and the Bombshell, which they sunk when Plymouth was attacked and have since raised, made its appearance at the mouth of the river, We retreated slowly and they followed Capt French,[24] sent the steamboat Massasoit,[25] ahead, to inform the remainder of the fleet. At 4 oclock they came in sight running up at full speed. When the rebel fleet saw our reinforcements they tried back out, but it was no go. as some of our vessels, can steam 18 knots. while the ram can make but 8 or 9. At ½ past 4. We fired the first gun, our 100 lb. rifle. That was the signal for the commencement of a most furious cannonading which lasted over three hours. The fleet took up its position. making a circle. with the ram in the centre. In the mean time the Cotton planter, had fled, and by her superior sailing qualities escaped. The Bombshell we captured, she was crowded with sharpshooters. The Gun Boat Sassacus steamed full speed right into the ram at the same time giving her a full broadside but without the least effect. The whole fleet, then sailed slowly around the ram each boat as it passed giving her a broadside, which made the iron fly from her sides, and riddled her smoke stack. which seemed to "rile" her some for she then for the first time showed her teeth and begun to act on the offensive. She came directly for the Miami, and when she was about ten yards off she left fly at us with two whitworth rifles. one shell went through our smokestack just over the men's heads and the other went into the captain's cabin, and exploded there tearing every thing in that vicinity to pieces. and starting the deck above, a large piece going through the opposite side thus making a hole clean through our ship. Mr. Hackett[26] our paymaster was laying on a sofa in the cabin at the time, and wonderful to say was not hurt in the least though the sofa was turned over on him, and he covered with a pile of glass. books. clothes. pieces of wood and broken furniture, and all most suffocated by the smoke and dust with which the cabin was filled. We were also struck by a shell which bursted in the wheel house. and shattered our signal lamps, but did no other damage. A. 38lb. solid shot went through our second cutter, which hung alongside on its davits, and there is nothing left of our dingy, but the keel and ribs, and yet strange as it may seem not a man on our vessel was hurt. The Sassacus got a shell in her boilers which killed three and wounded six men. The Metabessett had her deck swept by a shot which took both legs off three men, one of whom has since died, and the rest are not expected to recover. We have not yet heard

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[23] The C.S.S. "Cotton Plant," a steamer carrying troops, which accompanied the "Albemarle" down the Roanoke River on May 5, 1864. The "Cotton Plant" escaped back up the Roanoke River. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 734, 753, 755.

[24] Acting Volunteer Lieutenant Charles A. French of Maine following Flusser's death. He was on board the "Miami," having been rescued after the sinking of the "Southfield" on April 19, 1864. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 638 ff.

[25] The U.S.S. "Massasoit" was a side-wheel steamer carrying 10 guns, regularly used as an army transport vessel. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 744, 733.

[26] Frank W. Hackett of New Hampshire, Acting Assistant Paymaster of the "Miami." *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies,* Series I, IX, 646.

whether any others were hurt. The Miami fired 117 times, and struck the ram over 80 times. We put one shot right into one of her ports and dismounted a gun. The Commodore[27] says that the laurels belong to us. The firing was kept up till after dark, and during the night the ram got away up the river. We all think that two hours more daylight would have made her ours. The fleet is now laying at the mouth of the Roanoke waiting for her to come again, but I think that she has had such a shaking as she did not expect and will be very careful how she pokes her nose in such a mess again. I received letters this morning from Hattie, Mother and Amanda but will have to have some stamps before I can answer them. The ram looks as much like a huge turtle as anything I can compare her too. She is iron clad then a layer of oak 15 inches thick and then another casing of iron. She is much more powerful and substantial than the Merrimac was. Just think what an immense power of resistance she must possess. yesterday in the space of a little more than three hours, she was struck upwards of 280 times.[28] To night we are going to try to take the batteries between here and Plymouth. This will make five nights that we have had no hammocks, but have had to lay on deck, with our clothes on. Remember me to all. Give my love to Mother and the children. Please give the enclosed $10.00 to Uncle Ed[29] with my thanks for the use of it, that will make he and I square. Write when you can find an opportunity, and tell me all the news.

affectionately
Sayres.

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[27] Captain Melancton Smith, Senior Naval Officer, Sounds of North Carolina. Commander Richard T. Renshaw was ordered to take command of the U.S.S. "Miami" on April 29, but his duties did not begin until after the fighting of May 5. *Official Records, Union and Confederate Navies*, Series I, IX, 708, 763-764.

[28] The plan of Commander Cooke of the "Albemarle" was to follow up the capture of Plymouth by the capture of New Bern, the objective of the unsuccessful campaign under Confederate General Pickett (George E. Pickett). Cooke's defeat by the "Miami" sent the "Albemarle" back up the river. The Ram never reappeared for action and on October 27, 1864, she was torpedoed and sunk by Lieutenant William B. Cushing, U.S. Navy. Immediately afterward Plymouth was recaptured by the Union forces—October 31, 1864. The "Miami" and her crew did not participate in this adventure as they were on the James River seeking to aid General U. S. Grant. Soley, *Navy in the Civil War*, 101-105.

[29] Dr. Edward Payson Nichols, who trained Sayres Nichols in pharmacy. Family records of Nichols family.

BOOK REVIEWS

Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Luther Hartwell Hodges, Governor of North Carolina, 1954-1961. Volume II, 1957-1958. Edited by James W. Patton. (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina. 1962. Pp. xxiii, 708. Illustrations and index.)

Businessman in the Statehouse: Six Years as Governor of North Carolina. By Luther H. Hodges. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Pp. viii, 324. Illustrations and index. $4.75.)

The career of Luther H. Hodges is a Horatio Alger tale in a contemporary setting. Born on a tenant farm in Virginia, he grew up in Spray, North Carolina, where his father and most of the family worked in a textile mill. By the age of twelve Hodges himself was earning five cents an hour as an office boy in the same mill. Despite inadequate academic preparation and formidable financial hurdles, he managed to attend the University of North Carolina and to obtain a degree in economics in 1919. After graduation he returned to the textile industry in his hometown; he was transferred to New York in 1938 and remained there for the next decade. His steady climb up the management ladder was climaxed by his elevation to the vice-presidency of Marshall Field and Company in 1943. Returning to North Carolina upon his retirement from business, Hodges launched his career in politics and made a successful bid for the office of Lieutenant-Governor in 1952. Less than two years later, the death of Governor William B. Umstead put him at the helm of the State government. His election as Governor in 1956 meant that he occupied the Executive Mansion longer than any other individual in the history of the State.

These two current volumes dealing with the Hodges Administration record much of the high drama that unfolded in a key southern State during a crucial, mid-twentieth century decade. In many respects the two works are complementary: one, the second volume of the Governor's official papers covering the years, 1957-1958, provides many documents that illuminate passages in the other—the Hodges memoir entitled *Businessman in the Statehouse*—which encompasses the entire scope of his gubernatorial term.

The theme that dominates both books concerns the Governor's efforts to solve the "bread and butter problem" of the State's low per capita income through a program of industrialization. These volumes

focus upon his struggles related to such facets of the program as the establishment of the Research Triangle, the passage of the minimum wage law, and the reforms in the tax structure, Department of Conservation and Development, and State Ports Authority. The Governor's official papers portray him as the chief publicity agent of industrialization; so prevalent, in fact, was the industry theme in his public statements that, whether his audience was a Presbyterian congregation or an Alchoholic Anonymous group, he managed to comment on the industrial needs of the State. His role in the industry-hunting expeditions to the Northeast and Europe receives detailed treatment in his memoir. These volumes, in brief, substantiate Hodges' claim that industrialization was "the number one goal" of his administration.

The Governor's papers, ably edited by Professor James W. Patton of the University of North Carolina, include a representative collection of documents for 1957-1958 drawn from a mountain of Hodges material. The editor introduces the work with a succinct essay on the middle years of the Hodges administration; the remainder of this thick volume, organized into categories according to the type of material therein, is the product of careful editing. For the various categories Professor Patton skillfully selected those addresses, articles, proclamations, interviews, and press statements that point up the variety of problems, decisions, and policies of the period. In short, the editor has maintained in this work the high standards of his craft so obvious in his first volume of the Governor's papers.

The personal memoir of Hodges is remarkably revealing about his personality, ideas, and actions. From its curious blend of candor and innuendo emerges the portrait of an energetic, honest individual coming to grips with affairs of state in the manner of a tough-minded businessman. Certainly he enjoyed his job immensely and now looks upon his achievements with considerable pride. The story that he sets forth, however, will disappoint those who seek tales of sordid, back-alley politics or startling exposures regarding the ordinary. Even his account of the strained relationship between him and Governor Umstead can scarcely be considered a spectacular disclosure. The only stir likely to be aroused by this book will undoubtedly stem from the Governor's criticism of the quick rather than the dead.

The real value of these recollections is twofold: they constitute a composite record of the Hodges administration; and they offer insights into the operation of grass-roots politics in America. Hodges discusses in some detail the maneuvering and compromise involved in the implementation of major projects regarding the highway program, prison

system, and administration of justice. He writes at length about the impact of the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court (which he considered "tragic") and his success in leading North Carolina along a moderate course in spite of demands from extremists. The Governor does not claim that all his ventures ended in success; in fact, two of the better chapters describe his futile efforts to mediate the Little Rock crisis and the Harriet Henderson strike. Appropriately perhaps, Hodges concludes his memoir with a series of recommendations regarding changes in State government. These suggestions focus upon the role of the Governor who he believes should be allowed to serve two successive terms, exercise the veto, and appoint most of the Council of State.

The recent vintage of the Hodges era in North Carolina precludes a historical assessment of any real permanence. For the present, however, these two primary sources provide basic ingredients for an interim evaluation.

Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.

North Carolina Wesleyan College.

Some Interesting Colonial Churches in North Carolina. By J. K. Rouse. (Kannapolis: Privately printed [1961]. Illustrations and bibliography. Pp. 123. $4.95.)

This attractive volume comprises thirty-seven sketches and photographs of early churches of North Carolina, with bibliographical references appended as footnotes. The term "Colonial" is employed with reference to the establishment of the various congregations rather than with regard to their present buildings, although, in several instances, such structures were erected before the American Revolution. The author notes, in his Introduction, that many more North Carolina churches than those considered antedate this period.

The work begins with the stories of six Episcopal organizations, three of which occupy buildings of pre-Revolutionary construction: St. Paul's of Edenton (1760), St. Thomas' in Bath (1734), and St. John's at Williamsboro (1757). The Presbyterians are most extensively represented with eleven congregations, followed by the Baptists with eight. Other denominations included are the Lutherans, three; Evangelical and Reformed, two; Friends, three; Moravians, three; and

Methodists, one. The last named owes its consideration to the personal associations of the author.

While the reviewer is obviously not qualified to pass judgment upon the accuracy of much of the text, as a partisan of Rocky River, he would suggest that Poplar Tent Presbyterian Church was organized as a separate congregation in 1764, rather than in 1751 (p. 78); and that Alexander Craighead was not installed as a "fulltime minister" of the Sugaw Creek Congregation as early as 1758 (p. 92).

This book is heartily recommended as an appropriate gift for anyone concerned with the beginnings and development of the early churches of North Carolina, particularly for a person whose roots lie in any of the three dozen and one congregations treated in such an illuminating fashion by the author.

Thomas H. Spence, Jr.

The Historical Foundation,
Montreat.

The Cowpens-Guilford Courthouse Campaign. By Burke Davis. (New York: J. P. Lippincott Company. 1962. Maps and index. Pp. 208. $3.95.)

This is the first volume in Lippincott's new *Great Battles of History* series to deal with the American Revolution—a series designed for the "general reader as well as for the military history enthusiast." Burke Davis, though generally associated with the Civil War field (as the author of Jackson, Lee, and Stuart biographies), is no stranger to the War for Independence; several years ago he wrote an excellent historical novel, *The Ragged Ones,* about guerrilla warfare in the Carolina backcountry.

Scholars will not find any startling revelations in this slender book; but laymen, seeking an introduction to the war in the South, may read it with considerable profit. For Mr. Davis has produced a thoughtful and generally accurate account of a short but critical period in the Revolutionary struggles: the four months and three days that Cornwallis and Greene dueled for supremacy in North Carolina—December 3, 1780, to April 6, 1781. This was a period highlighted by momentous battles at Cowpens and Guilford Courthouse, which resulted in Cornwallis' withdrawal from North Carolina and his eventual encounter with destiny at Yorktown, while Greene went on to win new laurels in South Carolina.

The organization of the book is somewhat along biographical lines, rather than being strictly chronological. Hence, the reader follows in some detail the activities of Daniel Morgan, Banastre Tarleton, Greene, and Cornwallis—in that order. While this approach makes for a certain amount of repetition, it is nevertheless refreshing. After all, leaders need to be emphasized; men rather than impersonal forces are the real stuff of history. The interpretations presented are almost always sound, and they reveal that the author has read widely and intelligently in the literature of the period. Moreover, he has made effective use of certain important printed primary sources that professional historians sometimes neglect, especially Cornwallis' orderly book and Henry Lee's *Memoirs.* Mr. Davis, whose permanent home is on the edge of the Guilford Courthouse battlefield, obviously enjoyed doing this book. It deserves a large audience.

Don Higginbotham.

Louisiana State University.

True Tales of The South at War: How Soldiers Fought and Families Lived, 1861-1865. Collected and edited by Clarence Poe (Betsy Seymour, Assistant Editor) (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Epilogue and index. $2.95.)

Here is a delightfully homey book whose intimacy comes from the writings—some but a paragraph in length—of nearly two hundred southern men and women who lived the Civil War.

To read this little volume (205 pages), is like hearing first hand, by the flickering light of burning logs in an ancient fireplace, the vivid tales of long ago. These stories, sketches, and brief observations come alive with a clarity reminiscent of looking through an old stereoscope. One sees, not the old veterans that are remembered, but the eager young men and boys and their women in the flux of a great war.

Dr. Poe, a professional editor for more than fifty years, has done a masterful job of extracting gems from the letters, diaries, and reminiscenses sent him. The material came in response to an appeal to the 1,400,000 subscribers of *The Progressive Farmer* which he published and edited in Raleigh for more than fifty years.

The son of a Confederate soldier himself, the Editor has made his selections with apparently no thought but to let these men and women

tell in their own words of the South's grandest hour and of the emotions, ecstatic as well as tragic, that it brought to them.

The book is refreshing in that it makes no attempt to focus on the grimness of war, but rather lets the young soldiers transmit also the comradeship, humor, and occasional high excitement of their war experiences, the memory of which dominated the lives of so many of them. To one of them, Berry Benson of Georgia, looking back fifteen years after the end of the war, the fading of memories was as if "some great bundle of treasure-holding years have been torn out of my life—some sweet thing slipped out of my grasp—and, like a silver coin dropped into deep water, I see it slipping away, down, down, sparkling as it sinks, but ever growing dimmer, dimmer. . . ."

James J. Geary.

Virginia Civil War Commission.

Reconstruction Bonds & Twentieth-Century Politics: South Dakota v. North Carolina (1904). By Robert F. Durden. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1962. Notes and index. Pp. xi, 274. $6.00.)

"Butler, Booze, Boodle and Bonds," headlined the bitter Democratic attack against a resurgent North Carolina Republican Party in 1910. Professor Durden in this excellent monograph carefully unravels and describes a unique bond scheme that furnished part of the background for such Democratic propaganda. Marion Butler, Fusionist Senator in the 1890's and "Mr. Republican" in early twentieth-century North Carolina, served as the principal target in these attacks. Fusionist Governor Daniel L. Russell, however, was the key figure in the bond scheme, but his death in 1908 allowed him to escape some of the Democratic wrath. The author bases his study primarily on the recently discovered Russell papers now in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina Library.

Durden traces the story of the bond scheme from the time of its inception during Russell's governorship, 1897-1901. Russell hoped to annoy and embarrass the Democrats and at the same time replenish his badly depleted personal fortune. Like most Southern States, North Carolina repudiated or scaled down its debt in 1879 after the Democrats had "redeemed" the State from Radical Reconstruction. Russell persuaded some New York bond-holders to give a few of the pre-

Radical bonds to the State of South Dakota. That State, through Butler's influence, brought suit in the United States Supreme Court for full payment of the bonds instead of the twenty-five cents on the dollar compromise. These bonds were secured by a second mortgage on the stock of the North Carolina Railroad which, by 1900, was more than adequate to pay off both first and second mortgages. After considerable maneuvering involving lawyers in North Carolina, South Dakota, New York, and Michigan, the Supreme Court decided in favor of South Dakota.

Russell and his associate hoped to make "millions" when North Carolina and other southern States would compromise favorably on their repudiated bonds rather than face similar suits. The actual results, however, fell far short of their expectations; Russell's total income from the scheme may have come to $12,000 at the most. Governors Aycock and Glenn, strongly abetted by Josephus Daniels' *News and Observer,* so influenced public opinion that no other State dared to become involved in such an obvious device to circumvent the Eleventh Amendment. The rising tide of progressive sentiment also militated against schemes of this type.

By using a monograph rather than an article, it is possible to give a more comprehensive explanation of the scheme and its numerous ramifications. Durden has done an exceptionally good job in digesting and synthesizing a mass of manuscript and newspaper material. The careful documentation in no way detracts from the vivid narrative style. The work contributes much to an understanding of North Carolina politics at the turn of the century, but its significance is not limited to one State. It brings together elements from the Reconstruction, Populist, and Progressive periods that are revealing for the history of the entire country. The author draws no specific conclusions from this fascinating episode but lets the story speak for itself. It would seem that the primary result of the whole affair was the political ammunition furnished the Democrats in contending that all Republicans and Fusionists were unscrupulous rascals.

Allen J. Going.

University of Houston.

The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, Volume V: The Music of the Folk Songs. Edited by Jan Philip Schinhan. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1962. Introduction and illustrations. Pp. xxiii, 639. $10.00.)

Volume V of *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore* comes as a welcome addition to its companion works, Volumes I-IV and VI. In it, Jan Philip Schinhan, the editor, presents the melodies to the folk song texts which appear in Volume III. In addition, 66 children's game songs and 128 additional songs which do not appear in Volume III are included. The work indicates a tremendous amount of research, scholarship, and sensitivity and is a must for all serious students of North Carolina folklore.

A great variety of folk song types are included. Songs of various classifications—drinking and gambling, courting, homiletic, dance, satirical, martial, and patriotic—are among those in the volume. The range from lullabies and nursery rhymes to songs of prisoners and tramps indicates the inclusiveness of the work of the Editor in compiling the collection.

Dr. Frank C. Brown spent a lifetime collecting this material. Professor Schinhan and the Duke University Press are due the gratitude of all North Carolinians for ensuring its perpetuation.

Norman C. Larson.

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

The Papers of James Madison. Volume II, 20 March 1780-23 February 1781. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1962. Map, illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xix, 344. $10.00.)

Covering a brief one-year period, ending with the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781, this volume deals with a country at war. Madison, a delegate to the Continental Congress, viewed the war from Philadelphia; his correspondents viewed it from Virginia. From either place the view was dismal (and frequently wrong; rumors abounded almost in the same hopeless volume as the currency). Military supplies and troops were hard to procure. The Spanish government seemed reluctant to grant rights which Americans claimed in the Mississippi region, a topic which includes some of the better of

Madison's writings in this volume. The reader, of course, recognizes that prospects are soon to brighten; he finds increasing mention of Cornwallis and military operations in the Carolinas. Then, too, Maryland's ratification of the Articles is to instill new hope for more effective union and provide a broader stage for Madison's political talents.

As a delegate to a frequently ineffective Congress, Madison appears as a diligent, competent, and hopeful patriot, working hard in an unrewarding job. No lightness touches his letters. His "natural reserve" is evident throughout. Some of his correspondents—Edmund Pendleton, for example—impress the reader as persons; Madison impresses the reader as a delegate to the Continental Congress.

As in Volume I, the editorial work is thorough and impressive. To ask for less may be a disservice to those scholars who will be grateful for one or another of the extended annotations. Yet the over-all effect is one of being blanketed by editorial commentary. That "the sea god Proteus assumed many different shapes to avoid capture" may clarify Pendleton's reference to "Proteaus." But why bother?

Philip F. Detweiler.

Tulane University.

The Landon Carter Papers in the University of Virginia Library: A Sketch. By Walter Ray Wineman. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 1962. Notes and index. Pp. x, 99. $7.50.)

This calendar lists 241 papers by, to, or concerning Landon Carter of "Sabine Hall" (1710-1778) and includes about forty-three actually written by Carter. The highly miscellaneous items are described succinctly with occasional quotations from the original. An excellent index accompanies the calendar but not the biographical sketch.

At best this calendar will be only moderately useful, for it does not include Landon Carter papers in other collections and none of its items is of first-line significance. Though Carter submitted some interesting discussions of the Revolutionary crisis for publication in the press, the calendar does not make clear which ones were actually published. Fortunately, Carter's most important work, his diary, is now being edited for publication by Jack P. Greene.

The thirty-five page "biographical sketch" adds little to what is known about Carter and his role as a Virginia planter. The author concludes that Carter fulfilled "the three responsibilities of the Virginia

aristocrat": first, "to produce and provide for a family to carry on his estate and traditions," second, "to develop as much of the virgin land of the colony as could be done with profit to himself and his community," and finally, "to serve as a leader in his community." This oversimplified and less than startling summation serves as framework for a plodding account of Carter's life and for such inaccurate and egregiously ahistorical assertions as that Carter was "an interesting combination of great humanitarian and snob." Carter was interesting all right, but principally because he was a cantankerous loner continually at odds with his family, slaves, neighbors, political associates, and even his physical environment.

Winthrop D. Jordan.

Institute of Early American History and Culture.

The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana. Volume II. Edited by John Duffy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, for the Rudolph Matas Trust Fund. 1962. Pp. xii, 599. $10.00.)

This, the second and concluding volume concerning Medicine in Louisiana, continues the form of organization of Volume I (1699-1825). It carries the story from 1825 to about 1925, in two chronological periods, ante-bellum and post-bellum. Within each period the topical treatment resembles that of Volume I: medical and surgical practice, the profession (inclusive of medical societies and the segregated professions of pharmacy, dentistry, midwifery, and nursing), medical regulations, epidemics (especially "Yellow Jack," Asiatic Cholera, and typhoid), public health, hospitals, and medical education. As has been noted by other readers, the recurrence of the same general topics, three times in Volume I and twice in Volume II, with the unavoidable repetition of names and details, tends to become irksome. One wonders whether this problem could have been eliminated by carrying each topic through the volume without a period break. Important differences and changes characteristic of the periods could be summarized at the end of each chapter, and also at the end of the volume in a final chapter describing the trends before, during, and after the Civil War. Obviously such an arrangement might create its own problems, however, the present rather abrupt ending of the history leaves one somewhat dazed, amid a multiplicity of trees in a great medical forest where there is felt the need of some general guidance from

Professor Duffy. In fact a reader would enjoy a symposium in which the learned author might discuss some of the intriguing questions evoked by his fascinating presentation. For example: Why were the progressive trends before, and even during, the War reversed during the ensuing period? Why did barbarous superstitions and so-called "medieval" practices persist so long in the generally progressive nineteenth century? Another question, perhaps of minor import, but often asked by readers of both volumes, is "Why should the eminent and indefatigable AUTHOR of this magnum opus be designated merely as 'editor'?"

All in all the volume, like Volume I, presents an alternately depressing and inspiring picture of the failings and successes of humans in the unending struggle between primitivism and progress in medicine. Both sides of the story appear in the author's generously footnoted data, and in his dramatic quotes from contemporary diaries, medical publications, and official records. The reader is constantly shocked at the record of professional ignorance and calloused brutality of treatment. Physicians prescribed calomel and other harmful drugs in a manner reminiscent of primitive medicine men. They blistered, purged, and bled their patients to death. In 1857 a physician bled a patient "50 ounces at one time" and when he fainted revived him to administer "300 grains of calomel and gamboge." Less drastic were the alcoholic potions, used in great quantities in place of more expensive pain-relieving drugs. In 1832 at Charity Hospital in New Orleans 20 per cent of the food bill was for whiskey, rum, and wines. Professor Duffy remarks that "These beverages may have anesthetized the hospital staff, too, and thus enabled them to witness with some equanimity the scenes of suffering and death which characterized hospitals in early days." Less rational was the equanimity with which, in 1853, the mayor of New Orleans ordered the burning of tar and the firing of cannon to break an epidemic of yellow fever. An intelligent editorialist wrote that all this did was to kill a few mosquitoes. Meanwhile the authorities condoned dangerously unsanitary practices—hospitals and hotels "pouring the contents of their privies into [the gutters of] the main thoroughfares of the city." Sometimes physicians were similarly blind to public welfare. Professional quarrels were frequent, dramatized by duels and informal shootings as well as violent words. The lay public was aware of such failings. They openly condemned doctors who not only prescribed, but sometimes imbibed, alcohol so freely as to miss their own scheduled lectures. Student diaries recorded such lapses with greater equanimity: "Dr. ———— did not lecture—

expect he is unwell or drinking." Apparently student life, though arduous, was not without its lighter moments. In 1852 a student diary recorded a boarding house party as follows:

> Tonight after supper the ladies sent up for us. . . . We had a most glorious time kissing the ladies, etc. [A week later] the ladies sent up for us to take another romp. . . . Miss Mary Goodwin kisses most delightfully. . . .

Obviously such conditions were not solely responsible for the favorable reputation of Louisiana medical schools before the Civil War. National statistics of student enrollment placed the New Orleans schools among the top ten. The University of Louisiana and the University of Virginia medical schools tied for fourth place, with the New Orleans School of Medicine in seventh place. The War and Reconstruction brought a decided decline from this remarkably favorable position. Recovery was not evident until late in the century when Tulane University became a center of noteworthy progress not only in medicine and surgery, but also (later on) in tropical medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy. The effects of the War on medicine in Louisiana have one curious contradiction. Amid the increasingly bad conditions in the Confederacy, sanitary conditions in New Orleans and vicinity profited greatly from the military control of the detested General Benjamin F. Butler. His rigidly enforced sanitary regulations mitigated the ravages of the recurring epidemics from which the city suffered perennially. Federal control of hospitals brought federal funds which made possible much needed improvements; but postwar adjustments and the Reconstruction era ended much of this. Not until late in the century did hospitals, public sanitation, and other aspects of medicine in Louisiana recover their proud position among the nation's leaders in the healing art. One of the most primitive aspects of medicine during the dismal post-war era was in the field of obstetrics. Puerperal fever was commonly treated by the traditional ordeals of bloodletting and purging; the simplest principles of antisepsis were rejected as silly fads. New-born infants were bound tightly and swaddled unmercifully. Members of the medical profession manifested unbelievable ignorance. A certified practitioner was certain that he had read about a disease called pediatrics, but had never seen an actual case. Another described a *female* patient "suffering from an enlarged prostrate [*sic*] gland."

The turning of the tide, so late in coming, becomes evident in the last quarter of the century. It is no surprise to read of surgical opera-

tions at this date which seemed unbelievable in ante-bellum records (Caesarean sections in the 1820's and one performed by a Negro midwife in 1838; a 53-pound scrotal tumor excised in 1837; a cancerous breast with its roots "weighing about 20 ounces" cut out, in 1847 a thigh amputated "without pain," thanks to an anesthetic of ether). Even if such amazing exploits actually occurred in the early decades, they were abnormal and a far cry from the generally accepted practices of most intelligent surgeons of the late nineteenth century. By 1900 anesthesia and antisepsis were revolutionizing operational procedures, especially in abdominal surgery. Caesarean sections and appendectomies were a matter of course. Vaccination for smallpox, mosquito control for yellow fever, X rays and blood transfusions were praised rather than condemned. Vigorous wars were waged against smallpox, diphtheria, and tuberculosis, but yellow fever and cholera were no longer invincible enemies. Before World War I, Louisiana, along with most southern States was recovering from the dismal post-bellum era and moving rapidly into the main stream of progressive twentieth-century medicine. Professor Duffy's success in presenting the two-volume story of Medicine in Louisiana impels us as a final judgment to hope that he may go on to do the same for other States of the South.

Loren MacKinney.

The University of North Carolina.

The Territory of Florida. By John Lee Williams. Edited by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile Edition]. 1962. Illustrations, notes, map, and index. Pp. xv, 304. $7.50.)

John Lee Williams' book strongly resembles Bernard Romans' *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida,* a work first published in 1775 and reprinted as the first volume in the *Floridiana Series.* Like Romans, Williams was a frontier naturalist. He had an inquiring mind, a keen sense of observation, a penchant for classifying natural data, and a pioneer practicality. In his descriptions of territorial Florida he demonstrated a wide variety of interests. These included agriculture, animal and plant life, insects, reptiles, climate, geography, history, and Indian lore. Williams, however, was more impersonal, dispassionate, and subdued in making his observations and

seldom indulged in personal anecdotes, moral reflection, or opinionated value judgments that so enlivened Romans' book. As Professor Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., points out in his lucid introduction, this restraint has given the work the characteristics of a gazetteer.

But the book is more than an encyclopedic description of early nineteenth-century Florida. Williams' narrative of the Seminole War (pp. 214-272) is both personal and lively in its recounting of events and personalities—the reluctance of the Indians to remove from their land, Oseola's able leadership and his seeming treachery, the massacre of Major Dade and his men, the attacks of the Seminoles on isolated white settlers, the ineptitude of army and militia commanders in Florida, and the bickering and jealousy among them. Although Williams writes with the biases and prejudices of a white Floridian eager to rid the territory of the Indian menace, he has, nevertheless, recaptured the spirit of epoch. Herein lies the real value of his account and of the book.

Handsomely bound and containing an excellent copy of a large-scale map drafted by Williams for the first printing in 1837, this book will make a worthwhile addition to the Floridiana bookshelf and a useful complement to the Romans' volume.

John J. Tepaske.

Ohio State University.

The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume XXVI, The Territory of Florida, 1839-1845. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1962. Maps, tables, notes, and index. Pp. v, 1,238. $8.00.)

This fifth and final volume of the Florida territorial papers covers the administrations of Governors Reid, Call, and Branch. It begins with Reid's appointment to the territorial governorship on December 2, 1839, and ends with Thomas H. DuVal's letter of September 18, 1845, in which he describes the final acts of federal agents in turning over their offices to elected officials of the State of Florida. In between, numerous and acrimonious letters provide excellent sources for the political history of the territory. Call demands the reasons for his removal as governor and later writes a twenty-page defense of himself. Some Tallahassee citizens accuse Governor Reid of incompetence while others defend him. Frenzied contests between Whigs and Demo-

crats and libelous political writings often result in challenges, and a few duels, and murders.

Political disagreements also arise over admission to statehood and the conduct of the Seminole War. Detailed accounts in letters, petitions, and memorials list reasons for dividing the territory into eastern and western parts and for retaining territorial unity to speed admission into the Union. Individuals from every section criticize army commanders and militia officers for ineptness in fighting the Seminole Indians. Governor Reid calls the Indians wild beasts who "venture to assail houses . . . press beyond military posts to perpetrate their murderous purposes, and start up like evil spirits, when least expected to appear, to detroy the brave, virtuous and innocent" (p. 110). Sad to contemplate, however, is a report of killing 210 Seminole women and children and only 15 warriors in almost three years of warfare.

In addition to war, politics, and individuals, this volume is a storehouse of economic history. East Floridians petition for and eventually receive a land office at Newnansville. Almost every petitioner requests the liberalization of land policies and demands federal expenditure for roads and waterways. Page after page of text relates to the insolvent territorial banks and the government's responsibility to bondholders. Among other important topics are federal and territorial finance, railroads, trade, land surveys, slavery, and aid to education.

The five volumes, and approximately 6,000 oversized pages, of the Florida territorial papers provide a wealth of source material for scholars. Every document is identified as to location by the editor, cross references enhance the usefulness of the work, and letters referred to but not extant are indicated in footnotes. Brief, adequate notes identify individuals and each volume has a complete index. This is a monumental work of compilation and editorship.

Rembert W. Patrick.

University of Florida.

Dickison and His Men: Reminiscences of the War in Florida. By Mary Elizabeth Dickison. Introduction by Samuel Proctor. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile reproduction of 1890 edition]. 1962. Illustrations, documents, and index. Pp. xxiv, 272. $6.00.)

The University of Florida Press this year has started, under the editorship of the able historian, Rembert W. Patrick, the facsimile re-

printing of books about Florida, each with a short and precise introduction by a qualified scholar. Since many Floridiana items have become rare and their prices have skyrocketed, this enterprise can only be applauded. The Dickison book is the third of this reproduction series. All of them, including this one, are beautifully bound and tastefully designed, and they make an elegant addition to any drawing room. More than that, they are good books which carry the best writings of the past of Florida.

In 1890 Mary Elizabeth Dickison wrote about the Civil War exploits of her beloved husband, John Jackson Dickison. Born around 1816 in Virginia, Dickison moved from South Carolina to Marion County, Florida, in 1856. He had military experience in the South Carolina State Militia. In Florida Dickison owned a lush plantation near Ocala. He was stanch in his loyalty to southern ways. When the War came Dickison organized an artillery company which became the famous Dickison Company, the subject of the book. The Company became a daring unit of what its daring commander called a "partizan" force, better known today as guerrilla warfare. His exploits were even celebrated by the Yankees who called him "Dixie" and the land which the "partizan" Dickison controlled "Dixieland."

Dr. Proctor, a forceful historian, has written a competent and clear Introduction. Proctor, sympathetic to the Dickisons, does state that 1) the book has too much hero worship "to be wholly acceptable to the scholar"; 2) Mrs. Dickison cannot distinguish "between the romance and the realism of war"; 3) Colonel Dickison was helpful in the preparation of the book and that "it is possible that he wrote a sizable part, or even all of it." Proctor has used good external and internal evidence to come to such a conclusion.

After carefully reading the book with its flowery descriptions and its transcription of many primary sources, one cannot quarrel with Proctor. The editor Patrick states that this is not a "great book, or even a good one by the standards of yesterday or today," but that it is unique and as a historical source has "enduring value." Maybe by the standards of yesterday it was rather good and there is no doubt that Dickison and his men, and therefore the Dickison book, deserve a spot in the reprint series.

Charles W. Arnade.

University of South Florida.

Reflections of the Civil War in Southern Humor. By Wade H. Hall. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. University of Florida Monographs: Humanities. 1962. Pp. 82. $2.00.)

From a larger study of Southern humor, Mr. Hall has drawn off for this monograph his findings related to the Civil War. The initial chapter offers a general view of humor in Southern literature from 1861 to 1914, followed by separate chapters on the soldiers, the Negroes, the poor whites, and the folks at home as they appear in the humor.

Mr. Hall says in his Preface that "The Southerner's sense of humor helped him to fight a war he believed honorable and to accept the bitter defeat which ended it," and he concludes that from the close of the war to 1914 "the Civil War was second only to the Negro as subject for Southern humor." There is clear evidence that the common soldiers got therapeutic laughs at the expense of their officers and the enemy, and from their own frustration and suffering. There is little evidence, however, to refute the statement often made that southern leaders before and at the time of the Civil War suffered from the lack of a sense of humor. The laughing at or about the Negroes and the poor whites is of a different sort from the laughing of the soldiers at themselves.

The humorous writings in diaries, reminiscences, and other nonliterary works furnish realistic glimpses of life in the camps and at home such as rarely occur in other writings. Except for Charles Henry Smith, who wrote as Bill Arp from the beginning of the War onward, and one or two others, the authors discussed in this monograph who achieved a literary reputation of any note were only incidentally humorists.

Arlin Turner.

Duke University.

Early American Wooden Ware and Other Kitchen Utensils. By Mary Earle Gould. (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc. 1962. Illustrations and index. Pp. 243. $8.50.)

Only on occasion does Mary Earle Gould stray from her first love, wooden ware, to discuss "other kitchen utensils." She became interested in wooden pieces quite by accident when she found and bought an old cheese box. Her box collection, which developed with her in-

terest, soon became an eight hundred-piece museum of utensils made of wood. In her first full-sized book on the subject she has covered all phases of the study of wooden ware in such a way that there is something for both the scholar and the layman. She has not only listed many items along with their functions, but has elaborated on the home life of the common people in the early days of America. She takes the time and trouble to explain beliefs and habits in the daily existence of those people. The over-all style is clear and simple and shows throughout the love of the author for the subject.

The introductory chapters cover tools used in woodworking and types of wood used, as well as general suggestions for using marks, stains, and smells to determine the original purpose of an object. Later chapters emphasize the preparation and consumption of food with butter making and apple processing taking up much of the interest since they both require many types of wooden utensils. Mortars and pestles, boxes, buckets, and bowls are the most common survivors of wooden ware found today and naturally make up the majority of the illustrations.

More than two hundred pictures are most informative but could be clearer in order to be helpful to the scholar. There are instances of sentence construction where the meaning becomes vague but these are few and should bother only the exacting scholar. The majority of the reference materials and illustrations are taken from sources available in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, so that the southern and western idiosyncrasies are not to be found; but the last chapter on the discovery and eradication of that scourge of wooden ware—the Lyctus powder-post beetle—is of vital interest to any owner of antique wood pieces.

Sue R. Todd.

State Department of Archives and History.

A Guide to the Principal Sources for American Civilization, 1800-1900, in the City of New York: Manuscripts. Compiled by Harry J. Carman and Arthur W. Thompson. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Index. Pp. xlviii, 453. $10.00.)

A Guide to the Principal Sources for American Civilization, 1800-1900, in the City of New York: Printed Materials. Compiled by Harry J. Carman and Arthur W. Thompson. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1962. Index. Pp. xlviii, 630. $15.00.)

The publication in 1929 of *A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History (1600-1800) in the City of New York,* compiled by Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris, met with such usefulness and appreciation that a chronological successor became highly desirable. The two volumes under review comprise another of the marvels of modern bibliographical history.

Because of the bulk of materials to be included, Compilers Carman and Thompson wisely decided to produce separate volumes for manuscripts and printed works. No researcher in nineteenth-century American history, regardless of topic or area of interest, can afford to be unfamiliar with these two publications.

In both volumes items are listed according to a rather complicated but well-thought-out subject arrangement. A name index makes reference easy even for an amateur.

No work of this magnitude could possibly emerge without errors. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the name of James Iredell should come out as James "Tredell" both in the text and index of the volume on printed materials. To cite several other examples in items relating to North Carolina, however, would be to detract unfairly from a work for which all researchers in American history owe a great debt to the compilers.

For a single depository to produce such a guide would have been an accomplishment. For a guide of this quality to be produced by all major depositories in the City of New York is nothing short of genius.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Papers Presented at the 1st and 2nd Conferences on Historic Site Archaeology, a special issue of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference *Newsletter,* has been compiled and edited by Mr. Stanley A. South. It is available at $2.50 per copy from Mr. Stephen Williams, Peabody Museum, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. The following articles, all by Mr. South, will be of interest to readers of *The Review:* "The Ceramic Types at Brunswick Town, North Carolina," "A Method of Cleaning Iron Artifacts," "Kaolin Pipe Stem Dates from the Brunswick Town Ruins," and "Salvaging Seals from the Earth and Archives." There are nine other articles dealing with historic archeology and numerous photographs of artifacts in the 68-page booklet.

Lattye Eunice Arnold's *Aunt Malissa's Memory Jug: Original Folk Stories,* brings to the public her popular folk tales in printed form. Radio listeners are well acquainted with the little girl Malissa and her jug (with its horseshoe nails, shoe buckle, child's ring, and other items—each serving as the basis of a story). The 141-page book sells for $3.00 and may be purchased in bookstores or ordered from the Exposition Press, 386 Park Avenue South, New York 16, New York.

The Archives Committee of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina in Greensboro recently published a 35-page booklet, *Archives: Records Schedule.* Prepared by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Moss of the State Records Section of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the State Department of Archives and History, the publication includes a brief history of the Woman's College, general recommendations concerning its records, and detailed inventories and schedules for each series of records created by the College. This pamphlet is available for $1.00 from the Library Office, Walter Clinton Jackson Library, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro.

The Department has received *Favorite Recipes of the Lower Cape Fear,* published in Wilmington by the Ministering Circle. The 1962 edition is the fourth revised printing of this cookbook and is illustrated with drawings of famous historic sites. Many recipes, preserved for generations as family secrets, are published here for the first time. Each is listed with the name of the donor. An index adds to the usefulness of the 183-page book, which may be ordered from the Ministering Circle, Box 1809, Wilmington, North Carolina, for $2.25 postpaid.

A Carolina Landmark: Two Centuries of Southwest Church by Charles Crossfield Ware was issued on October 21, 1962. The 12-page pamphlet was prepared for the bicentennial of the Lenoir County church. Dr. Ware relates the importance of two noted Baptists—Morgan Edwards and Shubael Stearns—and traces the history of Southwest Church through

its six associational affiliations from 1762 (Sandy Creek Separate Baptist Association) to 1962 (Disciples of Christ). A list of ministers who served the church and a brief bibliography are included. Copies of the booklet may be obtained for $1.00 from Dr. C. C. Ware, Curator, Carolina Discipliana Library, Box 1164, Wilson.

First Flight, by John Williams Andrews, is a narrative poem telling the story of Orville and Wilbur Wright at Kitty Hawk. The pamphlet is illustrated; it was published by the Pavilion Press, Westport, Connecticut, and is available for $1.00.

Numbers 139, 142, and 144 of *Preliminary Inventories* were recently published by the National Archives. Number 139, entitled *Records of the Supreme Court of the United States,* was compiled by Marion M. Johnson; Number 142, *Records of the Office of the Chief of Finance (Army),* was compiled by Richard W. Giroux and revised by Maizie H. Johnson; and Number 144, *War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records,* was compiled by Mabel E. Deutrich. Each of these pamphlets is available without cost from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

The National Archives has also recently issued, in revised form, a list of its publications. A copy of *Publications of the National Archives and Records Service* is also available without cost from the National Archives, the address of which is given above.

The Department recently received No. 15 of the *University of Florida Monographs in the Social Sciences.* Written by Donald E. Worcester, the 87-page booklet is entitled *Sea Power and Chilean Independence.* It is available for $2.00 from the University of Florida Press, 15 N. W. 15th Street, Gainesville, Florida.

The Genealogical Publishing Company of Baltimore has reprinted the Biennial Report of the North Carolina State Library, first issued in 1944, under the title *Marriage and Death Notices from Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette, 1799-1825.* Compiled by the late Carrie L. Broughton, the 192-page paper-bound booklet is available for $7.50 from the Genealogical Book Co., 521-23 St. Paul Place, Baltimore 2, Maryland.

Genealogists will also be interested in knowing that William S. Powell's article on patrons of the press, published in the Autumn, 1962, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review,* has been issued as a reprint. *Patrons of the Press: Subscription Book Purchases in North Carolina, 1733-1850,* contains numerous names. The 77-page booklet may be ordered from the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, for fifty cents.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, represented Governor Terry Sanford in Vicksburg, Mississippi, on August 19 at a program honoring those Confederate States whose troops fought in the Battle of Vicksburg.

On August 20, in ceremonies at Roanoke Island, Governor Matthew Welsh of Indiana returned to Governor Sanford a Confederate Flag captured by Indiana troops at Salisbury in 1865. A Bowie knife recovered from the "Modern Greece" was presented to Governor Welsh and the State of Indiana by Governor Sanford. The program was sponsored by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission and the Dare County Centennial Committee. Miss Carolyn Myers, Administrative Assistant, represented the Commission, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden represented the Department of Archives and History. An honor guard was provided by the reactivated Sixth Regiment.

Although salvage operations on the "Modern Greece" and other blockade-runners were suspended in August, preservation work at the Fort Fisher laboratory continues to attract nationwide attention. A recent letter from Mr. Harold L. Peterson of the National Park Service to the Executive Secretary of the Confederate Commission said in part, ". . . Harry [Wandrus, Preservationist with the National Park Service] and I are particularly impressed with what we saw at your Fort Fisher laboratory. We have watched the work of the Danes on their North Sea recoveries and are in touch with the Swedish specialists working on the 'Vasa' and with French students working on Mediterranean recoveries. None of these situations offer the opportunities you have at Fort Fisher. The variety of materials, the known data on provenience, and the technical facilities that could be brought to bear on this problem offer a real chance for the United States to play a leading role in this field. . . ."

On October 8 Admiral E. M. Eller, Director of Naval History, Washington, D. C., met with Mr. Larson and members of the staff of the Department of Archives and History at the Fort Fisher laboratory. Admiral Eller's comments included the following: "In the recovery, preservation and display of materials of this period, you can make North Carolina famous (as she is rightly in other ways) with consequent prestige and attraction of national—if not world, interest."

A documentary television film on the salvage operation has been produced by Mr. Lee Kinard of WFMY-TV, Greensboro. Entitled "100 Years Beneath the Sea," the film is being readied for distribution and use throughout the State by the Audio-Visual Committee of the Commission.

A regular meeting of the Confederate Centennial Commission was held in Raleigh on September 6 at which time Mr. Larson introduced to the Commission new staff members, Mrs. Healan Barrow and Miss Myra Thompson. He also summarized the year's activities and outlined plans for the future.

On September 9 Mr. Larson was present at ceremonies at Aiken sponsored by the South Carolina Commission, honoring General "Joe" Wheeler. He was accompanied by Colonel Hugh Dortch, Commission Chairman, and Mrs. Dortch.

On September 11 and 12 the Executive Secretary was at Fort Fisher and on the latter date met with members of the Audio-Visual Committee in High Point.

Mr. I. H. O'Hanlon of Fayetteville served as Governor Sanford's representative at the re-enactment of the Battle of Sharpsburg on September 17. He was accompanied by Mrs. O'Hanlon. Commission members attending were Mrs. Alvin Seippel and Mrs. Earl Teague. The Executive Secretary and Mr. Robert Jones of the staff of the Museums Division were also present. Approximately 90 members of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment took part in the re-enactment which was held in the area of the "Bloody Lane." Colonel W. Cliff Elder assumed the role of General D. H. Hill and was in command of the sector.

Mr. Larson met with Mr. R. O. Everett and Mr. N. B. Bragg in Durham on September 19 to begin planning the commemoration of the Bennett Place surrender. He was in Wilmington again during the period, September 24-26, to discuss the Fort Fisher operation.

On October 3 Mr. Larson attended a meeting with Mr. Sam Beard of WRAL-TV, Dr. Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, and staff members of Department to discuss a proposed series of documentary TV programs to be aired by WRAL-TV during 1963.

Attending the annual convention of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy held in New Bern, October 10-11, were staff members Larson, Myers, Louis Manarin, and Jo Ann Manarin. Mr. Larson and Mr. Manarin conducted a workshop breakfast on October 11.

During the week of October 16-19 Mr. Larson and Mr. Robert Jones toured western North Carolina for the purpose of filming scenes to be included in a forthcoming motion picture concerning the work of the Department of Archives and History. They had previously photographed sites in the eastern part of the State. On October 23 Mr. Larson spoke to the Wake County Historical Society on the Centennial program in North Carolina. He also showed slides of Civil War sites and of the preservation program at Fort Fisher. On October 24 Mr. Larson met with the Commission's School Education Committee. Plans were made for an intensified in-school Centennial program. He attended a meeting of the Audio-Visual Committee on November 7. The forthcoming production by

WUNC-TV of a full-length dramatic program on General James Johnston Pettigrew was discussed. Tentative plans call for airing of the show in July, 1963, to coincide with the 100th anniversary of Pettigrew's death.

On November 24 and 25 Colonel Dortch and Mr. Larson attended the annual meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference in New Orleans.

In early October, 1962, Roster Editor Louis Manarin helped to effect the return to North Carolina of the wartime letter books of Governor Zebulon B. Vance from the National Archives in Washington. These letter books were captured by Union troops in the spring of 1865.

The Commission has three publications in the press. *Front Rank: The Story of North Carolina in the Civil War* by Glenn Tucker is scheduled to go on sale in December. The book features original pen-and-ink drawings by artist Bill Ballard. Harry H. Hall's *A Johnny Reb Band From Salem: The Pride of Tarheelia,* a history of the Twenty-sixth Regimental Band, is scheduled for publication in early 1963. The third publication will be a reprinting in facsimile of *The Dixie Geography,* which was published during the Civil War. Dr. O. L. Davis, formerly of the University of North Carolina, will write the introduction to the book, which will also appear in early 1963.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

The federal North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission received seven new members by the appointment of President John F. Kennedy on October 16. The Commission consists of fifteen members: four Representatives previously appointed by Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, four Senators appointed by Speaker of the House John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, and the seven Presidential appointees. The seven are: Chairman, Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations mediator and former President of the University of North Carolina; Mrs. Bessie Ballentine, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Automobile Dealers Association; Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges; Mr. Bruce Jolly, Washington correspondent for the *Greensboro Daily News;* Mrs. May Gordon Latham Kellenberger, Greensboro housewife; Mr. Dwight Phillips, Charlotte, builder; and Mr. William S. Powell, Librarian for the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina. According to General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary, Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, the federal Commission will work with the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission in formulating plans for the 1963 celebration, arranging visits of foreign dignitaries, and procuring art work for exhibits during the Tercentenary year.

The symbol which will represent North Carolina's 300th anniversary celebration was presented to Governor Terry Sanford on September 18 by Honorable Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, Chairman of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. Based on the original seal of the eight Lords Proprietors, to whom King Charles II granted the Charter in 1663, the symbol has eight modified shields radiating from a central core, representing the form of government 300 years ago. Within the

star-shaped core is an abstraction of the new State House, which will house the State Legislature initially during the Tercentenary year. Mr. Winslow, in his remarks to the Governor, pointed out that a primary objective of the Charter Commission is to educate the people about the little known and less understood facts of North Carolina's significant history.

The last plenary meeting of the Charter Commission before the onset of the Tercentenary was held in Raleigh on October 12. Committee reports were given on the progress accomplished in respective areas. There was a great deal of discussion in regard to a commemorative stamp for the Tercentenary. It was noted that a portrait of either John Locke or King Charles II or a reproduction of the Tercentenary Symbol would be a desirable design for the stamp. Mrs. J. M. Harper, Jr., of Southport, Commission member, stated that the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs has chosen North Carolina's heritage for its theme this year, and that in February a "Heritage Week" will be observed in Raleigh. Many programs have been presented within the Federation and more are planned for the coming year. The Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Wright, Chairman of the Religious Activities Committee, reported a resolution which has been adopted by the North Carolina Association of Rabbis. The resolution concerns the support of the Tercentenary by North Carolina citizens and an appeal to welcome the occasion as a challenge for a new beginning and for uniting all men in the furtherance of their religious ideals.

The first four in a series of leaflets published through the Commission's administrative office dealing with colonial life are available for distribution. The leaflets are entitled "Colonial Carolina Coins and Currency," "Carolina Colonists' Costumes," one each for men and women, and "Colonial Carolina Sports." Several pamphlets are also being readied for distribution to schools and colleges in concurrence with the Commission's emphasis on the period 1663-1763.

"A Selective Music Bibliography From the Period 1663-1763," by Dr. James Pruett and Dr. Lee Rigsby and designed to guide planning of musical programs and study during the celebration year, is available for purchase at the Commission's Raleigh office. Also available for purchase is "Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists, 1663-1763," a bibliographical study by Dr. Arthur Palmer Hudson. Both booklets are publications of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

Four western North Carolina tourist attractions have announced plans for their participation in the Tercentenary celebration. The Rhododendron Festival, "Horn in the West," the Mineral and Gem Festival, and the Parkway Playhouse will help to tell the story of North Carolina's 300th birthday. The Parkway Playhouse will produce Thomas Godfrey's early drama, "The Prince of Parthia." The Southern Appalachian Historical Association, sponsor of "Horn in the West," is considering a prologue to its famed story of Daniel Boone's role as a pioneer of Colonial North Carolina. The night of July 31, 1963, has been designated for recognizing the anniversary at the Mineral and Gem Festival sponsored by the Mitchell County Chamber of Commerce. The Tercentenary celebration will also be the

theme of the 1963 Rhododendron Festival, sponsored by the Bakersville Lions Club.

The recently established Speakers' Bureau, located at the Commission's offices, has presented programs on Tercentenary plans to many civic and professional organizations throughout the State.

Preliminary production planning of the Tercentenary's motion picture documentary has begun under the direction of Mr. James A. Beveridge of the newly inaugurated North Carolina Film Board. The film will be available to school and civic organizations.

The booklet, "Historic North Carolina," published by the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, includes an informational insert concerning the 1963 Tercentenary. Travel advertisements featuring the celebration are also included in nationally circulated magazines. Many inquiries have been received as a result of their publication.

Director's Office

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director; Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor of the Division of Publications; and Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, met with Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission, on August 13 to discuss the publication of a new edition of the papers of James Iredell, Sr. The Department had previously negotiated a contract with Dr. Don Higginbotham of Louisiana State University to serve as Editor. Dr. Holmes met later that day with Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker, Executive Editor, to confer about the new edition of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina.*

On September 5 Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Blackwelder met in Greensboro with Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman, and Dr. Fletcher M. Green and Dr. D. J. Whitener, of the Executive Board of the Department, and several other persons to discuss certain matters relating to the Department of Archives and History's budgetary requirements for the biennium 1963-1965.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, and Dr. Crittenden on September 10 requested the State Highway Department to alter plans for widening and improving the highway (Reems Creek Road) serving the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site in Buncombe County. The plan as proposed would have damaged the front of the Vance Birthplace property by cutting away trees and shrubs. The Highway Department has agreed not to cut into the section in question, thus preserving the present appearance of the Vance Birthplace.

The Executive Board, the Director, and the Division heads of the Department of Archives and History and the Chairman and Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission appeared before the Advisory Budget Commission on September 18 to present budgetary requests for the biennium 1963-1965. For the biennium the Department is requesting a total operational budget of $675,458 for the first year and $687,684 for the second year, compared with the total operational budget of $590,341 for 1962-1963. The Department also requested for the "C" Budget (Capital Improvements) $2,636,000 of which $2,410,000 is for a

badly needed new building for the Department of Archives and History. The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission requested a total operational budget of $36,476 for the six-months period, July 1-December 31, 1963, in comparison with a total of $153,490 for the full fiscal year, 1962-1963. The Commission also requested $13,698 for the three-months period, January 1-March 31, 1964, for a "B" Budget (Expansion of Present Level Services). A total of $36,124 for the Colonial Records Project was requested for the period January 1-June 30, 1964. The Charter Tercentenary year comes to a close December 31, 1963.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission had requested of the Advisory Budget Commission a total of $60,432 for each year of the 1963-1965 biennium as compared with a total of $61,360 for 1962-1963.

The Tryon Palace Commission had requested a total of $124,892 for 1963-1964 and $126,825 for 1964-1965 as compared with $123,820 for 1962-1963.

Following the budget hearings the Executive Board of the Department held a meeting in the Assembly Room of the Department.

The Raleigh Historic Sites Commission met on October 2 and adopted a proposed budget and bylaws. Methods of financing the work of the Commission were also considered, and reports from various committees were heard. On November 6 the Commission met again to review a preliminary list of historic sites to be marked in the City of Raleigh. Mr. A. C. Hall, Jr., Director of City Planning, made suggestions concerning the presentation of the plans of the Commission to the City Council. The Commission met with the City Council on November 19 and gave its annual report and made requests for funds with which to operate. Three projects for the immediate future were proposed, all requiring some financial support by the City of Raleigh. The first project suggested is the restoration and improvement of the City Cemetery. This would be the first step of a long-range program and would include landscaping, beautification, proper interpretation through markers, and the publication of a brief brochure listing prominent persons buried in this cemetery. The second project proposed would consist of marking historic sites and buildings which meet the criteria previously adopted by the Commission. A preliminary list includes six churches, six public buildings, four schools, nine privately-owned buildings, eighteen houses (specifically named), and approximately thirty other buildings and houses (not specifically designated) which are considered typical of certain architectural periods. The list was prepared by Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Mr. Ben Williams, Miss Beth Crabtree, members of the Commission, and Mrs. Ralph Seymour of the Raleigh Woman's Club. The third project proposed is the publication of a historical pamphlet, with the City of Raleigh being responsible only for the cost of publication; the research, writing, and photographs used to be donated. A special meeting of the Commission and a committee representing the Raleigh Woman's Club met in the Assembly Room of the Department on November 29 to discuss plans for marking historic sites in Raleigh and planning one or more historical tours of the City.

On October 4 Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist, appeared before the Town Council of Wake Forest to inform that body regarding the development and future plans of the Wake Forest College Birthplace. The Council passed a resolution commending and expressing appreciation to the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society for its progress in this field. Dr. Crittenden serves as President of the Society. The Society and other interested persons met in Wake Forest on November 29 to elect officers. Dr. Crittenden was re-elected President; other officers elected were Mr. John Wooten, Vice-President; Mrs. A. C. Hall, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Cameron Lee, Dr. J. B. Hipps, Mrs. W. W. Holding, Mr. J. B. Cook, Jr., Dr. Douglas M. Branch, and Dr. I. Beverly Lake, members of the Board of Directors. Mr. N. B. Bragg gave a brief talk illustrated with color slides on "Historic Houses in North Carolina." Dr. Crittenden stated that grants of $6,000 from the Richardson Foundation and $7,000 from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation have been received to complete the restoration of the Birthplace. Exterior restoration is almost complete and interior work is proceeding. It was in this house that the first classes of Wake Forest College were held in 1834. The property is familiarly known as the Calvin Jones House. Dr. Jones was a native of Massachusetts, a physician, member of the House of Representatives, Mayor of Raleigh, Editor of the Raleigh *Star,* Brigadier General of the Militia in the War of 1812, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of North Carolina, and one of the founders of the North Carolina Medical Society. Jones sold the land on which Wake Forest College was established, cutting his price by $500—his personal gift to the College. The College, controlled by the Baptist State Convention, moved to Winston-Salem several years ago. The Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary now occupies the campus in Wake Forest. Members of the Department attending the meeting were Dr. Crittenden, Mr. Bragg, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, and Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder.

Dr. Crittenden, Mr. Tarlton, and Mr. Richard Iobst, Historic Site Specialist in charge of the Marker Program, met on October 5 in Chapel Hill with the Advisory Committee on Historical Markers. The group approved inscriptions for markers to be erected in the future.

On October 12 Dr. Crittenden attended the plenary meeting of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission in Raleigh and on October 15 he met with Mr. Norman C. Larson, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Manarin, and Mr. H. G. Jones to discuss the progress on the roster of North Carolina soldiers in the Civil War. Mr. Manarin, who is Editor of the roster and Mrs. Manarin, who assists him, have worked in the National Archives for the past several months. Splendid progress has been made on this project.

Dr. Crittenden attended on October 18 the 200th Anniversary Celebration of the founding of the City of Kinston. The program included the dedication of the new City Hall, a luncheon for guests, a parade, the presentation of the Kinston Coat of Arms, Seal, and Flag by the Hon. Sir George Bellew, formerly Garter King of Arms of the College of Arms, London, England. Mr. Marion A. Parrott, Kinston attorney, sponsored

the movement for Kinston to claim armorial bearings, a city seal, and flag from the College of Arms. The College devised and issued such arms on December 20, 1960. Mr. Meriwether Lewis served as Chairman of the Anniversary Celebration.

Members of the Carolinas Gun Club presented the Department with a traveling exhibit relating to Civil War weapons in ceremonies at the Jack Tar Hotel, Durham, on October 20. Dr. Crittenden accepted the gift for the Department.

On October 24 Governor Terry Sanford held a press conference in the Battery Park Hotel in Asheville. Dr. Crittenden was present with the letter books of Civil War Governor Zebulon Baird Vance which recently were returned to the Department by the National Archives. The letter books had been out of the State since they were captured by the forces of Union General William T. Sherman in 1865. It was particularly appropriate for this publicity to be released in Buncombe, the county where Vance was born and where his birthplace has been restored as a historic site.

Dr. Crittenden attended the meeting of the Tryon Palace Commission in New Bern on November 8, and on November 11 he attended the celebration of Veterans Day in ceremonies aboard the Battleship "North Carolina" at Wilmington. At that time Dr. Crittenden presented the North Carolina Battleship Commission an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History for that Commission's extremely fine accomplishment in bringing the "North Carolina" back to the State and preserving it for posterity. The Commission expects to continue to function for two more years.

Dr. Crittenden was present on November 13 at the Wake Forest College Alumni dinner in Raleigh which was attended by persons from all sections of the State. Mr. N. B. Bragg discussed the restoration of the Wake Forest College Birthplace and outlined plans for continuing work on the project.

On November 16 a meeting was held in Chapel Hill of the Advisory Editorial Board of the Colonial Records Project. Among those present were Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Blackwelder, representing the Department, Mrs. Mattie E. Parker, Executive Editor, and General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, and four members of the Board. Those assembled discussed the immediate problems relating to this project and explored the question of materials for inclusion in future volumes. Mrs. Parker summarized the steps to be taken by the staff of the Colonial Records Project as (1) an inventory of records to be included in the series, (2) the over-all plan for publishing future volumes, and (3) preparation of the second volume.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, and the three Assistant State Archivists, Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, and Mr. Cyrus B. King, attended the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Rochester, New York, September 30-October 2. Mr. Jones was re-elected Treasurer of the organization, and Mr. Mitchell

served as Chairman of the Nominations Committee. On October 19 Mr. Jones attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina in Boone, and on November 8-10, the Southern Historical Association in Miami Beach, Florida, where he read a paper, "Archives and Records Management," at the session on Southern Historical Agencies and Their Program.

Miss Kathryn S. Pruitt joined the State Archivist's staff as Stenographer II on July 1, replacing Mrs. Carole Foote Lucas. Mr. Julius H. Avant resumed part-time work on October 1, and Mr. Albert L. Wilson joined the staff as a part-time employee on November 1. A heavy turnover of personnel hampered operations in the Microfilm Services Center. Mr. Donald L. Horton was promoted to Photographer I to replace Mr. Jerry T. Salmon, who returned to college; Mr. Ernest Hardy replaced Mr. Horton in the latter's former position as Reproduction Equipment Operator II; and Mr. James H. Mercer replaced Mr. William H. Langley as Clerk II (camera operator). Nevertheless, 42,400 feet of 16 mm. and 32,160 feet of 35 mm. negative microfilm were processed during the quarter ending September 30. In addition, 16,250 feet of positive film were reproduced during the same period. In the Laminating Shop, 25,656 pages of deteriorating manuscripts were restored, plus 5,498 pages rehabilitated for individuals and other institutions.

During the same quarter, 55 additional reels of newspapers were completed in the Newspaper Microfilm Project and made ready for positive printing, as follows (all are weeklies unless indicated otherwise, and brackets around dates indicate badly broken runs) :

EDENTON: One miscellaneous reel containing the following papers: *Albemarle Bulletin* [1850-1851], *Albemarle Enquirer* [1886], *Albemarle Sentinel* [1839-1840], *American Banner* [1856], *Edenton Clarion* [1880-1881], *Edenton Sentinel & Albemarle Intelligencer* [1841], and *North Carolina Miscellany* [1832-1833].

HALIFAX: One reel containing *Halifax Compiler* [1818], *Halifax Minerva* [1829-1830], and *Roanoke Advocate* [1830-1833]; [1840-1843]; [1853-1856].

LINCOLNTON: *Carolina Republican* [1848-1851] and [1853], one reel; *Lincoln Courier* [1845-1851] and [1867], one reel; *Lincoln Courier* [1887-1895], three reels; *Lincoln Democrat,* 1895-1896, one reel; *Lincoln Progress* [1873] and [1876-1882], two reels; *Lincoln Republican* [1840-1842], one reel; and one-half reel containing a few issues each of the *Lincoln Transcript* [1836]; *Western Whig Banner* [1840]; *Plow, Forge & Grip* [1891]; and *Lincoln Journal* [1898-1899] and [1901].

MILTON: *Milton Chronicle* [1841-1883], one reel; one reel containing *Milton Intelligencer* [1819]; *Milton Gazette* [1824-1831] and *Milton Spectator* [1831-1839] and [1845]; and one reel covering *Milton Advertiser* [1886] and [1891]; *Milton Gazette* [1892-1893]; and *Milton Herald* [1898-1900].

MURFREESBORO: *Murfreesboro Enquirer* [1876-1881], one reel; *Murfreesboro Index* [1887-1896] and [1908], four reels; and one reel containing *Hornet's Nest* [1812-1813]; *North Carolina Chronicle* [1827];

The Citizen [1859-1860]; and *Albemarle Southron & Union Advocate* [1860].

NEW BERN: *Newbern Daily Progress,* 1858-1860 [1861-1863], seven reels; *Newbern Weekly Progress* [1859-1863], and *Newbern Semi-Weekly Progress* [1863], 1 reel.

RALEIGH: *Carolina Era,* daily [1872-1873], one reel; *Carolina Era* [1871-1872], semi-weekly, 2 reels; *Carolina Era,* weekly [1871-1876], two reels; *Raleigh Daily Progress,* 1862-1863 [1864]; [1867], three reels; and *Raleigh Weekly Progress* [1864-1867], one reel.

WILMINGTON: *Cape Fear Recorder,* 1816-1832, one reel; *Weekly Commercial* [1848-1857], two reels; *Daily Herald* [1854-1861], ten reels; *Herald of the Union,* daily [1865], one reel; *Wilmington Herald,* daily [1865], one reel; *Daily Wilmington Herald,* afternoon [1865-1866], one reel; *Daily Wilmington Herald,* morning [1865-1866], two reels.

Accessions recorded in the Archives during the quarter ending September 30, 1962, totaled 73. Included were the records of the North Carolina Home Economics Association, 1919-1945; four bound volumes of *The Franklin Courier* [Louisburg], 1872-1876, which contained all except four issues of the weekly newspaper; 12 volumes and six pamphlets of General Court Records, 1704-1754, transferred from Chowan County Clerk of Superior Court; and photocopies of six early North Carolina maps purchased from the Library of Congress. Additional materials from the Division of Negro Education, Department of Public Instruction, was also transferred during the quarter.

During the same quarter 790 researchers visited the Search Room and 882 letters requesting information from the Archives were answered. Photocopies numbering 818, together with 73 paper prints from microfilm and 32 typed certified copies, were furnished to the public from records in the Archives.

Mr. Patrick Shuffler, a Needham Broughton High School senior, spent the summer as an unpaid intern in the Archives Section. Mr. John R. Woodard, Archivist I, returned to the Section after six months active duty with the United States Army.

Mr. Cyrus B. King participated in a panel discussing "Teaching History Through the Use of Primary Sources" before the Annual Convention of the Social Studies Teachers of the North Central District, North Carolina Education Association. On November 7 he spoke on the "Preservation of Family Records" to the Woman's Club of Smithfield.

A major task was accomplished in the Local Records Section when 115 cubic feet of Bertie County papers were rearranged and made more accessible to researchers. Included in the group were civil and criminal papers of the County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and the Superior Court (1737-1868), estates papers (1735-1868), deeds and land records (1723-1890), guardians' accounts (1730-1920), lists of taxables (1755-1860), marriage licenses (1870-1903), and miscellaneous records (prior to 1868). Also arranged and accessioned were smaller groups of

papers recently received from Cumberland, Granville, and Tyrrell counties. These include: from Cumberland, estates and guardians' records (1762-1856), and civil actions and miscellaneous papers (1777-1880); from Granville County, copies of wills (1749-1770); and from Tyrrell County, wills (1798-1820).

Staff personnel has begun the arrangement of 34 cubic feet of Edgecombe County papers (1761-1905). Work continues on the arrangement of a large volume of Chowan County colonial and county records, some of which date back to the seventeenth century.

Records recently received from counties include: from Cumberland County, a group of dockets of the County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and of the Superior Court, all prior to 1868, the latter including four minute dockets; from Davidson County, County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and Superior Court dockets, civil action and equity papers, all prior to 1868, estates records and fiduciaries' bonds (1833-1919), and a large collection of marriage bonds and licenses (1822-1900); from Guilford County, wills (1792-1899), estates records (1869-1900), civil actions and equity papers (1870-1930), marriage registers (1876-1937), records of elections (1880-1922) and deeds (1800-1945); from Rowan County, miscellaneous dockets of the County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and the Superior Court, all prior to 1868, and a small collection of miscellaneous papers (1774-1856), including correspondence of a number of important personages of that period.

The microfilming of permanently valuable records in Rowan County has been completed, and Department microfilm operators are working in Cumberland and Halifax counties. Alamance and Mecklenburg counties are conducting their own microfilm programs with the advice and assistance of the Department. Microfilming has now been completed in 25 counties and is in progress in four more. Preliminary to beginning work in Halifax County, staff personnel conducted an inventory of the records in each county office. The subsequently prepared *Halifax County Records Inventory* schedules for retention or disposal the records of each office, and indicates which of the records will be microfilmed.

A most important and highly appreciated phase of the security microfilming program is the restoration by lamination and the rebinding of permanently valuable county records in need of repair. The work of restoring a large number of Orange County deed books and Rowan County deed and will books has recently been completed. Repairs to an even greater number of Cumberland and Mecklenburg County records are now underway.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist for Local Records, read a paper, "Archival Services to State Agencies," at the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Rochester, New York, on September 30.

Mr. H. Lloyd Burkley, temporarily employed as a microfilm camera operator, resigned on August 31 to enter East Carolina College. He was replaced by Mr. Nash A. Isenhower, also a temporary employee whose period of employment terminated on November 9.

In the State Records Section the records management program for State agencies continued to concentrate on records scheduling, although this phase of the program is virtually completed. New schedules for the Museum of Art and the Veterans' Commission have been approved and schedules for the Board of Higher Education and the Department of Water Resources are awaiting agency approval. Revisions for the Department of Archives and History, Board of Public Welfare, and the Board of Alcoholic Control are in process, as are new schedules for North Carolina State College and the Hospitals Board of Control. Major revisions and amendments to the Department of Administration, Department of Public Instruction, and Board of Health schedules have been approved.

The desirability of bringing all records under disposition control was emphasized when State agencies reported 94,543 cubic feet of records in their custody as of June 30, 1962. This does not include the volume of records in the State Records Center or in the Archives.

The project of reorganizing the index file in the Sales Tax Division, Department of Revenue, has been completed and a brief training session for all employees of the Division was conducted. In addition, a files reorganization for the Department of Archives and History is awaiting final approval. The study of fiscal records and paperwork throughout the State continues.

The records management handbook of *Files and Filing* is in draft form and is being reviewed in the Department. This handbook will be accompanied by a workshop which has also been drafted and is being put into final form for presentation. Plans are also completed for giving the federal government correspondence management and forms improvement workshops to selected State employees.

In the Central Microfilm Project, 164 reels containing 1,070,666 images were filmed for State agencies during the quarter ending September 30.

In the State Records Center 1,625.9 cubic feet of records were accessioned and 566.4 cubic feet disposed of, for a net gain of 1,059.5 cubic feet. On September 30, 1962, the net holdings of the Records Center were 24,569.5 cubic feet and the space problem is critical. To remedy this, the Council of State appropriated $7,500 to the Department of Administration to rewire the Records Center and to relocate and replace lighting fixtures in the storage areas. After this work has been done, additional shelving will be constructed.

During the quarter ending September 30, the Records Center staff handled 3,376 reference requests and refiled or interfiled 2,158 items for 18 State agencies. This increase results from the fact that the staff of the Records Center has assumed responsibility for servicing Employment Security Commission and Department of Revenue records. For the first time, the Records Center is performing reference service on all records in its custody. There was a proportionate reduction in the number of visitors; during the quarter ending September 30, 1962, 195 visitors from eleven State agencies and from Army Intelligence, FBI, U.S. Probation

Office, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare visited the Records Center.

Mr. Alexander R. Tuten, Records Management Consultant I, spoke to the Optimist Club of Raleigh on November 6 on the work of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts.

Effective November 1, 1962, the payroll title of Messrs. Charles I. Bryan and Alexander R. Tuten, formerly Archivists III, were changed to Records Management Consultant I. Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell's payroll title (working title: Assistant State Archivist for State Records Management) was changed to Records Management Consultant II.

Division of Historic Sites

Mr. W. S. Tarlton spoke on June 19 to the Quota Club of Raleigh on the "Historic Sites Program in North Carolina"; on July 5 he spoke to the Apex Lions Club on the same subject. From August 21 through 23 he attended the annual sessions in Buffalo, New York, of the American Association for State and Local History. He was present for a meeting of the Awards Committee as Committeeman for the South Atlantic States and also met with the Council. He read a paper, "Local Historical Societies and Historic Sites," at one of the sessions. He was re-elected for a full four-year term to the Council. On August 24 he visited the Library of Congress in Washington for a committee assignment for the Advisory Board of the Historic American Buildings Survey and visited the headquarters of the National Trust for Historic Preservation to confer with members of the staff on matters of interest to the Historic Sites Program.

He attended the August 30 meeting of the Lenoir County Confederate Centennial Committee to discuss plans for preserving the Confederate gunboat "Neuse." On September 6 he attended a meeting in Raleigh of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. He spoke to the Hillsborough Historical Society on October 12 on preserving historic buildings and sites in Hillsboro, illustrating his talk with color slides of a number of buildings in several sections of the State. On November 18 he attended the dedication ceremonies of the Visitor Center-Museum and restored 1870 schoolhouse at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site.

Mr. Walter R. Wootten, Historic Site Specialist at the Alamance Battleground State Historic Site, reports that on October 11 the Regulator column was moved from the Guilford Courthouse Battleground and erected at the Alamance Site. A mound, built around the monument, has been seeded. Preliminary negotiations have been undertaken with the State Highway Commission asking that body to request permission for highway directional and turn-off signs to be erected on Interstate 85 to guide tourist traffic to Alamance Battleground. During the last quarter Mr. Wootten has made talks on the Regulator Movement, on the Carolina Charter Tercentenary celebration in 1963, and on citizenship to the Elon

College Book Club, the Burlington Writers Club, the E. M. Holt School, and the Graham High School. There has been a great increase in the number of visitors to the Site, as well as in public support and publicity.

The Aycock Visitor Center-Museum was completed on October 17, and inspection and the State acceptance were completed on October 23. Mr. Frank E. Walsh, Exhibits Designer, worked from October 24 to November 18 preparing for the opening. The openings of the Visitor Center-Museum and the 1870 schoolhouse were held on November 18, with Dr. D. J. Rose, Chairman of the Charles Brantley Aycock Memorial Commission, presiding. Dr. Burkette Raper, President of the Mount Olive Junior College, gave the invocation. Dr. Rose recognized distinguished guests and acknowledged the private citizens and patriotic, historical, and civic groups in Wayne County who have contributed to the entire restoration project. Mr. David S. Coltrane, Consultant to the Governor, was the featured speaker. Mrs. Will Stroud, representing Mrs. A. J. Johnstone, Regent, David Williams Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, presented a United States Flag to Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist in charge of the Aycock Birthplace. Mr. Robert Helms, general contractor, presented the key for the new building to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History. After the program the 1870 school was open for visitation, at which time the Wayne County Historical Society sponsored a demonstration of a school in session. Miss Mary Hawley, retired Wayne County schoolteacher, was dressed in an authentic costume of the period and portrayed the role of teacher. Children of members of the County Historical Society, also dressed in costumes of the 1870's, participated in the role of students. During the afternoon, the Birthplace, dedicated on November 1, 1959, was open to visitors. The Fremont Garden Club served cider and homemade tea cakes to approximately 800 guests. Mr. Sawyer made a talk to the Pikeville Lions Club on November 13, on the opening of the Visitor Center-Museum. On November 20, the fifth grade of New Hope School, Wayne County—107 strong—visited the Site.

Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist at the Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site, reports that less than $6,000 of the estimated $40,000 for the construction of a visitor center-museum remains to be raised. The Battleground Advisory Committee continues to work to obtain the necessary funds. Since the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division, furnished a room in the Harper House, the Sander-Holt Chapter of the above organization and the Johnston County Historical Society have each agreed to furnish rooms. The Dunn Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Richardson Foundation are financing the restoration of the slave cabin at Averasboro. The Chicora Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy is cooperating with the Department in this unusual restoration which will have hand-riven shakes covering the outside logs to protect the daubing. A rock chimney and fireplace have already been constructed. Markers,

under the direction of Mr. Richard Iobst, have been erected at Averasboro, including one at the Chicora Cemetery. Mr. Bragg reports that plans are being made for a centennial program to be held at the Bennett Place in 1965. Mr. R. O. Everett, Chairman of the Bennett Place Memorial Commission, is co-ordinating the program which will be sponsored by the Department, the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, the Bennett Place Commission, and the City of Durham. Plans are also being made for the eventual construction of a visitor center-museum at the Site. Persons may arrange visits to the Bennett Place during the winter months by contacting Mr. Bragg, Box 1881, Raleigh. The restoration work at the Wake Forest College Birthplace in Wake Forest was begun in August. Bricks for the foundation and chimneys were secured from the old Harrison home on Seaboard Avenue in Raleigh which was recently demolished. Cypress shingles for the roof have been hand-riven by an old Negro near Warsaw in Duplin County. During the winter it is expected that a new room and a new two-story porch will be added as well as blinds, doors, and windows. On September 6 Mr. Bragg spoke to the Wake Forest Woman's Club on the restoration of the College Birthplace, and on September 23 he participated in the dedication of a room of the Harper House, furnished by the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Honorable Thad Eure, Secretary of State, made the principal address for the occasion. Mr. Bragg visited the Richmond M. Pearson law school in Yadkin County on September 27 and was in Winston-Salem on September 28 to do research for the Wake Forest College Birthplace. On October 3 he attended a meeting of the Edenton-Chowan County Historical Society, and on October 10 gave an illustrated talk on "Civil War Sites in North Carolina" at the State United Daughters of the Confederacy Convention in New Bern. Mr. Bragg spoke on October 11 in Charlotte to the Mecklenburg Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on Governor Thomas Burke and made a tour of Lincoln County on October 12, visiting with Mrs. Joseph Graham and the following sites: Mt. Tirzah (1790), Vesuvius Furnace (1791), Machpelah Church (1848), "Ingleside" (1818), and "Woodside" (1804). Mr. Bragg gave slide-lectures to the Kenly Pierian Book Club on Civil War sites on November 5, and to the Oxford Woman's Club on "Preservation, Restoration, and Reconstruction in North Carolina" on November 7. He spoke on the "Restoration of the Wake Forest College Birthplace" to the Wake Forest Civic Club on November 15.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist at Brunswick Town State Historic Site, reports that the work on excavation of Judge Maurice Moore's home in Brunswick Town continues. The home was similar to others in the town, with architectural characteristics derived from the West Indies. A large number of signs have been cut in laminated plastic to aid in the interpretation of the sites of Brunswick Town and Fort Anderson. A number of these have also been placed along the nature trail explaining the use the colonists made of various native plants. From November 1 through 3 Mr. South attended the third annual Conference on Historic

Site Archaeology at Moundville, Alabama, and presented papers entitled "Some Notes on Bricks," and "Interpreting the Brunswick Town Ruins." He also attended on November 10 the Eastern States Archaeological Federation meeting in Athens, Georgia, and presented a paper entitled "Dating Historic Sites through Analysis of Ceramics and Kaolin Pipestems at Brunswick Town, North Carolina." An article, "Coins from the Brunswick Town Ruins," was written by Mr. South for the Brunswick County Historical Society *Newsletter*, II (No. 4). These newsletters are reprinted and passed out as leaflets to visitors at the Site. Mr. South worked with Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., the Brunswick Town costumed guide, on the excavation of an Early Woodland Period site in Brunswick County. Pottery from the period 1000-500 B.C. was found during the excavation. Mr. Asbury presented a paper on this work at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina in Wilmington on October 13. Three displays on Brunswick Town history, archeology, and Fort Anderson were prepared and erected at Wilmington College for use during the month of October. Arrangements have been made with the College to provide protected fireproof storage space for some of the more important Brunswick Town artifacts until a museum can be erected at the Site.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher State Historic Site, reports that visitation was excellent during the period August-November. Since the opening of the Museum-Pavilion on March 1, 165,000 people have visited the Site. Some of the surgical instruments, knives, guns, tools, and other items recovered from the "Modern Greece" by U.S. naval divers have been treated at the Fort Fisher Preservation Laboratory and are now on exhibit in the temporary museum. On August 7 and 8 Mr. Harold Peterson, Director of the National Park Service, toured the Fort Fisher Preservation Laboratory and the Museum-Pavilion. On August 15 Mr. Virgil Carrington Jones, author of the trilogy, *Civil War at Sea,* visited Fort Fisher. He is preparing a "Civil War at Sea" article, which deals in part with Fort Fisher, for the *National Geographic* magazine. On August 8 Mr. Honeycutt attended the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the SEENCL and Development Association in Wilmington, at which time he was appointed to serve on a special advisory committee to work with the Association's Travel and Recreation Division. He attended this committee's September 25 meeting at which a historical brochure was planned to cover the Southeastern North Carolina area. On August 20 Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, toured Fort Fisher. At the close of the 1962 beach season Mayor John Washburn of Carolina Beach stated that "the tourist boom [caused by the opening of the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion and the U.S.S. "North Carolina" Memorial and the recovery of Civil War artifacts by U.S. naval divers] created a busy season for nearby Carolina Beach, . . . with businessmen and residents reporting the biggest season in history." On September 13 Governor Terry Sanford and the Council of State voted to condemn 11.4 acres adjoining Fort Fisher which is badly needed for the future develop-

ment of the Site. The purchase of the land will be handled by the Department of Administration. On September 19 Mr. Honeycutt gave a talk on Fort Fisher and the recovery operation there at a meeting of the Wilmington Civitan Club. On September 21 the North Carolina Water Resources Commission toured Fort Fisher and the Preservation Laboratory. After the tour Mr. Honeycutt made a radio recording on Fort Fisher at WGNI, Wilmington, for the John Powell interview program. After the radio recording Mr. Honeycutt attended a board of directors meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society and on November 7 he attended the Society's fall meeting held at St. Andrews Covenant Presbyterian Church in Wilmington. On September 25 Mr. Honeycutt attended an organizational meeting of the Carolina Beach Junior Chamber of Commerce. At the October meeting of that group he was elected to the Board of Directors and was installed in office on November 15 at the Jaycees' Charter Night Banquet. On October 9 Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, Director of Naval History from Washington, toured the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion and the Preservation Laboratory. On October 10 Mr. Honeycutt installed three displays at Wilmington College on "Fort Fisher Archeology," "Fort Fisher Underwater Archeology," and "Blockade-Runner Artifacts." The exhibits remained through November. On August 27 and September 24 Mr. Honeycutt attended the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society meetings, and on October 13 he attended an all-day session of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina at Wilmington College. The next day Mr. Honeycutt spoke to the Society members at the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion and conducted them on a tour of the old fort and the Preservation Laboratory. At the October 29 meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society Mr. Honeycutt was elected President. A short article on Fort Fisher appeared in the October *National Trust Newsletter,* and in the October *Tarheel Wheels* there was an article, "At Fort Fisher, The 'Modern Greece.'" On November 18 Mr. Honeycutt attended the opening of the Charles B. Aycock Visitor Center-Museum. In Rocky Mount on November 30 Mr. Honeycutt spoke to the Tar River Archaeological Society on "Fort Fisher Historic and Underwater Archeology."

Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archeologist at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, reports that while the rate of excavation during the past season did not proceed as rapidly as anticipated, much new information was gained. An additional mortuary was discovered just north of the Plaza and excavation along the southern edge of the Plaza hints at the possibility of establishing some internal breakdown during the Pee Dee Period (1550-1650 A.D.). It was during this period that the ceremonial center was built and used. If future work proves this to be feasible, then certain of the architectural structures can be dated more accurately. During this season's work about 3,000 square feet were excavated. Mr. Keel also supervised the excavation of a site on the Roanoke River near Littleton for the University of North Carolina. Exhibits which will be housed in the new Visitor Center-Museum are under construction by Mr.

Frank E. Walsh, Exhibits Designer for the Division. Mr. Keel spent several days examining the Town Creek Collection, which is stored at the University of North Carolina, for artifacts to be displayed in the new exhibits. Mr. Keel attended the annual meetings of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina at Wilmington, the Southeastern Archaeological Conference at Moundville, Alabama, and the Eastern States Archaeological Federation at Athens, Georgia. He spoke to the Social Science Section of the Fifth District, North Carolina Education Association, at Lexington about the State Department of Archives and History's Historic Sites program and its value to the classroom teacher. During this period he also addressed several civic and social organizations in the State. Attendance has continued to increase and at the end of the third quarter reached 33,152, compared to 22,977 for the same period in 1961.

The North Carolina Council of State has approved the institution of condemnation proceedings—if need be—to acquire 2.3 acres of land adjacent to the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site for the construction of a Visitor Center-Museum at the Site. An appropriation of $42,500 was made by the 1961 General Assembly to finance the project. Acquisition of additional land will permit also the erection of two more log farm outbuildings near the Vance Birthplace—a barn and corn crib. Four outbuildings already are in existence. Construction of a caretaker's residence will complete the building program at this State Historic Site. Two World War I enemies in aerial combat met as friends this summer at the Vance Birthplace. They were Col. Carl B. Dolan, a member of the famed Lafayette Escadrille, and his onetime German adversary, Count Waldo von Lossow of Bavaria, who flew with the equally renowned von Richthofen "Flying Circus." Their meeting was arranged by Col. Paul A. Rockwell of Asheville, former President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association. Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist at the Vance Birthplace, has presented programs recently at meetings of the Asheville Rotary Club and the Beaverdam Lions Club. He has also conducted tours of the Vance Birthplace for the 20th Century Club, YW-Wives Club, wives of State Board of Election officials, and a number of Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and school groups.

Division of Museums

On August 9 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, met with the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs in Raleigh, and on August 28 she prepared for and conducted a workshop for Social Science High School Teachers at Camp Lejeune. The theme of the workshop was "Procedures To Be Used in Correlating the Wealth of Historical Significance Available to Us in North Carolina." Mrs. Jordan met with officials in Swansboro on August 29 to discuss a proposed museum for that town. She and Mr. Robert Mayo, Exhibits Designer, met on August 30 with the personnel of Tryon Palace in New Bern to make plans for display galleries. On August 30 and 31 Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer,

photographed the Tryon Palace Garden in color, and on August 31 Mrs. Jordan met with Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace, to discuss furnishings for the restored one-room schoolhouse. Mrs. Jordan, Mrs. Futrell, Mr. Mayo, and Mr. John D. Ellington attended the opening of the O. Henry Room at the Greensboro Historical Museum on September 11. Mrs. Jordan was narnator on September 20 for a fashion show presented to the Southeastern Gas Association at the Hotel Sir Walter. Lingerie of the early 1900's was modeled from the collection of the Hall of History. Mrs. Futrell photographed the show. On September 23 Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Futrell attended the opening of the Harper House at Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site and on September 24 Mrs. Jordan, Mr. Mayo, and Mr. Samuel Townsend met with a committee organized to preserve the artifacts from the Ram "Neuse" and to exhibit them temporarily at Kinston. Mrs. Futrell and Mrs. Jordan went to Salisbury on September 26 for ceremonies connected with the presentation of a Confederate Flag to the Rowan County Museum. From September 30 through October 3 Mrs. Jordan, Mrs. Futrell, and Mrs. Sue R. Todd worked with the personnel at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site, and on October 8 Mrs. Jordan met with the Swansboro Historical Association at Swansboro. She instructed guides for tours of the Executive Mansion in Raleigh on October 11, and with several members of her staff attended the October 24-27 meetings of the Southeastern Museums Conference in Richmond, Virginia.

Division of Publications

Though the third quarter includes the "lean" months when school is not in session, the sale of publications continued at a brisk pace. Receipts totaled $3,855.91, with $2,512.31 being retained by the Division and $1,343.60 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. The distribution of publications included 278 documentary volumes, 2,247 letter books of governors, 234 small books, 3,817 pamphlets and maps, 45,265 leaflets and brochures, and 635 copies of the list of publications available from the Department. In addition the sale of back sets of *The North Carolina Historical Review* was continued, with 12 sets being sold, bringing the total sold through the end of the quarter to 122. As of the end of the quarter, only a few sets remained for sale and these had been reserved. The year-long sale of back sets proved popular, and $3,226.95 was realized. Arrangements were made to sell the remaining copies, in bulk, to Mr. David Stick, who handles secondhand books.

There were 111 new subscriptions and 250 renewals to *The Review* during the third quarter of 1962.

Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina, written by Mr. Jerome E. Brooks of New York, was published in September. This new pamphlet tells the story of tobacco cultivation and manufacture from the days of Sir Walter Raleigh to the present; it is available from the Division of Publications for twenty-five cents.

Additional copy for a ninth volume of the *Records of the Moravians* was received by the Division during the quarter, and plans are being made to have the material in the hands of the printer by the first of the year. Bishop Kenneth G. Hamilton was selected as Editor of Volume X; he succeeds Dr. Minnie J. Smith, who died in July. Copy was also received from Mr. Noble J. Tolbert, Editor of the Ellis Papers. Index cards for the first volume of the Vance Papers were prepared in the Division, and a draft of the biographical sketch of Governor Vance was submitted by the Editor, Dr. Frontis W. Johnston. Plans are being made to issue both the Ellis and the Vance papers during 1963.

A Civil War diary, kept by Mrs. Catherine Ann Edmondston, is to be published by the Department. Dr. James W. Patton, Director of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina, is editing the Diary with the collaboration of Miss Beth G. Crabtree of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History.

Because of the need for county histories written for school children, plans were made to initiate this project prior to the convening of the 1963 General Assembly. A grant of $1,000 from the Richardson Foundation made possible the beginning of the series. Mr. William S. Powell, Librarian, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina, is writing a history of Lenoir County and Kinston. It is anticipated that this pamphlet will be published early in 1963; funds to continue the plan will be sought from the General Assembly.

The leaflet listing publications of the Department was revised in November. Copies of this revised brochure are available free upon request to the Department.

The Advisory Editorial Board met on September 27 to review plans and policies concerning the publications program. The meeting was attended by members of the Board, Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, Mr. William S. Powell, Dr. Robert H. Woody, Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, and Senator John R. Jordan, Jr.; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, and Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, of the State Department of Archives and History; and General John D. F. Phillips and Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker, of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, who were present for the first part of the meeting.

Mrs. Wilborn spoke to the Civitan Club in Raleigh on August 9, to the Clayton Rotary Club on October 4, and to the 71st Ruritan Club in Fayetteville on November 15. Mrs. Blackwelder went to Greensboro on September 5 for a meeting with the Executive Committee of the Executive Board of the Department. She attended a luncheon meeting of the Confederate Centennial Commission on September 6, the Advisory Budget Commission hearings and Executive Board meeting on September 18, a meeting of the Wake County Historical Society's Executive Council on October 18, the fall meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina in Boone on October 19, and a meeting of the Advisory Editorial Board for the Colonial Records in Chapel Hill on November 16. She spoke to the Roanoke Rapids Woman's Club on October 1. Both she and Mrs. Wil-

born went to Fremont for the opening and dedication of the Aycock Birthplace Visitor Center-Museum on November 18.

Mrs. Blackwelder attended the Southern Historical Association in Miami Beach, November 8-10. While there she represented Dr. Christopher Crittenden at a meeting of the program committee for the Association's 1963 meeting and read a paper prepared by Dr. Sarah Lemmon as Discussant for a session entitled "Twentieth Century Intrastate Political Battles."

The Baptist State Convention, at its meeting in Raleigh in November, elected Mrs. Blackwelder to a three-year term on its Historical Committee.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Preston W. Edsall, Head of the Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State College, is the author of two chapters in *The Politics of Reapportionment*, edited by Dr. Malcolm Jewell, which was published in November (Atherton Press). Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., is the author of a pamphlet, *The United States Marines in Iceland, 1941-1942* (No. 34, Marine Corps Historical Reference Series) published by the H.Q. Marine Corps, Washington, D. C. Dr. Brown attended the April meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies, East Lansing, Michigan. He is the Editor in Chief of the Society's semi-annual magazine, *French Historical Studies*. During the summer of 1962 Dr. Brown did research in Paris and Vienna on a State College Faculty Research Grant and attended sessions of *Société d' Histoire Moderne*. Dr. Stuart Noblin is the author of *Codification of Grange Policy* published by the National Grange (Washington, D. C.). Dr. Noblin will serve as chairman of the program committee of the Historical Society of North Carolina for 1963. Dr. Murray S. Downs read a paper, "The British Constitution in 1783: George III Dismisses the Coalition," on November 9 at the Miami Beach, Florida, meeting of the Southern Historical Association.

Dr. Rosser H. Taylor retired as Head of the Department of Social Sciences at Western Carolina College on June 30, with the title of Professor Emeritus of History. Dr. D. C. Sossamon succeeded Dr. Taylor.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Dr. Loren C. MacKinney, Dr. James L. Godfrey, and Dr. George B. Tindall of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina served as chairmen of sessions at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Miami Beach, Florida, November 8-10. Dr. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., read a paper at the same meeting entitled "Spanish-American Contributions to the Economic Development of the United States, 1700-1825." Dr. Green, on July 25, delivered a lecture, "Origins of Higher Education for Women in the South to 1860," before the Institute of Southern Culture meeting, Longwood College, Virginia. He is the author of *The South in Reconstruction, 1865-1880*, Part I, *Travels in the New South: A Bibliography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2 volumes, 1962). Dr. Cornelius O. Cathey has been elected to the Execu-

tive Committee of the Agricultural History Society and was chosen "Teacher of the Month" by University students in March. Dr. Cecil Johnson is serving as Acting Secretary of the Faculty, and Dr. Clifford M. Foust is a member of the Organizing Committee of the Southern Conference on Slavic Studies which met at Duke University, October 5-6. Dr. Tindall delivered a talk, "Images of the South," at a meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism held in Chapel Hill on August 29. Dr. Frank W. Klingberg is the author of *A Documentary History of the United States from 1865 to Present,* published by Meridian Books in October. Dr. MacKinney has been appointed an Associate Editor of the Unesco History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind, Volume IV. Dr. Hugh T. Lefler wrote articles on North Carolina for *Collier's Encyclopedia Yearbook,* 1962, and *The Americana Annual,* 1962. For *The State* magazine he wrote "North Carolina's Unique Role in the Civil War," XXIX (No. 11), and "Zeb Vance Versus Jefferson Davis," XXIX (No. 16). On November 15 he addressed the Greensboro Historical Society on "The First Century of North Carolina History" and on November 27 he spoke to the Moore County Historical Association on "North Carolina Celebrates Its Tercentenary." Dr. Henry C. Boren read a paper, "Roman Reaction to Hellenistic Penetration, 200-150 B.C." at a meeting of the Classical Association held on November 22. Dr. Godfrey represented the University at the Anglo-American History Conference at the Senate House of the University of London on July 14. Dr. Robert M. Miller was a Visiting Professor of History at the Blue Ridge Assembly for the summer session, 1962, and Dr. George B. Taylor was a Visiting Professor of History at Duke University during the summer of 1962. Dr. Taylor published "The Paris Bourse on the Eve of the Revolution, 1781-1789" in *The American Historical Review* (July, 1962). He is currently moderator of a panel program, called "Encounter," which appears on WUNC-TV. Recent promotions include those of Dr. John K. Nelson from Instructor to Assistant Professor and of Dr. Stephen B. Baxter to Associate Professor.

On September 13 Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen was named a Distinguished Professor by the Trustees of Appalachian State Teachers College and on October 27 she was presented the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy for her reprint, *Stoneman's Last Raid.* The book was published first as a four-part article, "The Significance of Stoneman's Last Raid," in *The North Carolina Historical Review* in 1961.

Dr. Robert H. Woody, Dr. Joel Colton, Dr. Warren Lerner, and Dr. Doris King of the Department of History, Duke University, attended the meeting, November 8-10, of the Southern Historical Association in Miami Beach, Florida. Dr. Colton was the Discussant of a paper in the session on the "European Press and Public Opinion"; Dr. Lerner read a paper on "Karl Radek and Trotskyite Opposition"; Dr. Woody was the Discussant of two papers in a session, "Northerners in the South"; and Visiting Scholar King read a paper, "The Yankee Hotel-keepers in the

Towns of the Old South." Dr. Lerner has had about seventy articles published in the *Encyclopedia on Russia and the Soviet Union* and has a chapter, "Karl Radek and the Chinese Revolution, 1925-1927," in *Essays in Russian and Soviet History,* edited by Dr. John S. Curtiss. Dr. Curtiss has written the following articles: "The Russian Revolution of 1917," in Samuel Hendel (ed.), *The Soviet Crucible: Soviet Government in Theory and Practice* (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1959); "Religion as a Soviet Social Problem," *Social Problems,* VII (No. 4, Spring, 1960); "History," in Harold H. Fisher (ed.), *American Research on Russia* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1959); and "Church and State," Cyril E. Black (ed.), *The Transformation of Russian Society: Aspects of Social Change since 1861* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960). Dr. Robert I. Crane had a review article, "The Historians of India and Pakistan," in the August *Journal of Asia Studies;* "The Sub-Continent of India," in *Collier's New International Encyclopedia* (in press); and "Indian History in the Undergraduate Curriculum," in *Studies in Asian Civilizations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962). Dr. Calvin D. Davis is the author of *The United States and the First Hague Peace Conference* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1962); and Dr. Robert F. Durden is the author of *Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth-Century Politics: South Dakota v. North Carolina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1962). Summer session Visiting Scholars for 1963 will include Dr. Forrest McDonald, Brown University; Dr. Richard Lowitt, Connecticut College; and Dr. William C. Jenks, Washington and Lee University.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Historical Commission of Edenton and Chowan County met on June 7 as guests of Edenton Mayor John A. Mitchener, Jr. Dr. Robert Lee Humber was elected Chairman; Mrs. W. J. P. Earnhardt, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Leon G. Leary, Secretary; and Mr. John A. Mitchener, Treasurer. The over-all program of the Commission, its policies, and purposes were discussed.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin for July, 1962, contains a study of the census records of the County, with a map showing the various townships; an article on the Rev. John Frederick Dubbert, possibly Gaston's first resident minister, by Mr. Philip Leonard; a tribute to the late Robert F. Cope, co-author of the recent history of the County; and an article on the Gaston Museum of Natural History, officially dedicated on July 23.

The Littleton College Memorial Association met on the campus of North Carolina Wesleyan College on July 14. President and Mrs. Thomas A. Collins held "Open House" for the 120 members and guests and extended an invitation to the group for the 1963 meeting. Five hundred dollars was added to the $1,500 for the Vara Louise Herring and Emma Thornton Nowell Scholarship Funds. Mrs. Carl A. Sanders of Richmond, Vir-

ginia, gave the principal address. Mrs. Dora Hornaday Stephenson, also of Richmond, is President of the Association; Mrs. Frances Renfrow Doak of Raleigh is Secretary-Treasurer.

The Hillsborough Historical Society has purchased the William Read House which dates back to 1768. A portion of the house will be restored as a headquarters building near the site of the Regulators' graves on the Cameron Park School property.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met on September 24 in the Hertford Library with Mr. Silas Whedbee presiding. Mrs. Emmett Winslow spoke on plans for the tercentenary celebration of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. Mrs. Sydney Jessup read excerpts from the autobiography of R. B. Cox, a Confederate soldier.

On September 22 Secretary of State Thad Eure made the principal address at the 175th anniversary celebration of the granting of a charter to the Town of Pittsboro by the General Assembly in 1787. The speech, made at the Chatham County Courthouse, was a part of a day-long series of events. The County was named for William Pitt, the Elder, Earl of Chatham; the Town was named for William Pitt, the Younger.

The Chronicle, official paper of the Bertie County Historical Association, for October, 1962, has articles on courthouses in Bertie by Dr. W. P. Jacocks, lawyers of Bertie County by Mr. J. A. Pritchett, and a brief history of Capehart's Baptist Church by Mr. Robert Perry. The Association met on October 18 at the Republican Baptist Church in Snakebite Township. Mrs. A. S. White was in charge of the program, at which Mr. Francis Speight, a native of the township, exhibited and talked about several of his paintings.

The McDowell County Historical Society met in Marion on October 12 with Mr. Hugh Beam speaking on the Carolina Charter of 1663. Miss Mary Greenlee, President, presided at the meeting.

The annual meeting of the Catawba County Historical Association was held in Newton in October with Mrs. J. M. Ballard presiding. Officers for the coming year are Mrs. Ballard, President; Mr. Thomas Warlick, First Vice-President; Mr. G. Sam Rowe, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Ray Smyre, Secretary; Mrs. F. G. Snyder, Treasurer; Mrs. E. B. Crouch, Historian; and Mr. J. Paul Wagner, Custodian. Mr. Glenn A. Sigmon gave a program on the history of St. Paul's Lutheran Church; a movie, "Face the South," concluded the program. At the November 10 meeting of the Catawba group a history of Bethlehem Methodist Church of Claremont was presented by Mrs. Ward Robinson. She was assisted by the Rev. James S. Bellamy, who played tape recordings of old hymns used by the church. A vote of thanks was given Miss Katie Hoover of Newton and the Brown Oil Company of Conover for gifts to the Historical Museum.

The annual fall meeting of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association was held in Boone on October 8. General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, spoke to the seventy-five persons present. Officers elected were Dr. I. G. Greer, President; Mr. Herman Wilcox, Executive Vice-President; Mr. Jake Caudill, Vice-President; and Mr. O. K. Richardson, Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. Wilcox reported an increase of $6,000 in the sale of tickets for the 1962 season. A total of $45,596.20 was received; however, there was a deficit for the year. Mr. Gene A. Wilson, Technical Director for "Horn in the West," which is sponsored by the Association, was promoted to full directorship of the drama for the next season. He succeeds Mr. David French, who resigned in September.

The Brunswick County Historical Society met on October 13 at the Woodburn Presbyterian Church in the Leland section. The largest group ever to attend a society meeting heard the Rev. H. Arthur Phillips, pastor of the Camp Methodist Church of Shallotte, speak on events preceding the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., gave a brief history of the Leland area, and Mr. W. J. Butler talked on plantations in the northern section of the County. Mrs. Lee Blake and Mrs. M. H. Rourk, President, spoke briefly. The Society met again on November 12 in the Parish House of the Sacred Heart Catholic Church with Mr. C. B. Berry of Crescent Beach as speaker. Officers elected for the coming year are Mrs. M. H. Rourk, President; Mrs. J. A. McNeil, Vice-President; and Miss Helen Taylor, Secretary-Treasurer. Mr. Hal Reeves spoke briefly on establishing a museum at Brunswick, perhaps at Boiling Springs Lakes.

A meeting of persons interested in forming a Yancey County historical society was held in Burnsville on October 17. Plans were made by those attending to collect documents, letters, and pictures dealing with the history of Yancey. Anyone possessing such material who wishes to make it available may contact the Yancey County Library.

The Moore County Historical Association has released *The County of Moore . . . 1847-1947 . . . : A North Carolina Region's Second Hundred Years,* Volume II of the history of the County, written by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman. Mr. E. T. McKeithen of Aberdeen, Chairman of the Association's history committee, is supervising the distribution. The first volume, written by Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro, has been reprinted and is also available. Interested persons may write Mr. Norris L. Hodgkins, Citizens Bank and Trust Company, Southern Pines.

The Carteret County Historical Society met on October 20 in Morehead City and elected officers. Mr. F. C. Salisbury presided until the following persons were elected to serve for the coming year: Mr. John S. MacCormack, President; Mr. Thomas Respess, Secretary; and Mrs. E. G. Phillips, Treasurer. Reports on projects of the Society for the past year were made, and Mrs. F. C. Salisbury read a paper prepared by Mrs. J. H.

Doughton. Mrs. Lucile Smith read "History in Your Own Backyard" prepared by Mr. David Stick. Members of the Society extended a vote of thanks to Mr. Salisbury for his five-year tenure as President, and he was made an honorary president for life.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met in Asheville on October 27. Rev. T. Hunt Comer, of the Grace Episcopal Church where the meeting was held, extended a welcome to the group. Papers were read by Dr. Douglas M. Clark and Dr. D. J. Whitener after which President Ligon B. Ard presided over a business session.

The annual historical tour of Wilkes County sponsored by the Historical Society of that County was held October 14. Places visited included Beulah Methodist Church, site of the Moravian Falls Academy, the R. A. Spainhour store site, Moravian Falls Power Plant site, and the following homes and homesites: F. J. Alexander, Greene-Holman, Leach, Samuel Pennell, Waugh, and Hubbard.

Radio Station WBT, Charlotte, observed the 55th anniversary of the death of John Charles McNeill on October 17 with a Project 60 special broadcast. The radio portrait, "Light on the Clouds," was written by Mr. J. Robert Covington. McNeill is regarded by many persons as the greatest poet produced by the State.

The Wake County Historical Society met on October 23, 1962, to hear Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, speak on the Commission's program. He showed slides and a film clip on the recovery of items from the "Modern Greece." Dr. A. M. Fountain, President, presented a report concerning plans for a history of Wake County which will be sponsored by the Society.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its fall meeting at Appalachian State Teachers College in Boone. Papers were presented by Dr. Wesley H. Wallace, Dr. Eugene C. Drozdowski, and Dr. Frontis W. Johnston. The Society elected Dr. Wallace, Dr. Elmer L. Puryear, and Dr. Cratis Dearl Williams to membership. Elected as officers were Dr. S. H. Hobbs, Jr., President; Dr. Lawrence F. Brewster, Vice-President; Dr. H. H. Cunningham, Secretary-Treasurer; and Dr. Percival Perry, Council Member.

Mr. William Leslie spoke on "A Brief History of Early Burke County and the Territory Out of Which It Was Formed" at the October 29 meeting of the Burke County Historical Society. Mr. Leslie explained that since Burke County contributed to twelve western North Carolina counties, it is referred to as the "Mother county" of that part of the State. Mrs. T. Henry Wilson presented the Society with a complete set of the *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union*

and Confederate Armies. It was also reported that historic Quaker Meadows Cemetery will soon be deeded to the Society.

The Onslow County Historical Society elected the following officers at its October meeting: Mr. J. P. Brown, President; Mr. N. E. Day, Vice-President; Mrs. Anne Price, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. K. B. Hurst, Recording Secretary; Mr. K. B. Hurst, Treasurer; Miss Adelaide McLarty, Historian; and Mrs. Murrill Boggs, Chaplain. The group voted to hold its future meetings on a monthly rather than a quarterly basis.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, the Rockingham County Historical Society, and the Caswell County Historical Society sponsored a tour of historic sites in Rockingham and Caswell counties on October 21. Persons responsible for the tour were Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, Mr. Allan Lewis, Mrs. Arthur Smith, and Mrs. S. R. Prince. The tour began at Monroeton School and included stops at the following places: Troublesome Iron Works, Old Wright Tavern, plantation home of Governor David S. Reid, "Mulberry Island," "Land of Eden," Old Leaksville Academy, Morehead homeplace, Lower Saura Town, "Chinqua-Penn," Williamsburg Community Center (for a picnic lunch), High Rock Farm, the Slade Farm, and several sites in Milton.

Members of the Mecklenburg County Historical Association met on October 30 in the Charlotte Public Library to make plans for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of Mecklenburg County. The General Assembly, on November 23, 1762, voted to create a county out of Anson, which is present-day Mecklenburg. On November 23, 1962, the former United States Ambassador to Brazil, Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, spoke at the anniversary dinner and celebration. Mr. Harry T. Orr is President of the Association, which held a membership drive during November.

The Pitt County Historical Society held its quarterly meeting at the Olde Towne Inn in Greenville on November 1.

The Caldwell County Historical Society met in Lenoir on November 1 in the County Library. After a business session the group heard a report on the hobby show.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc. Bulletin for November, 1962, contains the message of President Randolph L. Gregory and an article, "History As an Art," by Mr. Winston Broadfoot. Lt. Col. Thomas A. Price, Jr., has been named Director of the Wilmington-New Hanover Museum, effective December 1. General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary, spoke on the work of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission at the November 7 meeting of the Society.

The Wayne County Historical Society met on November 13 in the County Education Building. Mr. Hugh B. Johnston of Atlantic Christian College spoke on "General Genealogy of Local Interest." Mr. Conway Rose, President, urged members to attend the opening of the Charles B. Aycock Visitor Center-Museum on November 18.

The News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winter, 1962, has articles on phonograph records produced by Mercury on Civil War music, "The Arts and the Church," new acquisitions, and a roster of Friends of the Moravian Music Foundation. Dr. Donald M. McCorkle, Director and Editor, announces that the Foundation is seeking descendants of Early American Moravian composers, musicians, and instrument makers. Information should be sent to the Foundation, Salem Station. Winston-Salem.

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The North Carolina Historical Review



Spring 1963

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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COVER—Detail from a campaign advertisement used in Wake County in 1926, during the height of the evolution controversy. The complete advertisement is pictured on page 153. For an article on William Louis Poteat and the evolution question, see pages 135-157.

The North Carolina Historical Review

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WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT AND THE EVOLUTION CONTROVERSY

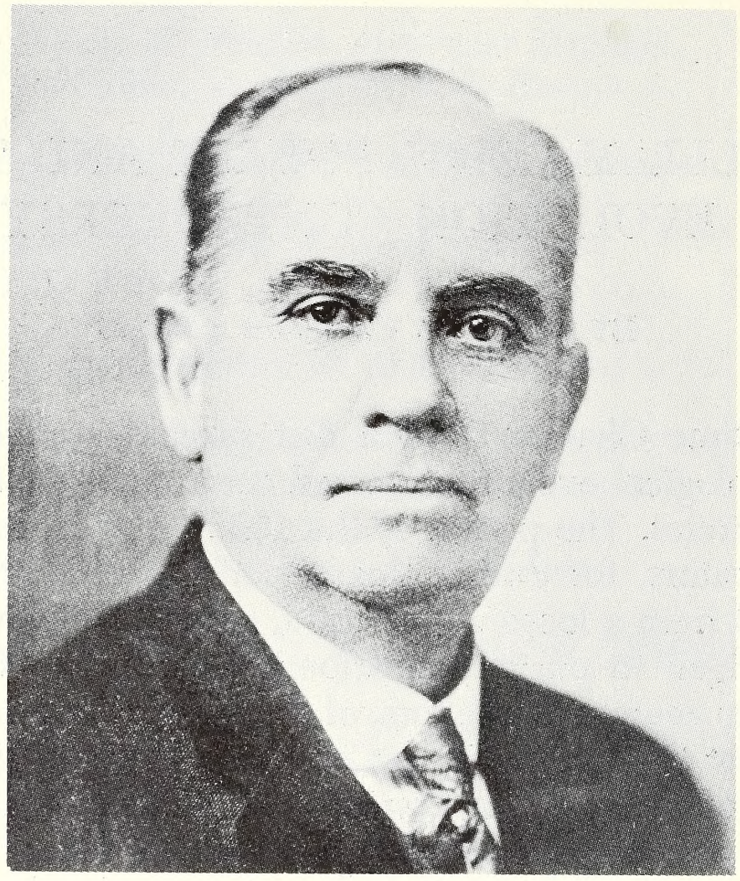
By Suzanne Cameron Linder*

From the time Charles Darwin first promulgated his theory, the concept of biological evolution created controversy in theological and educational circles. The period of the 1920's was an especially trying time for educators, for during this period the fundamentalist movement changed from a loosely organized, passive influence to a powerful force pledged to purge educational institutions of all "heretics." In the fight to maintain freedom of teaching, William Louis Poteat of Wake Forest College in North Carolina was an outstanding leader. As a teacher of biology and President of Wake Forest from 1905 to 1927, he was able to maintain his position as a leader in the Baptist denomination in the South. At the same time he led the southern liberals in the controversy over evolution which swept the nation.

A native of North Carolina, Poteat studied principally at his home in Caswell County until he entered Wake Forest College in 1872 at the age of sixteen. Having received from Wake Forest the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1877, he began teaching there in 1878. The following year he received the Master of Arts degree. He later studied biology at the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, and at the Zoological Institute at the University of Berlin.

When he returned from Germany in 1888, Poteat found that exciting opportunities awaited him in America. Only twelve years earlier, Daniel Coit Gilman had adopted the German method of teaching at The Johns Hopkins University. American scholars with German training were greatly in demand. Young Poteat received an offer of a position on the faculty of Yale, and he probably received other promising offers. As a professor in a large university he would have a chance for fame, intellectual companionship, and an opportunity to extend the boundaries of knowledge by working in the best equipped laboratories. He, however, decided to return to Wake Forest College, a small school which had scarcely recovered from the ravages of the Civil

* Mrs. Linder, who recently received her master's degree from Wake Forest College, is now a teacher at Dalton Junior High School in Winston-Salem.



William Louis Poteat in 1920. From the Wake Forest College annual for 1920.

War. No one knew its need better than he. The offer from Yale was tempting, but Poteat could not accept it because he was the kind of man to whom the greatest need had the most powerful appeal.[1]

The young scholar just back from Europe could not have recognized the importance of his decision, for in later years the need for a William Louis Poteat proved to be greater in the South than in any other part of the nation. For the people of the South, reconciling the new ideas of science with their religious beliefs proved to be most difficult. To southerners, as to Americans in general, the existence of a supreme law which ruled the cosmos was of great significance. The considered view of Americans was theistic creationism. Darwin shared this assumption, but he attacked the current terminology in which it was expressed. The problem was twofold. Itinvolved an attempt to find stability in a changing world, and on the other hand, the attempt to apply the theory of evolution to the development of society. There was a conflict between the older thought patterns of the western

[1] Albert Nelson Marquis and Others (eds.), *Who's Who in America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women in the United States* (Chicago, Illinois: A. N. Marquis Company, 1899—[annually]), XIX, 1,971; Gerald W. Johnson, "Billy With the Red Necktie," *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXX (Autumn, 1943), 554.

world and newer experimental evidence with which those patterns collided. The force of the collision was magnified because Darwinism was the antithesis of permanence. In recent history, few scientific theories have gone beyond the internal development of a science; fewer still have gone on to revolutionize fundamental patterns of thought. By establishing a new approach to nature, Darwinism gave fresh impetus to the conception of development. Men were impelled to exploit its findings and to try to ascertain methods for the understanding of society through schemes of evolutionary development.[2]

For the majority of people in the South, the implications of evolution were difficult to understand. In this predominantly rural area, educational facilities were poor, and opportunities for exchange of intellectual ideas were severely limited. The educational situation in the South was due in part to the damage of the Civil War, and there was still some resentment of the North. During Reconstruction, the white South had unified in self-defense. When northern intellectuals began to ridicule southern backwardness in theological and scientific thinking, southerners again sought unity by attempting to make conservatism the rule in religion. Thus the fundamentalists gained strength. Although they did not attempt in 1900 to censor teachers, by the 1920's some attempted to purge college faculties of both liberal professors and administrators.[3]

Until 1920, however, the fundamentalist movement lacked the strength to become a major issue in American life. Just after World War I, several fresh elements prepared the way for the conflict. When it was first discussed, evolution had fostered the conviction that nothing could prevent the human race from creating, slowly or rapidly, a good society free of evils, but the catastrophe of the War contradicted the theory that society was continually improving. Many people rejected the optimism which evolution had once inspired and turned instead to one of the five major points of the fundamentalist creed, the second coming of Christ. The propaganda of hatred, useful in inspiring the nation to greater wartime efforts, produced during the ensuing years an unanticipated harvest of bitterness and insecurity which prepared people for an ideological crusade upon unacceptable beliefs at home.

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[2] Bert James Lowenberg, "Darwinism Comes to America, 1859-1900," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVIII (December, 1941), 339-368, *passim*.

[3] For examples see Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1954), 122, hereinafter cited as Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy*; and Edwin Mims, *The Advancing South: Stories of Progress and Reaction* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1926), 145-147.

Although these psychological implications paved the way, it is probable that William Louis Poteat was the precipitating factor in the evolution controversy of the 1920's. In his biology classes at Wake Forest College, Poteat taught that the theory of evolution could be interpreted in harmony with Biblical teachings. Poteat made no secret of the fact that he taught evolution,[4] but his teaching did not excite criticism until 1920, when certain fundamentalists launched an attack against him. George N. Coad, who traveled over the South gathering information for the *New York World* about attempts to bar evolution from the schools by law, found that most ministers and editors of the Southeast believed that the movement was actually caused by the agitation of certain Baptist evangelists and editors against Poteat.[5]

The first attack came from Thomas Theodore Martin, an evangelist from Blue Mountain, Tennessee. Martin severely criticized Poteat's belief in evolution in several articles for the *Western Recorder.* According to the evangelist, evolution was the cause of World War I. He said that the Germans believed in the survival of the fittest, and since they considered Germany the fittest, they thought they ought to conquer the weaker nations. He asked, "How can President Poteat reconcile such a doctrine with his teachings, of God being the Father of the human race? Would a father fasten such a law on His children whom he loved?" Martin declared that if evolution could be proved as a fact then Genesis could not be the inspired word of God. He went on to quote statements of twenty-one scientists who denied the theory of evolution. Although the works quoted were outdated,[6] Martin proclaimed "overwhelming evidence from these twenty-one great scientists of the world" against evolution. He said, "The Baptists of North Carolina through the president they have for their great Baptist College are partners with Chicago University in fastening this German-ruining, world-crushing, soul-destroying doctrine on the South. . . ."[7]

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[4] W. L. Poteat, "The Effect on the College Curriculum of the Introduction of the Natural Sciences," *Science,* XXI (March 31, 1893), 170-172; W. L. Poteat, "Lucretius and the Evolution Idea," *Popular Science Monthly,* LX (December, 1901), 166-172, *passim.*

[5] *New York World,* September 24, 1925; see also *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun* (Georgia), July 3, 1927.

[6] In the *Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh), April 19, 1922, Poteat stated, "Of a well-used list of twenty-one such 'really great scientists' adduced to show the present adverse state of scientific opinion, two do not appear in the biographical dictionaries, five are misrepresented, seven won reputation in other than biological fields, and six have been in their graves more than forty years, two of these having died before Darwin's great book was published." This reference is hereinafter cited as *Biblical Recorder.*

[7] *Western Recorder* (Louisville, Kentucky), February 5, 1920. Martin also criticized Poteat in the *Baptist Advance* (Little Rock, Arkansas), March 25, 1920.

The *Biblical Recorder,* the Baptist denominational paper of North Carolina, refused to print Martin's articles and defended Poteat. The *Biblical Recorder's* support reassured Baptist readers, and no opposition materialized at that time within the State. In the early 1920's, however, Baptists all over the South were becoming vividly conscious of their ownership and control of denominational colleges through publicity for the "Seventy-Five Million Campaign."[8] This interest in education provided fertile ground for heresy hunts among science professors. Sentiment in favor of direct attacks on professors began to take form in North Carolina in 1922.

Poteat was the chief object of such criticism. He decided to define his position in an article for the *Biblical Recorder.* Poteat indicated surprise that a debate had arisen over a question that was settled in professional circles some thirty years previously—to the advantage of Christianity. Of the critics, Poteat said, "One wonders where these excited gentlemen have been? Were they asleep when the procession passed?" Poteat defined evolution as "the doctrine that the animals and plants at any moment on the earth are the offspring of earlier animals and plants . . . in short, the doctrine of descent with modification." The biologist remarked that the evolution of the individual from a single cell was just as wonderful and hard to explain as the evolution of the race.[9] After defining evolution, Poteat wrote a second article on the topic, "May a Christian Be an Evolutionist?" He declared that evolution did not touch the fundamentals of faith, much less antagonize them. He stated, "The inspiration of the Scriptures sanely interpreted, the Deity of Christ, His incarnation, atonement, and resurrection are ours, evolution or no evolution." Poteat felt that it was unjust for men with no training in the biological sciences to seek to discredit Christian men who held evolution as God's method of creation. He asserted, "It is not fair. It is not Christian. It ought to stop."[10]

The attacks did not stop. In fact, after Poteat restated his position, the debating in the columns of the *Biblical Recorder* increased. Livingston Johnson, the Editor, was a trustee of Wake Forest College. He gave Poteat every opportunity to defend his position. On at least one occasion, Johnson sent the biologist a copy of an article before it reached the press, with a suggestion that Poteat prepare a summary of his teachings comparing evolution and the account of creation in

[8] The objective of the Southern Baptist Convention was to raise seventy-five million dollars for the support of Baptist colleges in the South. *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 2 volumes, 1958), II, 1,196-1,197.
[9] *Biblical Recorder,* April 19, 1922.
[10] *Biblical Recorder,* April 26, 1922.

the book of Genesis.[11] In all fairness, however, Johnson could not refuse the antievolutionists a place in the columns of the *Biblical Recorder.* Articles which he printed ranged from scholarly discussions of theological minutiae to simply worded letters to the Editor from alumni in support of "Dr. Billy."

Robert H. Spiro, a Baptist minister from Asheville, and J. J. Taylor, a Leaksville clergyman, wrote two of the more scholarly articles. Spiro said that evolution could not be acceptable to the Christian because evolution taught an upward journey for man while the Bible taught the fall of man from a higher state to a lower one. Also, to Spiro, the resurrection of Christ contradicted evolution which indicated that life only arose from life. Taylor analyzed Poteat's articles in detail. He said, "President Poteat has cited the Britannica as an authority on his pet theme; it says: 'The doctrine of evolution is directly antagonistic to that of creation.' Certainly the Bible, sanely interpreted, teaches the doctrine of creation as an immediate act of God." Taylor warned that the North Carolina Baptists were responsible for what was taught at Wake Forest College. He said, "The case is before them. God is the judge, and to Him they must all report after a while." [12]

Some North Carolinians, however, were satisfied with the situation at Wake Forest. One supporter of Poteat protested that it seemed fashionable for the clergy, when digestion was bad or when they had nothing better to do, to hurl verbal brickbats at him and to lament the corruption of innocent youth by the teaching of evolution. "As imaginary portraits of imaginary perils, many of these effusions are not without merit. As valid arguments against the theory of evolution they leave something to be desired." [13] Certainly, many people were not convinced by the accusations hurled at Poteat by critics.[14]

The discussion of evolution filled to overflowing the columns of the *Biblical Recorder* in the spring of 1922. To many subscribers the debates were confusing and, eventually, tiresome. Livingston Johnson realized that the continual debate would never solve the controversy. He said, "We have reason to believe that this agitation has shaken the faith of many who have read it, and if the faith of any has been strengthened, we have not heard of it." He therefore decided to ban further discussion of evolution in the *Biblical Recorder* after May 31,

[11] See undated galley proof of J. W. Porter's article, "Can an Evolutionist Be a Christian," where comments penciled in the margin are signed "Livingston Johnson." Poteat Papers, Wake Forest College Library, Winston-Salem, hereinafter cited as Poteat Papers.

[12] *Biblical Recorder,* May 10, 1922.

[13] *Biblical Recorder,* May 3, 1922.

[14] See *Biblical Recorder,* May 10, 24, 1922.

1922. The last word on the question came from Johnson himself on behalf of the Wake Forest trustees. He reported that the trustees had appointed a committee to interview Poteat. The committee reported that they found him "in hearty accord with the great Baptist brotherhood" in regard to God as the creator, Jesus as His Son, redemption through His atoning death, His resurrection, regeneration through the Holy Spirit, and the divine inspiration of the Bible in matters of faith and practice. After carefully surveying the facts, the trustees by unanimous vote expressed confidence in President Poteat. Livingston Johnson felt that this action was an additional reason for discontinuing discussion of the evolution question.[15]

The discussion of Poteat and evolution continued elsewhere. James Larkin Pearson criticized Poteat in his paper, *The Fool Killer,*[16] and Thomas Theodore Martin continued his argument in *The Searchlight,* a Baptist periodical published in Texas.[17] Nevertheless, the students of Wake Forest heartily supported "Dr. Billy." The campus newspaper, *Old Gold and Black,* contained articles in stanch defense of the College President. An editorial writer for *The Raleigh Times* remarked, "The stand of the Wake Forest Old Gold and Black against the bigots in the denomination . . . is not a defense of President William Louis Poteat alone; it is a stand for the spiritual and intellectual freedom of every sentient person in North Carolina." The editorialist further stated that Poteat could take care of himself. "He isn't going to join this excursion back into the Dark Ages, nor are we." According to *The Times,* making a martyr of Poteat would only move him on to a field of larger endeavor at an increase in salary; but the damage done to the spirit of the people of North Carolina would be incalculable. The Raleigh editorialist saw the fight against Poteat as but a part of a general campaign of intolerance in the South. He warned that this intolerance had been felt in the legislatures of South Carolina and Kentucky and that it would eventually break out in North Carolina.[18]

For the time being, though, the controversy was confined to the churches. Poteat's stand on evolution was the major issue at the Baptist State Convention of 1922, but the Wake Forest President's deeply moving speech, "Christianity and Enlightenment," reassured concerned churchmen as to his catholicity. Rather than censoring Poteat,

[15] *Biblical Recorder,* May 31, 1922.
[16] *The Fool Killer* (Boomer), June, 1922.
[17] *The Searchlight* (Fort Worth, Texas), November 10, 1922.
[18] *The Raleigh Times,* April 25, 1922.

the convention adopted a resolution commending him.[19] Poteat's strong affirmation of faith at the 1922 Convention evidently satisfied the majority of North Carolina Baptists who heard him, but his speech fell far short of stopping all opposition to his ideas. Criticism from out-of-state increased after 1922.

The deep-rooted concern of people all over the country was evident in the fact that between 1921 and 1929, thirty-seven antievolution bills were introduced into twenty state legislatures.[20] These attempts to secure antievolution laws were only one example of the many efforts to secure legislation against new forms of thought or against practices considered undesirable by conservatives. The passage of the Eighteenth Amendment was the outstanding example, but other such actions included attempts to curtail academic freedom on the grounds of patriotism or moral law. Shortly after World War I, the legislatures of New York, Wisconsin, Oregon, Texas, and Mississippi enacted laws to prohibit the use in public schools of textbooks found to be seditious, critical of the Founding Fathers, or in any other way disloyal to the nation and to its heritage. Americans of the 1920's had great faith in the powers of legislation. They believed that correct ideas and good morals could be imposed upon mankind by law. The fact that such legislation was more frequently enacted in the South[21] was probably due to the system of legislative apportionment in that section. The southern States were more heavily gerrymandered in favor of the rural districts than States in any other section of the United States. As late as 1940, Mississippi and Kentucky had not reapportioned since 1890 and 1893; Alabama and Tennessee had not done so since 1901. Even in States with more recent reapportionment the cities had only a fraction of the representation they deserved on the basis of population.

The rural South which thus held control of the State legislatures was predominantly fundamentalist in religious belief. In the 1920's the Baptists formed the largest denomination in North Carolina. Any statement, therefore, by Poteat as a leading Southern Baptist as well as a leader of the evolutionists would be of particular interest to

[19] *Annual of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, 1922*, 33, hereinafter cited as *Annual of the Baptist State Convention* with the appropriate year.

[20] Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free? An Analysis of Restraints Upon the Freedom of Teaching in American Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [1936]), 227, hereinafter cited as Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* The book, a Report of the Commission on Social Studies, is Part XII of a series of the American Historical Association.

[21] Arkansas, Oklahoma, Florida, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana all had some type of restriction on the teaching of evolution. See Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy*, 95.

people in North Carolina and the South. Poteat's ideas were widely discussed in the North Carolina press. This discussion produced an awareness of the evolution controversy which reached a climax in the State legislature.

In 1924 a subcommittee of the Text Book Commission of the State Board of Education drew up a list of about seven hundred books for use in North Carolina schools. Governor Cameron Morrison objected to two of the suggested biology texts on the grounds that, "I don't want my daughter or anybody's daughter to have to study a book that prints pictures of a monkey and a man on the same page." Morrison declared that he believed in evolution as progress from a lower form of human life to a higher, but he stated further, "One of those books teaches that man is descended from a monkey and the other that he is a cousin to the monkey. I don't believe either one of them." [22] Morrison's strong stand against evolution, as well as Poteat's stand for it, were contributing factors which led to the interest in anti-evolution legislation in 1925.

In February of that year, D. Scott Poole, publisher of the *Hoke County Journal* and a former mayor of Raeford, introduced a bill in the North Carolina House of Representatives to prohibit the teaching of evolution in the public schools. The House referred the bill to the Education Committee, which held an open hearing on the matter. It was necessary to hold the hearing in the House chamber because of the large crowd which had assembled to listen to the proceedings. Girl students from Raleigh colleges, State College men, representatives of practically all the State institutions of higher learning, and numerous other citizens of prominence in the State crowded into the Capitol. The committee limited debate to one hour for each side.

Poole told the audience that their religion was on trial. As no one had asked the State to teach theology, he did not think that state-supported schools should teach that the Bible was a myth. When the floor was opened for discussion, President Harry W. Chase of the University of North Carolina declared, "I am not here to discuss evolution, but to speak in behalf of human liberty." In his appeal for freedom of speech, Chase demanded eternal vigilance for liberty and truth, and ended his speech by stating, "Mr. Chairman: If that be treason and if it be treason to oppose the bill offered in the name of tyranny over mind for the purpose of abridging the liberty of one class of our people, I wish to stand here in the name of progress and make my protest."

[22] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 24, 1924, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer.*

Julia Alexander, a representative from Mecklenburg County, was in favor of the bill. She said that the Bible was a supernatural book, and that she believed it from cover to cover. Miss Alexander declared that she would be afraid to return to Mecklenburg if she voted against the Poole Bill. H. R. Pentuff, a Concord clergyman, also favored the bill. Pentuff said that evolution was based on imagination. According to the Concord minister, publishers and teachers who were not willing to "dig up and to keep up with the newer sciences" were the chief expositors of the theory of evolution. Pentuff called Darwin an agnostic and insisted that his theory had been exploded. A State College professor had ready answers for this bold statement. Zeno P. Metcalf, a professor of zoology and entomology, replied to Pentuff that the evolution theory was definitely accepted in scientific circles. After Metcalf had spoken, Robert L. Madison, a professor of foreign languages at Cullowhee State Normal School, queried, "May I ask the gentleman from State College at what stage of transformation of man from an amoeba that he parted with his tail and acquired a conscience?" [23] Tradition has it that Poteat, who was sitting in the audience, turned to a friend and quipped, "Biologically he has never lost his tail and here is some evidence that he has never acquired a conscience." [24]

Twice the audience called on Poteat to speak. Each time that his name was mentioned it was greeted by much cheering and clapping, but the biologist declined to speak. Perhaps he felt that he had made his position clear. Since Chase had ably stated the liberal position, anything he could say would add little and would probably stir up trouble for Wake Forest. On the other hand, perhaps Poteat had confidence that the Wake Forest men who sat in the legislature would vote according to what they had learned under his tutelage.

The outcome of the Education Committee's voting was a tie, seventeen to seventeen. Henry Groves Connor, the chairman, broke the tie by voting against the Bill. The majority report was thus unfavorable, but the minority also drafted a report.

Before these reports reached the floor of the House, the North Carolina press exhibited a marked interest in the progress of the Bill. The *Greensboro Daily News* printed a searing invective against Poole and his followers which declared that politics and bigotry gave impetus to their movement. According to the *Daily News*, the same thing was happening to university men of breadth that had been happening to the Baptist liberals. All over the State there had been an outcry

[23] *The News and Observer*, February 11, 1925.
[24] *Greensboro Daily News*, February 5, 1926.

against Poteat because he believed "in the amoeba." Many Baptists declared that the Seventy-Five Million Campaign for the support of Baptist colleges had dragged because of Poteat. "The Wake Forest President knows he is constantly in jeopardy. His mastership over Wake Forest imperils the denominational appropriation. But he is one of those idealists, such as Chase and Ed Graham, who foolishly declare that colleges are more than millions set into equipment and lecture rooms." [25]

Josephus Daniels, the Editor of *The News and Observer,* was also against the Poole Bill, but he took a more moderate stand than that of the *Greensboro Daily News.* He said that evolution should not be taught to children, and it should not be taught dogmatically anywhere, but teachers and students in colleges should be able to examine the arguments both for and against the theory.[26] Nell Battle Lewis, another editorialist, expressed confidence in the outcome of the voting. She stated, "It's an old, old show that the anti-evolutionists are putting on now on the legislative stage at the Capitol Theater. . . . We now have a return engagement of Bigotry and Ignorance, the Great Barn Stormers, in the World-Famous Morality Play Entitled, 'Thou Shalt Not Think.'" According to Miss Lewis, this play was as old as ancient Greece, but all ages had found it impossible to legislate morality.[27]

On the evening of February 17, 1925, the House of Representatives met to consider the Poole Bill. The huge crowd which had gathered made debate very difficult. Connor remarked, "If we continue, we shall be compelled to call on the mayor of Raleigh for police protection, so long as the people of North Carolina insist on overrunning the hall of the House." [28] Then resolving to discuss the Bill at a later date the House adjourned.

On February 19 the Poole Bill again came before the House. Harrison Yelverton, a young attorney from Wayne County, and Henry Groves Connor, chairman of the Education Committee, led the opposition to the Bill; D. Scott Poole, Robert L. Madison, and Julia Alexander supported the Bill. The discussion proceeded without bitterness even though there was strong feeling on both sides. Many North Carolina lawmakers felt a hesitancy to legislate what could and could not be taught; others understood the theory of evolution and had no objection to it. According to tradition, North Carolina liberals were

[25] *Greensboro Daily News,* February 16, 1925.
[26] *The News and Observer,* February 12, 1925.
[27] *The News and Observer,* February 15, 1925.
[28] *The News and Observer,* February 18, 1925.

confident of the outcome of the voting. "Just wait until Billy Poteat's boys get a chance to vote!"[29] The outcome of the voting was indeed satisfactory to the liberal element. The House voted sixty-seven to forty-six against the Poole Bill.[30]

Freedom of teaching had triumphed in North Carolina, for underlying the evolution dispute was the question of whether a teacher's higher loyalty was to the will of the taxpayer or to the truth as his training led him to see it. The legislators decided in favor of the latter. What were the influences which led to this decision? Several historians have given credit for the defeat of antievolution legislation in North Carolina to Harry W. Chase and William Louis Poteat.[31] Throughout the years Poteat's open testimony that science and religion were not contradictory, as well as the fact that the biologist could believe in evolution and still live an exemplary Christian life, could not have failed to make a significant impression in North Carolina. Within the State his greatest influence was at Wake Forest College. As its graduates sat in the legislature and listened to the debates on evolution, perhaps they recalled their biology classes under Poteat. If they had not studied biology, they undoubtedly at some time during their college careers had come in contact with the liberal ideas of the Wake Forest President. Of the twenty-one representatives who had attended Wake Forest at some time, only three voted in favor of the Poole Bill.[32]

Although Poteat did not seek publicity for his ideas on evolution and education during the agitation for the Poole Bill, they were well known because of the many years he had fought for the cause of academic and intellectual freedom. The *Greensboro Daily News* gave Poteat the credit for such leadership: "So staunchly has he stood by truth when truth had few to tell her teachings that his career has been one long triumph over bigotry and falseness and honest ignorance." According to the same article, North Carolina had never appreciated the courage of William Louis Poteat, who could lead without driving and fight without leaving poisoned wounds. "So closely do we live to the routine of our daily lives that we cannot always perceive the

[29] Conje B. Earp, personal interview with the author, Winston-Salem, February 4, 1962. Dr. Earp knew President Poteat personally.

[30] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1925*, 290-291, hereinafter cited as *House Journal, 1925*. This reference erroneously gives the negative vote as 64.

[31] Simkins, *The South Old and New: A History, 1820-1947* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), 317, 319; Furniss, *Fundamentalist Controversy*, 85; Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?*, 241-242.

[32] R. B. House (comp. and ed.), *North Carolina Manual, 1925* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1925), 544-583, *passim; House Journal, 1925*, 290-291.

greatest movements that are astir about us. But someday the state will come to itself and when it does it will trace much of its intellectual freedom from Dr. Poteat." [33]

In the spring of 1925 Poteat continued his fight for intellectual freedom in a series of lectures at Chapel Hill. The Reverend Mr. John Calvin McNair, a University of North Carolina alumnus of 1849, bequeathed a sum of money to the University to be used to "*employ some able scientific gentleman to deliver . . . a course of lectures, the object of which lectures shall be to show the mutual bearing of science and theology upon each other, and to prove the existence of attributes (as far as may be) of God from nature.*" McNair further provided that the lectures should be published.[34] Although the bequest became available to the University in 1906, William Louis Poteat was the first native North Carolinian to present the lectures. He spoke on the subject, "Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?" In introducing Poteat, Harry W. Chase asserted that Poteat offered living proof that science and religion could be reconciled. Chase stated, "We are in no position to debate the philosophical subtleties involved in the current dispute . . . but a character that stands the test of half a century in a hard position is founded on something more solid than shifting scientific hypotheses." [35]

Always a popular speaker, Poteat drew increasingly larger crowds each of the three nights he spoke. *The Chapel Hill Weekly* remarked, "Probably no visitor to Chapel Hill—and many distinguished men have appeared on the platform here—has ever made a more profound impression upon his hearers." [36] Poteat called upon his long experience at Wake Forest as he discussed the intellectual and spiritual problems of students. He expressed concern that what they learned in their "poor proud Christian homes" of a "simple sturdy democracy," might seem inconsistent with their university training. Poteat asked, "This adventure of the growing day,—it is likely to intoxicate a spirited youth and absorb his enthusiasm. Will it dim and then put out the candle of the spiritual life?" Poteat questioned the general situation outside university life and the atmosphere of the time. "Is it favorable and friendly," he asked, "or chilling and hostile to the faith of our fathers? Is religion still possible? Can a man be a Christian

[33] *Greensboro Daily News*, May 3, 1925.
[34] Excerpt from the will of the late John Calvin McNair on the frontispiece of William Louis Poteat, *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1925), hereinafter cited as Poteat, *Can a Man Be A Christian To-day?*
[35] *Greensboro Daily News*, May 26, 1925.
[36] *The Chapel Hill Weekly*, May 7, 1925.

to-day?"[37] The Wake Forest President proceeded to answer this question by first discussing the main features of the society of that day, disentangling the essential substance of Christianity from its accumulations through the centuries, and finally, considering what serious-minded, intelligent young people should do in order to secure and maintain peace between their education and their religion. Poteat realized that evolution was a principal stumbling block. He explained that the Bible was not intended to be interpreted literally, and when interpreted in the light it was intended, it in no way contradicted true science. Launching a vigorous counteroffensive against extreme fundamentalists because he believed that they were doing all they could to make it impossible for intelligent, educated men to be Christians, Poteat said that religious teachers should recognize the authority of science in its proper sphere, just as scientific teachers ought to recognize the authority of religion in its proper sphere. He explained that men could reconcile education and religion if they would discriminate between Christ and some of his interpreters, between the apparatus of science and the spiritual realities of faith.

Here was an answer to all those sincerely troubled by the age-old differences in science and religion. The experienced educator understood the problems of the sophisticated youth of Chapel Hill. He offered them the fundamentals of Christianity, expressed in modern terms and applied to the problems of modern life. Because he dealt in basic truths, Poteat offered to the youth of 1925 and to posterity an answer to the question "Can a man be a Christian today?" The lectures were a summary of Poteat's theology and philosophy of education. The statement of faith made his contribution complete, for had he merely criticized bigotry, he would have been no different from many others. He was different because he offered to his fellow man an answer to the conflict of science and religion, and in his own life, he proved that his suggestions were applicable.

The McNair Lectures of 1925 evoked widespread interest. Published in book form, the lectures received favorable comment from both the religious and the secular press all over the nation. Papers in Baltimore, Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Sacramento were among those which reviewed Poteat's book. The *Greensboro Daily News* called it "the most significant volume that has come out of North Carolina in years," and commented, "There has been no moment in this decade . . . when the interest of the state was so centered on the expression of any North Carolinian upon a scientific,

[37] Poteat, *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?*, 1-2.

philosophical, or religious subject. The moment and the man had met, and this message was the answer."[38] *The Christian Leader* declared, "What he says rings true, as something which has been wrought out of personal experience,"[39] and a Missouri publication echoed, "It is emphatically a book for such a time as this if religion and science are to learn how to work together in such a world as this."[40]

Further praise came from W. H. P. Faunce, President of Brown University, who said, "That such an utterance should come out of the Southland must fill all thoughtful New England people with gladness, and that the utterance should be so calm and yet so fearless, so broad and yet so pungent, gives me personally very great satisfaction."[41] Poteat replied that the impression that the South was backward was largely due to the fact that ultraconservatives had held the center of the stage and men with different attitudes had not cared to compete for publicity. Poteat illustrated, "I have heard of a farmer who had engaged to deliver a wagon load of bullfrogs to the cafe steward . . . actually presenting only two frogs, with the explanation that he did not know two bullfrogs could make so much noise."[42]

In the fall of 1925, the criticism by the ultraconservatives increased as North Carolina Baptists prepared for the State convention to be held in November. One critic sent Poteat an advertisement of *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?* with the inscription, "It is hard to be one in Wake Forest under present conditions. I am surprised that a man who has lost faith in the Bible as God's inspired word has the brazen effrontery to try to stay at the head of a Christian college and undermine the faith of Christian students. I have no earthly use for your book."[43] S. J. Betts, a minister of Raleigh, wrote a twelve-page pamphlet of criticism and refutation. Lawrence Stallings, playwright and son-in-law of Poteat, warned, "There hasn't been a theological or denominational paper in the South that hasn't been afire with this book. It will be the rock upon which the fires will be lighted when the legislatures and convocations rally in the fall hunts and the open season on intelligence begins."[44] Poteat recognized the criticism but had no objection to it. He commented to his publisher, "While I have never been hopeful of pleasing everybody and accordingly am not greatly disappointed that some criticisms are antagonistic, criticisms

[38] *Greensboro Daily News*, July 12, 1925.
[39] *The Christian Leader* (Boston, Massachusetts, and Chicago, Illinois), April 23, 1927.
[40] *The Christian-Evangelist* (St. Louis, Missouri), August 12, 1925.
[41] W. H. P. Faunce to W. L. Poteat, December 30, 1925, Poteat Papers.
[42] W. L. Poteat to W. H. P. Faunce, January 6, 1926, Poteat Papers.
[43] R. P. Rixey to W. L. Poteat (n.d.), Poteat Papers.
[44] *New York World*, September 25, 1925.

favorable and unfavorable alike will probably help the book to get abroad."[45]

More than literary criticism developed against Poteat. Some stanch Baptists were determined to oust the "evolutionist" from the presidency of Wake Forest. Poteat expected that fundamentalists would present an antievolution resolution at the Baptist State Convention in November.[46] He wrote to a friend, "That pressure is, as I understand, likely to come to a head at the Baptist State Convention in Charlotte, where your humble servant will likely be asked to step down and out in one form or another. My present feeling is that, while I may be beaten, I am not disposed to surrender."[47] In late October Poteat addressed the Mecklenburg Wake Forest College Alumni Association. He said, "I am willing to serve in any place, but I will wear no chain except such as He puts on me. Eliminate me, stand by the college." The Mecklenburg alumni highly endorsed Poteat, the administration, and faculty.[48]

The lines had been drawn by convention time. Poteat had boldly stated his ideas on the teaching of evolution in his controversial book, *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?* Surely the fundamentalists now had the best opportunity to oust Poteat from the presidency of Wake Forest. They would undoubtedly seize this opportunity at the November meeting of the Baptist State Convention. The Gaston and Buncombe Baptist Associations[49] had already directed their representatives to attempt to get convention action on the evolution question. These representatives, along with other fundamentalists, went to Charlotte eager to seize the opportunity to act against evolution and Poteat while interest was high. The fundamentalists felt strongly about the subject of heresy, and on the first day of the Convention they had a powerful majority. That night Wake Forest alumni from all over the State converged on Charlotte. Poteat had said, "I decline to be whipped out on an issue that involves the respectability and opportunity of my *alma mater*."[50] Other alumni of Wake Forest came to the rescue of their alma mater. A thousand new delegates appeared at the Convention in an ugly mood.

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[45] W. L. Poteat to W. T. Couch, August 20, 1925, Poteat Papers.
[46] W. L. Poteat to V. P. Harris, October 12, 1925, Poteat Papers.
[47] W. L. Poteat to W. W. Barnes, April 26, 1925, Poteat Papers.
[48] *The Charlotte Observer*, October 31, 1925. Earlier the alumni association as a whole had issued a statement affirming to the public that Wake Forest was true to the fundamentals of the Baptist faith. See *Biblical Recorder*, September 23, 1925.
[49] Associations are groups of Baptist churches in particular areas, sometimes ascertained on the basis of counties, but not necessarily so. At that time, the association sent delegates to the North Carolina Baptist State Convention.
[50] *The Ledger-Dispatch* (Norfolk, Virginia), November 19, 1925.

After a hasty consultation among the fundamentalists, they revised their position. When R. J. Bateman, representative from the Buncombe Association, introduced his resolution, it stated a belief in the divine nature of Jesus Christ and belief in creation by God as a fact. The last part of the resolution declared opposition to worldly philosophies which "seek to revolutionize the interpretation and undermine the character of God and Christ." [51] The Bateman resolution was so mild that even Poteat voted for it.[52]

Some ardent fundamentalists regarded Bateman's resolution as innocuous because it contained no direct attack on the theory of evolution and no demands for the resignation of teachers who taught the theory. Still, trustees sympathetic to the fundamentalist cause could easily accomplish this with individual schools. At that time boards of trustees of Baptist institutions were self-perpetuating; that is, they elected persons to fill any vacancies which might occur, and these elections were subject only to the approval of the State Convention. Under this system trustees of Wake Forest who favored Poteat were likely to elect men of similar feelings to fill vacancies on the board. At the Charlotte meeting W. C. Barrett, representative from the Gaston Association, moved that the trustees of all Baptist institutions be elected directly by the State Convention. Surely many members of the group must have been surprised when a friend of Poteat, Bernard W. Spilman, rose to second the motion. They understood Spilman's motive when he further moved that the resolution be referred to a committee, and that under the new system, the trustees be allowed to nominate persons to fill vacancies in their ranks. Thus the only real change was that rather than merely approving a slate of trustees, the Convention would have the possibility of nominations from the floor. In seconding Barrett's resolution, Spilman took the sting out of it. Consideration by the committee would take at least a year, and in two years Poteat would probably retire.

This Charlotte Convention put Wake Forest in a new light. A Baptist college dared to acknowledge the teaching of evolution, and the alumni were willing to fight to protect this right. Faced with such strong alumni support, the fundamentalists revised their position. Through the entire meeting of the Convention there was no official mention of the word "evolution" and the only reference to Poteat was when the chairman called on him to read a letter from Benjamin N. Duke of Durham and New York donating $100,000 to Wake Forest

[51] *Annual of Baptist State Convention, 1925*, 28-30.
[52] *The News and Observer*, November 19, 1925.

College. Fundamentalist leaders in the South were usually able to intimidate college presidents, especially when endowments were low, but Poteat had stood his ground and when his position was in danger, the alumni had appeared to support him. One alumnus said, "He merely stood his ground and whistled, and instantly around him sprang up a thousand alumni, grim alumni, with red eyes and no scruples about flying at a fundamentalist throat." Why did they go to Charlotte, those "thousand men who wheted their knives as they came and fervently hoped that somebody would start something?"[53] Few of those men cared much about the theory of evolution. Some did not even understand it thoroughly, and certainly most of them were devout churchmen. But they remembered that Wake Forest had opened for them the wonderful door to the world of the mind, and they did not intend to have that door closed in the faces of their sons. They saved Wake Forest for freedom of teaching and for their beloved "Dr. Billy." Gerald W. Johnson, an alumnus of Wake Forest, paraphrased Daniel Webster as he said of his alma mater, "She is small, but there are those who hate her, and her enemies have made her great."[54]

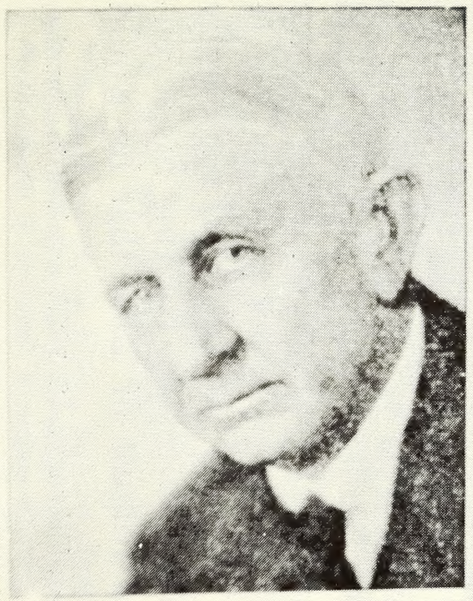
The Charlotte Convention marked the final battle against Poteat. There were other small skirmishes from time to time, but there was no organized movement against him personally. In 1926 and 1927 North Carolina fundamentalists made one last attempt to secure anti-evolution legislation through the "Committee of One Hundred," but leaders of the organization declared that they were not against Poteat. When V. T. Jeffreys of New Jersey, a representative of the Anti-Evolution League, and J. T. Maples, an evangelist known as the "Texas Cyclone," came to the State and verbally attacked Poteat and evolution, many North Carolinians objected.[55]

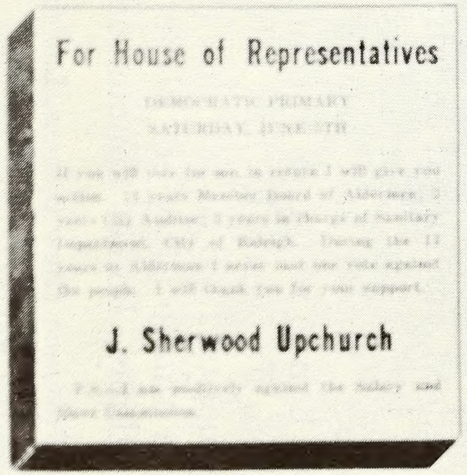
By 1927 the evolution controversy was beginning to decline in the South. The very persecution of the evolutionists had stimulated interest in their ideas with the result that the fear of evolution gradually abated. The radio played an increasingly important part, for when

[53] *Greensboro Daily News*, May 16, 1926.

[54] *Greensboro Daily News*, May 16, 1926. Gerald W. Johnson gave this "behind the scenes" account of the convention. The truth of Johnson's statements is supported by the fact that the minutes of the Gaston and Buncombe Associations give a very different picture of the aims of Barrett and Bateman than the final resolutions exhibit. See *Minutes of the Forty-fourth Annual Session of the Buncombe County Baptist Association of North Carolina, 1925*, 15; *Minutes of the Seventh Annual Sessoin of the Gaston County Baptist Association of North Carolina, 1925*, 10; for other examples of fundamentalist sentiment see *Minutes of the Sixty-fifth Annual Session of the Tennessee River Baptist Association of North Carolina, 1925*, 4; *Minutes of the Fortieth Annual Session of the Mecklenburg-Cabarrus Baptist Association, 1925*, 18-19.

[55] *Greensboro Daily News*, May 4, 1926.





Did Not Come From HIM

NEITHER DID YOU!

I May Look Like Him, But
I Refuse to Claim Kin

On This I Stand!



J. Sherwood Upchurch

They are Going to Talk About Him in the Next

LEGISLATURE

So They Say

I WANT TO BE THERE!

Campaign advertisement used by J. Sherwood Upchurch, unsuccessful candidate for the House of Representatives from Wake County, in 1926. From the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

the people could hear evolutionists, they were better able to formulate their own independent opinions as to whether or not they were "heretics." A broadening of educational opportunities in the 1920's increased public receptiveness to new ideas. Even the Tennessee legislature that passed the antievolution bill provided a longer school term and the largest appropriation ever made to the State university. Laws to bar evolution did little good, for people discussed it in spite of the law. As more people learned to understand evolution, they lost interest in fundamentalist agitation. As the fundamentalists found themselves on the defensive, they lost confidence in their ability to convince others to repudiate the evolution theory.

By 1926 several fundamentalist societies had lost effectiveness as a result of the growing public coolness toward their work. The widespread endeavor of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association revealed this noticeable loss of enthusiasm in the disappointing attendance at the Toronto convention of 1926. The Bible Crusaders, founded by George F. Washburn and then under the leadership of Thomas Theodore Martin, declined rapidly. Representative E. K. Wyndham of Louisiana was irritated by the lobbying of the organization. He suggested that some Crusaders were motivated less by religious convictions than by a desire for financial betterment.[56] After 1926 no representative of the Crusaders appeared where antievolution bills were under discussion.

Following several years of charges and resolutions, the Southern Baptist Convention was free of the evolution dispute. After 1926 Southern Baptists exhibited little interest in antievolution agitation. Financial difficulty, especially for foreign missions, forced churchmen to turn their energies elsewhere.[57] The prohibition issue loomed large on the national scene and demanded the attention of churchmen. In North Carolina the Bible League, which replaced the Committee of One Hundred, conducted an unsuccessful movement in 1927 for antievolution legislation. North Carolinians were no longer interested in the subject. Poteat had proved that fundamentalist pressure could not force him to resign or to compromise his position on either science or religion. For years he had refused to resign under pressure, but in the summer of 1926 he felt that the pressure had subsided sufficiently to enable him to carry out his intention to resign. Nearing his seventieth birthday, Poteat announced in August of 1926 that he would

[56] *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), February 13, 1926, as cited in Furniss, *Fundamentalist Controversy*, 62.
[57] See *Biblical Recorder*, May 26, 1926.

retire the following June. Immediately after the 1927 commencement, he resigned as President of Wake Forest College.

As William Louis Poteat left the presidency of Wake Forest, he retained his position as the outstanding figure in the evolution controversy in the South. William Jennings Bryan had been more famous, but he had won recognition mainly in other fields. Poteat's unique position as a college president, a scientist, and a leader in the Baptist denomination had given him the opportunity to lead the people of the South to understand that the truths of science and religion were in no way contradictory. In spite of concentrated fundamentalist efforts, the North Carolina legislature had refused to pass an anti-evolution bill. As long as Poteat maintained his stand, agitators could not force any teacher of science in the State to resign. At his retirement Poteat could see the fruit of his work, not only in the material growth of Wake Forest, but in the existing freedom of thought in North Carolina. The *Greensboro Daily News* reported, "Because the Poteat of another day stood with a faith no man might question and demanded all that the searchers after truth might find, the Poteat of this day can enunciate his doctrine of freedom under the benediction of a people who themselves have seen the light." [58]

There have been several attempts to explain the leadership of William Louis Poteat. The *New York World* said, "Your Fundamentalist would rather be burned at the stake than approach creative evolution from any laboratory angle giving him understanding of the matter, but he will read Dr. Poteat. He reads him either to heckle or dismay." [59] The fundamentalists had read Poteat's book, *Can a Man Be a Christian To-day?*, and in reply had determined to oust him from the presidency of Wake Forest College. But they had been unable to defeat or refute him. They disputed his Christianity, but he reaffirmed it with his words and with his exemplary life. Henry L. Mencken interpreted Poteat as "a sort of liaison officer between the Baptist revelation and human progress in his native State of North Carolina." Mencken expressed the paradox of Dr. Poteat in the following way: "On the one hand he has stuck valiantly to such curiosities of the Baptist sorcery as total immersion and Prohibition; on the other hand he has served his State magnificently as a public critic of the Bryan bibliolatry." Mencken believed that because of Poteat North Carolina was "the most intelligent" of all southern States.[60]

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[58] *Greensboro Daily News*, June 3, 1927.
[59] *New York World*, September 25, 1925.
[60] *Charlotte News and Evening Chronicle*, November 8, 1925.

Poteat was the only man in history to serve as President of both the North Carolina Baptist State Convention and the North Carolina Academy of Science. It was certainly unusual for one man to be called a heretic and an evolutionist and at the same time, "an old-fashioned, Bible-reading, family-altar, Sunday-school, mid-week prayer meeting Christian." [61] But these words fit.

To Poteat his stand was not at all paradoxical. It was an integral part of all that he thought and did, and it found excellent expression in the field of education. His view of education was idealistic as opposed to the strictly materialistic view. He made education seem not the number of students at a college, not the wealth of its buildings, and not the enthusiasm of its alumni, but the development of an attitude of mind that regarded the search for truth as the holiest duty and the highest adventure.[62] To Poteat the most serious danger to students was "the peril of being content in our own little cabbage garden, while the illimitable universe challenges us in vain." [63] Poteat presented the challenge, and in his own life, gave an excellent example of how it might be met. He brought to Wake Forest material growth, enterprise, exalted ideals of scholarship and of Christian service, but his most important contribution was the vision to look beyond textbooks, buildings, and athletic events in a search for and devotion to truth, not only scientific truth, but the basic truths of everyday living. At his retirement, the *Richmond News-Leader* declared, "The high faith that has marked the life of Dr. Poteat, the courage of his devotion to the principle of soul-liberty, and his influence upon the youth of the South have made him more than the president of a college; he has been the preceptor of a generation." [64]

Poteat's influence did indeed reach beyond the Wake Forest College campus. As a leading Baptist in favor of the teaching of evolution, Poteat provided the focal point for the start of the antievolution controversy of the 1920's. Thomas Theodore Martin's articles criticizing Poteat stimulated interest in the possible conflicts between evolution and religion. The entire controversy reached mammoth proportions, filling the columns of both the religious and the secular press, and even invading the State legislatures. Throughout the controversy, Poteat remained the principal religious leader for the liberal side. Because of his educational background and his moderate stand, he became a significant factor in the controversy not only in the South,

[61] *Religious Herald* (Richmond, Virginia), August 19, 1926.
[62] *The News and Observer*, May 18, 1924.
[63] *Biblical Recorder*, July 1, 1925.
[64] *Richmond News-Leader* (Virginia), June 10, 1927.

but in the nation as a whole. He was the outstanding person among many well-informed southerners who wished to assure freedom of teaching within the strongholds of fundamentalism. Poteat led the people of the South to a more enlightened religion and in so doing, he helped to insure freedom of teaching and a reverence for truth which would last far beyond his lifetime.

THE CONFEDERATE REFUGEES IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Mary Elizabeth Massey*

Two weeks after his participation in the First Battle of Manassas the young North Carolina Lieutenant John Avery Benbury wrote his wife a prediction of things to come. It was probably his intention to prepare her for what she might soon encounter on their plantation near Edenton and to impress upon her the seriousness of the War, for he realized that Harriet Benbury, like most southerners, had no comprehension of what the Civil War would do to the South's way of life. But whatever his reasons for writing as he did, his were words of wisdom from which thousands of overconfident, idealistic civilians might have benefited had they but heard and heeded them. However, his opinions were those of an unknown lieutenant whose name meant nothing to the majority of the people, and they were directed only to his wife who gave no indication that she took them seriously at the time. Within a year Mrs. Benbury would have reason to recall them when she and her six-weeks-old daughter were driven from their home to become refugees and when her husband was killed at Malvern Hill. As he wrote, Lieutenant Benbury described the first great battle of the Civil War, emphasizing not only the carnage of the battlefield but also the destruction of private property, and he prophesied that the time had now arrived when women must be men "in spirit." He then predicted that which the next four years would prove to be true, that "people never realize the horrors of war till it is brought to their own doorsteps."[1] As the Federal armies penetrated the Confederacy hundreds of thousands of citizens were to learn through experience that such was the case, and no group would be in a better position to confirm Benbury's statement than the tens of thousands who became refugees when the War came "to their own doorsteps."

Every State in the Confederacy experienced the displacement of a part of its citizenry and all absorbed to some extent refugees from other States. North Carolinians living in the coastal areas were among the first to flee from the enemy early in the War, but except for this

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[1] John Avery Benbury to Harriet Ryan Benbury, August 5, 1861, Benbury-Haywood Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Benbury-Haywood Papers.

group there was no large or continuing displacement of people as there was in many other southern States. North Carolina was one of the safest areas in the Confederacy despite the sporadic Unionist and guerrilla activities in the mountains and Sherman's invasion in 1865. Provisions were also more plentiful than in the war-torn regions and because the refugees sought both safety and sufficient food it would seem that North Carolina would have attracted a much larger proportion of homeless southerners than did her neighbors, but such was not the case. While records indicate that many towns in the State were crowded with refugees, the majority of these seem to have been North Carolinians except during two relatively brief periods when a great many Virginians and South Carolinians sought refuge here. In the late spring and summer of 1862 large numbers of Richmond residents, most of whom were the families of Confederate officials, came to North Carolina when McClellan's forces threatened the city during the Peninsular Campaign. Most of these remained in the State for only a few months and returned to Virginia as soon as the danger had passed. The second great refugee invasion of North Carolina occurred in February, 1865, when thousands fled from Sherman's armies, but many of these returned to their homes before either General Lee's or General Johnston's surrender. It should not be concluded, however, that North Carolina had no out-of-state refugees but these. There was a gradual infiltration throughout the War, but most of those who were displaced for any length of time were North Carolinians from the coast. A Raleigh editor seemed aware of this when he editorialized on the refugees, and appealing to citizens in the interior to receive the homeless graciously he reminded his readers, "We are *all* North Carolinians."[2]

There are several explanations as to why there were proportionately fewer out-of-state refugees in North Carolina than in some of the other southern States. The first is so obvious that it might easily be ignored. No one could predict with certainty the course of the War and because the coastal areas were invaded very early there was always the possibility that the enemy would penetrate deep into the interior. While it is easy a century later to say that North Carolina would have afforded an ideal haven for the displaced people, at the time the War was being fought no one knew what its pattern would be. The people did not know what to do or where to go and the movements of the refugees give proof of this as they settled them-

[2] *Semi-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), June 12, 1863. This paper was also published as the *Weekly Standard* during this period.

selves in areas which they believed would be safe from invasion for the duration of the struggle, but often within a few months they were compelled to uproot themselves and find another wartime home if they were to remain within Confederate lines. After once leaving their homes most refugees moved many times before the end of the War as a Georgia lady noted when she told of friends who had lived in twelve different communities as they tried to evade the enemy.[3] Those who moved once and spent the turbulent years in their first place of refuge were the lucky ones.

The way in which most of these people moved also explains North Carolina's receiving fewer out-of-state refugees than other areas, for they tended to inch away from home and then move by installments as the enemy again approached. This was especially true of those who became refugees early in the War, when most people believed their displacement would be temporary. They were confident the Federals would be repelled and they could soon return to their homes. Therefore they reasoned that it would be easier to go back if they did not wander too far away, and the North Carolinians were like others in this regard. When Mrs. Benbury eventually realized that she would have to leave her plantation if she were to avoid direct contact with the enemy, she went first to Windsor thinking that she could live out the War in her mother's home, but no sooner had she arrived than her husband wrote that she must move away from the coast. She then went to Warrenton as her husband suggested, and when he heard she had taken his advice he wrote, "Dear wife, you have done wright [*sic*] in going higher up the country."[4] Thousands of other displaced people sidled away from home as had Mrs. Benbury and for this reason very few of those who lived a great distance from North Carolina reached the State before the end of the War. It must also be noted that some refugees, after making several moves, decided it was to their best interests to remain where they were when the Federals overtook them, and others eventually questioned the wisdom of their earlier flight and returned home to live within Federal lines rather than continue their nomadic existence.

Nor can the devotion of southerners for their States be ignored as a reason for so few out-of-state refugees coming to North Carolina. The majority of refugees not only preferred to remain within its confines but some adamantly refused to leave it until such a time

[3] Mrs. Lenora Clayton to Mrs. Howell Cobb, February 3, 1865, Cobb Papers, Department of Special Collections, University of Georgia, Athens.

[4] John Avery Benbury to Harriet Ryan Benbury, February 21, 1862, Benbury-Haywood Papers.



Southern women applying to the Federal Commissary for food. From a contemporary periodical, the photograph is now in the files of the State Department of Archives and History.

as they had no choice in the matter. They generally preferred to move a half-dozen times within the home State rather than take one broad leap into a neighboring one, and some southerners left the Confederacy for foreign countries more easily than others crossed the State lines. While this provincialism was evidenced everywhere in the South, nowhere was it as widespread and deep-seated as in Virginia and South Carolina. Virginians were displaced by the thousands throughout the War but rarely did they seek permanent refuge outside the State, and when they fled into North Carolina, as they did in 1862, they only camped out until they could return to Virginia. Matthew Page Andrews indicated this attitude of Virginians when he wrote his fianceé about the possible communities to which she might go when driven from her home. All of the places he suggested were in Virginia, and this he told her was "a very important consideration. I have a perfect dread of your going out of the State." [5] South Carolina was in much the same position as North Carolina in that only her coastal areas fell to the enemy early in the War, but when the dis-

[5] Matthew Page Andrews to Anna Robinson, May 7, 1861, Charles Wesley Andrews Papers, Manuscript Division, Duke University Library, Durham.

placed planters sought wartime homes they were usually in the central or western parts of the State. As they moved into the Piedmont they often met with a cool reception and there was constant friction between the refugees and the residents. Various newspapers editorialized on this problem and the Charleston papers frequently pleaded with the Up Country people to understand the problems of the Low Country refugees. In one such appeal the *Mercury* asked if the Piedmont citizens expected the planters from the coast to go into neighboring States to avoid the enemy. He reminded them that "the heart of an exile . . . revolts at seeking home however temporary outside the parental territory," and for this reason the Low Country refugees preferred to remain "in their own Carolina."[6] North Carolina therefore attracted very few of the displaced citizens from the States to the north and south except at specific times when desperation and the Yankees combined to push them over the State line.

The mountains of western North Carolina were a barrier to most of the displaced people from Kentucky and Tennessee who tended, therefore, to move into the Deep South or into southwestern Virginia. Some of these eventually swung into both Carolinas and a few were brave enough to slip through the mountains, but this was a dangerous route for anyone to follow, especially for those of strong Confederate sympathies. To the east were also obstacles which prevented great numbers of out-of-state refugees from coming into the State. The Outer Banks and the presence of the enemy blocked their entry along most of the coast, and although some did come to Wilmington this city was more often used by the refugees as a port of exit rather than of entry. Wilmington was different from the other major port cities in the Confederacy in that she did not have thousands of homeless dumped on her docks as did Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile, all of which were required to absorb hundreds of people who were banished by Federal authorities from some nearby area. Therefore North Carolina had fewer refugees coming into the State because of many factors, but there were exceptions to all of these and the North Carolinians, who happened to live in the overcrowded communities where they congregated, gave every indication that they believed a sufficient number had arrived to create grave problems for all.

Many of the out-of-state refugees were families of prominent Confederate military and political officials, and although most of these were temporary residents some came early in the War and remained until the end. Both groups followed the same pattern in settling as

[6] *Charleston Mercury* (South Carolina), November 8, 1862.

did those elsewhere in the South, for they tended to congregate in urban areas where there were other refugees. As they did so they jammed the transportation facilities, crowded together in limited housing accommodations, and consumed the provisions. This in turn created scarcities which raised prices and encouraged speculation and hoarding. When these conditions developed the residents reached the point where they dreaded to see refugees come and they were exasperated by the influx which created economic problems for the community. The relations between the refugees and residents in North Carolina were typical of those elsewhere in the Confederacy; and while some of the newcomers reported gracious, hospitable receptions others thought the citizens cool, selfish, and rude, but in either case much depended on the individuals involved.

Some of the troubles which developed between the refugees and the residents were the fault of the displaced people, many of whom were prejudiced against North Carolinians before they arrived and nearly all of whom were inclined to be clannish. Some manifested a superior attitude which did nothing to endear them to the native population who did not understand that this was often done to save face, for a great many refugees were proud but poor, and those who had lost most of their worldly possessions often assumed a haughty exterior in an effort to hide their true situation. There were displaced people, however, who felt themselves superior and who did not hesitate to let it be known, but whatever their reasons for acting as they did, in the long run they were the ones most likely to be hurt. They were the strangers in the community and the ones who sought favors, nonetheless, many of them made no attempt to be diplomatic or to adjust to the communities in which they went. The first refugees in an area created the image and not only did the first impression eventually damage their chances for harmonious relationships, but those who came later found it more difficult to win acceptance. All conflicts between the residents and their temporary visitors were not the fault of the latter, however, for there were North Carolinians who did not want them in the community and who were sometimes as rude and selfish as the homeless accused them of being. When the Columbians fled from Sherman by the hundreds, many of them came to Charlotte which was already so congested that the town could not accommodate the influx. The refugees made a house-to-house canvass as they tried to find living quarters, and the Charlotteans, often irritated by the frequent interruptions, were sometimes rude to them and indifferent to their plight. One woman wrote her son that she had

rooms she might have rented but she already had more work than she could do. However, a younger son who was an invalid in the home had even stronger feelings about those who rang the bell and begged for shelter. As his mother said, "When he is . . . [too] weak and sick to speak on other subjects if you say 'refugee' or South Carolina he rouses up & holds forth."[7] Whatever sympathy might have been shown for the displaced people early in the War had evaporated late in the conflict as the citizens blamed the homeless for most of the economic hardships they had endured.

The infiltration of refugees into urban areas disturbed and confused those who watched them congregate in the communities. Newspaper editors in every southern State at some time commented on the problems which this tendency created for all civilians, and one in Georgia thought it "regrettable" that the homeless people were so "fascinated by brick and mortar."[8] Yet the towns offered many attractions to them which rural areas did not afford, and this was true in North Carolina as in other States. All refugees were in search of safety, and the cities had more effective law enforcement agencies than did the country. This was especially appealing to women who were without male protection. The refugees also wanted companionship, not only for social reasons but to be assured of assistance should the need arise. They naturally sought others who had experienced displacement as they believed that their common problem would promote mutual understanding, and they proved by their movements that "misery loves company." Those who traveled in public conveyances were first taken into towns served by the transportation facilities and those who had made no plans to go elsewhere remained at the terminus. But a great many refugees deliberately chose as their haven a community situated on a railroad, and although they were warned throughout the War that the battles were being fought along the rail lines they reasoned that should it be necessary to flee again they could more easily get out of town on a train. When a mass evacuation took place, however, thousands of people were unable to get the accommodations they had expected, and those who did get seats on the outgoing trains discovered that they often had to leave their baggage behind. One reason for the congestion in Greensboro in 1862 was that it had rail connections with Richmond and other Virginia towns, and the explanation for thousands of South Carolinians being dumped in Charlotte in February, 1865, was a direct rail line running

[7] Mrs. R. Burwell to Edmund Burwell, February 16, 1865, Burwell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Burwell Papers.
[8] *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* (Augusta, Georgia), June 7, 1864.

from Columbia to that city. Despite the warnings given them, the refugees were attracted to towns which were situated on the railroads.

It was also in the urban areas that one expected to find more regular mail service and this was a very important consideration for most refugees who wanted to be in a position to receive and transmit communications to loved ones in the service. The diaries and letters of those searching for an asylum frequently mention that their one requirement was that the community be on "a mail line," and although postal service was uncertain at best there was a greater possibility of one's receiving letters in the towns. When hotels and real estate dealers advertised property for rent or sale and hoped to attract the attention of refugees, they often assured prospective patrons that the community afforded excellent mail service.

The towns also offered greater opportunities for employment and many of the homeless were in desperate need of work. Some who sought jobs had never before worked for wages and this was especially true of the women who were now compelled to earn the family's livelihood or supplement its income. The North Carolina towns appealed to those in need of jobs, for Fayetteville, Greensboro, Salisbury, Charlotte, Asheville, and other communities had both private and Confederate industries. Wilmington attracted men who were interested in the profits to be derived from trade through the blockade, and although they were usually looked upon as parasites and vultures by both the citizens and the local newspapers, they often tried to attain respectability and arouse sympathy by referring to themselves as refugees, which they sometimes were.

These unsettled people also reasoned that the urban areas afforded more abundant and varied types of housing facilities than could be found elsewhere, for in the towns were hotels, boardinghouses, and private homes which might be available to them. There were also public buildings which could be converted into living quarters and any community boasting an academy or college was almost certain to attract the homeless who hoped to find accommodations in the dormitories or in the boardinghouses which normally catered to students. Men's colleges usually closed or enrolled so few students that their buildings were often thrown open to others who needed lodging, and the owners of boarding establishments as well as the merchants in the college towns welcomed the refugees as patrons. This reasoning that towns and cities afforded a greater number of structures which might be used as shelter was logical in the early months of the War, but as hundreds and even thousands flocked into a community all

available space was soon taken and a housing shortage then developed. In the spring of 1862 Greensboro, Raleigh, and other cities experiencing the influx of Virginians were soon overcrowded and those refugees who had not contracted in advance for rooms discovered upon arrival that they would either have to live in makeshift quarters or move elsewhere. The same situation existed in Charlotte and other communities which received those displaced late in the War. Until the homeless people learned through trial and error they presumed that any town could offer them some type of accommodations.

Therefore the refugees went into urban areas hoping to find one, two, or perhaps all of these things, and the North Carolina towns affording these attractions were likely to experience an invasion of displaced people at some time during the War. The newcomers were both from within and from outside the State, but those who came from out-of-state were often the ones who left the most interesting impressions of their wartime homes. They recorded their reactions to the State, the community, and the citizens in their letters, diaries, and reminiscences, but whether or not they expressed their opinions as candidly in conversations is not positively known. If they did, this would explain the hostility which many residents felt for them, for some refugees were tactless to the point of brutality.

There were several refugee centers in North Carolina but the only city on the coast receiving appreciable numbers from outside the State was Wilmington. Although some of the natives left the community at various times, either because of the precarious military situation or because of yellow fever, refugees came into the city for commercial reasons or to await passage on a ship which would take them out of the Confederacy. In the latter group were many of the more affluent New Orleans exiles who were banished from their homes. In the fall of 1863 James Ryder Randall was in Wilmington when many Louisianians were in town and he wrote his fianceé that the boardinghouse in which he was staying was "crowded with New Orleans people; most of them birds of passage." He emphasized, however, that they usually moved out as soon as they could get accommodations aboard ship and he noted that one family in the boardinghouse was packing to leave the following day.[9] However, the largest mass influx of refugees into Wilmington came in the early months of 1865 when many people from eastern South Carolina dashed into the city as they fled from the Federals. A lady who had lived in Wilmington

[9] James Ryder Randall to Kate Hammond, October 6, 1863, Randall Letters, Southern Historical Collection.

throughout the War commented that the community had suffered very little during the conflict, but "the most serious difficulty" which the residents had encountered was the arrival of "thousands of refugees, men, women & children of all classes & grades, both black and white, rendered homeless & breadless & many clotheless by Sherman's armies." She said that these people seemed to descend on the city "from *all* directions," and so many had come into Wilmington that they had to be "put in every nook & corner or vacant room . . . to be found in the place." Despite this reference to the congestion in the city, the writer mentioned that she had been spared having to take any of the refugees into her home, and although she was sympathetic she felt no obligation to rent rooms to them.[10] This attitude was in evidence everywhere in the Confederacy but many displaced people found many North Carolinians especially reluctant to open their homes to strangers.

Other towns in eastern North Carolina which remained within Confederate lines for any length of time had large numbers of homeless wanderers, but these were mostly natives of the coastal areas of the State who were edging away from their homes. The village of Warrenton had several families of Virginians living there early in the War, mostly from the southeastern part of that State, but during the spring and summer of 1862 they were joined by others from Richmond. Warrenton was especially attractive to the Virginia people because of its location just over the North Carolina State line from which point they could easily and speedily return to their homes when the "all clear" was sounded. The community also had a large, comfortable hotel and several boardinghouses all of which were soon filled with refugees from both Virginia and North Carolina. One of the ladies living in Brownlow's Hotel told of the establishment being crowded with displaced people in May, 1862, and all were apparently women and children. She mentioned that it was quite a sociable group whose favorite pastime seems to have been talking, and because of the "babel of tongues" she was unable to write her son, for the incessant chatter "confounde[d] the motion of the pen." She was happy to report, however, that this "heterogenous [*sic*] assemblage of . . . refugees" was composed entirely of Episcopalians who agreed that this situation produced a most congenial atmosphere.[11] She wrote her son that she could not understand why anyone would want to go else-

[10] Minnie Pipkin to her mother, March 30, 1865, P. D. Gold Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[11] Mrs. P. C. Calder to William Calder, May 26, June 3, 1862, William Calder Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Calder Papers.

where but there were two guests at the hotel who were planning to leave because they thought the town too near the battle area, and what perturbed her even more, they were going all the way to Greenville, South Carolina.[12]

In central North Carolina a number of communities proved attractive to out-of-state refugees and among these were Hillsboro and Chapel Hill. By the second year of the War the inn in Hillsboro was crowded with homeless people, and attics, basements, and parlors in many private homes afforded shelter to others. The schoolhouse and bank building had been converted into temporary living quarters and the Masonic Lodge was being eyed as a possibility. In the fall of 1862 a Wilmington woman wanted to move to Hillsboro and she asked her son, who taught in the local academy, to assist her in obtaining accommodations. Although she was willing to live anywhere as long as it was in Hillsboro, the search for rooms was carried on for nearly eight months before a boarding place was found and even then the son was successful only because he persuaded a resident to convert her parlor into a bedroom for his mother.[13] In the summer of 1862 General William D. Pender wrote to his wife, who was living in Hillsboro, that he wanted her to find living quarters for the family of his friend, Major E. H. Palfrey. The Major wanted to move his family out of Richmond for reasons of safety and economy, and Pender thought that Hillsboro would be the perfect retreat for them. He told Mrs. Pender that Palfrey specified only one requirement, that the family must board in a private home for they did not have any housekeeping equipment. As Mrs. Pender read this letter she would have had every reason to recall the many times her husband had accused her of being unrealistic about the War, for now it was the General who seemed unaware of the true situation. Hillsboro was so crowded that everyone was having difficulty finding accommodations and it appeared unlikely that the Palfreys would ever find room and board, for the Major's brood consisted of his wife, nine children, and a servant.[14]

In nearby Chapel Hill refugees came early and stayed late as they filled the boardinghouses and private homes in the village. They were made welcome by the residents whose income had heretofore depended on the University students. The number of students decreased during the War. Mrs. John Kimberly, whose husband was on the faculty, mentioned the great numbers of refugees who were living

[12] Mrs. P. C. Calder to William Calder, May 23, 1862, Calder Papers.
[13] Mrs. P. C. Calder to Robert Calder, February 16, 27, March 30, April 24, 29, and May 14, 1863, Calder Papers.
[14] William Dorsey Pender to Mrs. Pender, July 28, 1862, William Dorsey Pender Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

in the community as she tried to convince her mother and married sister, refugees from Nashville, that they should make their wartime home in Chapel Hill. It was her opinion that the village was "the safest place in the Confederate States," and one of the greatest attractions it had to offer was the comparative abundance and cheapness of provisions. Her mother and sister were in Atlanta at the time and both complained of the high cost of living there. Whenever they quoted Atlanta prices, Mrs. Kimberly answered by citing the lower costs of the same commodities in Chapel Hill, and when steak was seventy-five cents a pound in Atlanta, it could be bought for ten cents in Chapel Hill. Fruit, eggs, chickens, and other produce could be had for a fraction of the price her sister was paying, but Mrs. Kimberly explained that the Chapel Hillians were so poor that if they had to pay as much as the Atlantans, "nothing hardly would be bought here." [15] Although her mother and sister came for a brief visit they did not remain, but the arguments offered by Mrs. Kimberly in an effort to convince them were those which were usually irresistible to most refugees.

Greensboro was a popular refugee center throughout the War, but the first great influx of out-of-state people came during the spring and summer of 1862. At this time many of the newcomers were the families of prominent Confederate officials who sought a temporary home until they could return to the Confederate Capital. Among those who were in Greensboro at this time were Mrs. Josiah Gorgas and five of her six children, the oldest being with friends in South Carolina. They left Richmond in May and returned in the fall, but during the intervening period they lived in the college in Greensboro. When Gorgas visited his family there in July he reported that forty or fifty other refugees had rooms in the same institution and he thought his brood very comfortably situated in "the Methodist College." He was charmed with Greensboro, with its citizens and he reported that he found the "North Carolina air very salubrious," but "Mama," as he called Mrs. Gorgas, was not as enchanted with the arrangement as was her husband. This was not so much the fault of Greensboro, however, as that she was never happy away from Gorgas and she was eagerly anticipating the day when she could return to Richmond "not to leave again . . . until the capital is moved . . . farther south," as her husband thought it eventually would be.[16]

[15] Mrs. John Kimberly to Mrs. John Schon, November 18, 1861, June 8, 1862, John Kimberly Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[16] Josiah Gorgas Journal, June 22, July 27, September 7, 1862, Southern Historical Collection.

At the same time that Mrs. Gorgas was in Greensboro there were a great many other evacuees from Richmond in town, among them Louise and Frances Wigfall, the teenaged daughters of Confederate Senator Louis Trezevant Wigfall of Texas. The inimitable Louise was the older of the two, fifteen at the time, and her comments were typical of those one might expect from a girl her age. She wrote her mother regularly and her letters did anything but put Mrs. Wigfall's mind at ease about her unpredictable daughter. In Louise's first letter she told Mrs. Wigfall what she undoubtedly already knew, "The College in town is a *Female* not a *Male College,*" and the young lady made it quite clear that she was disgusted with this situation, for she was very interested in young men and she judged Greensboro, as she would her later places of refuge, by the number of eligible men in the community. This discovery prejudiced her against the city and her first impression was decidedly unfavorable. She wrote her mother, "I am convinced that a *great many* people in North Carolina are traitors, they not only refuse in this one horse town to take Virginia notes, but *Confederate* notes. . . . I have always thought North Carolina was not good for much, and I am more convinced of it now than ever. . . ." Her reaction to the citizens' manners and clothing was also that of disgust as she reported to her mother that the first Sunday they were in Greensboro she and Frances had worn their "best store clothes" to church and had "made quite a sensation among the natives." The congregation gave no indication of ever having seen shoes like those worn by the girls, and Louise thought this understandable since "shoes are not to be had in the classic precincts of Greensboro." Another very real complaint she had against the community was the dearth of young men and although she had been there a week when she wrote, she reported that she had not found a single boy who interested her. She made it clear that she had not given up hope, and by the time she wrote Mrs. Wigfall a week later the situation looked considerably brighter. Suddenly, within seven days, Greensboro had become "quite a sociable little place," and the reason for this changed opinion was that during the period between letters she had received ten callers "3 of whom were young gentlemen, one a Lieutenant, the other a Major and the third a Lt. Colonel." Not only had she found eligible men but she was moving up in rank, and this was a source of great satisfaction to her, but the future held even greater promise now that the Ordnance Department had come to town.[17]

[17] Louise Wigfall to Mrs. Louis Trezevant Wigfall, May 6, 12, 19, 1862, Louis Trezevant Wigfall Papers (microfilm copy), Eugene C. Barker Collection, University of Texas, Austin, hereinafter cited as Wigfall Papers.

When Mrs. Wigfall received these communications from her daughter she responded, "I do wish very much your head was not quite so full of beaux & your own personal appearance. I was in hopes that getting you out of Richmond would have abated that nuisance." She reminded Louise that she had been sent to Greensboro with the understanding that she would continue her studies and as yet Mrs. Wigfall had heard nothing to the effect that she was doing so. "I can't bear to have you grow up a vain, uncultivated girl," she wrote, and she urged her daughter to study French, read and "not idle away the summer." [18] Upon the receipt of this letter Louise hastened to assure her mother that she was taking French lessons from an instructor at the college, that she was spending a part of each day reading, and she added, "I have quite enough to employ my time on these hot days." [19] From this exchange until her return to Richmond in the fall Louise wrote at length of her intellectual pursuits and de-emphasized those of a social nature, but there was sufficient mention of gaiety, frivolity, and young men to give Mrs. Wigfall cause for concern, and she determined to bring her daughters back to Richmond just as soon as she could.

The refugees from Virginia were not the only ones in Greensboro in May, 1862, as a North Carolina editor indicated when he told of a number of families from Charleston being scattered through the central portions of the State, some as far away from South Carolina as Greensboro. They had been urged to leave their homes by the military authorities, but the majority were just what the editor said they were, "temporary" residents,[20] for many of those who left Charleston at this time returned to their homes as soon as the immediate threat to the city had passed. This they had also done in the late fall of 1861 and this they would do later, for the Charlestonians were more reluctant to leave and more determined to return to their homes than were many other southern civilians, and the military authorities in Charleston failed dismally at trying to settle them elsewhere for the duration of the War. Greensboro was host to hundreds of South Carolinians in the last months of the War and most of these traveled by train into the city. During this same period it was absorbing additional numbers of Virginians who were fleeing from the forces of Grant and Sheridan. Although many of the refugees came in waves to Greensboro, the city was a major point of concentration for displaced people throughout the War.

[18] Mrs. Wigfall to Louise Wigfall, May 20, 1862, Wigfall Papers.
[19] Louise Wigfall to Mrs. Wigfall, June 2, 1862, Wigfall Papers.
[20] *The Wilmington Journal*, May 29, 1862.

Among those who paused in Greensboro during the last month of the conflict was J. G. M. Ramsey, president of the Knoxville branch of the Bank of Tennessee which was also a Confederate Depository. Ramsey had spent most of the War years moving the Bank's assets to safer areas and for most of the period he had maintained headquarters in Atlanta, but when that city was endangered he moved to Augusta. When he feared a Federal attack there he fled to Charlotte with his "Bank on Wheels," as he referred to the peripatetic institution. He had no sooner established himself in Charlotte than rumors were circulated that Sherman was headed in that direction, and taking his cue from the local bankers who were leaving the city, he boarded the northbound train for Greensboro. As soon as he arrived he began his search for two things, a vault in which he might deposit his valuables and a room in which he might deposit himself. The vault he found but the room he did not, for Greensboro was "filled with refugees from everywhere," and just as he was about to despair of locating accommodations for himself he met an old friend who suggested that he share his bed. Ramsey's stay in Greensboro was destined to be brief, for he had been there only a few hours when the citizens became panic-stricken at the rumors that Stoneman would soon be in town. The banker hastily gathered his valuables and retreated in the direction of Charlotte. The first night found him in Salisbury, and it was with a sense of relief that he arrived in the town, for he felt sure that he would be able to obtain a comfortable room in the Mansion House. But he soon discovered that not only were all rooms taken at the hotel but "every public and private house . . . was full of people driven in" either by the enemy or the rain. After canvassing the town for possible shelter, he returned to the Mansion House where he spent the night curled up between the "feet of a small table" in the lobby. He later recalled that the "entire floor of the room was covered with men—some snoring—some drunk—some sober," nor could he forget that he "slept little and rested none" that night. When morning came he was as weary as he had been when he crawled under the table the night before and he was so sore and stiff from lying on the floor that he concluded "the planks of Rowan County were sawed out of very hard wood."[21]

Raleigh was also another of the State's refugee centers and while many of those living in the city were natives from the coastal areas, others were temporary residents who drifted into town from threat-

[21] J. G. M. Ramsey, Autobiographical and Genealogical Notes, James Gettys McGready Ramsey Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Ramsey, Autobiographical and Genealogical Notes.

ened areas and drifted out again when the danger to their homes had passed. The Peninsular Campaign was responsible for many Virginians coming to Raleigh and in this group was the most prominent refugee North Carolina received during the War, Mrs. Jefferson Davis, whose husband compelled her to leave Richmond despite her protests. According to her good friend, Mrs. James Chesnut, Jr., Mrs. Davis was "delightfully situated" in Raleigh where she received a gracious reception from the citizens who were "so loyal, and so hospitable" that she did not have to "eat a meal at the hotel." [22] When Mrs. Davis was in the city in May, 1862, Raleigh was crowded but comparatively calm; only two months before, however, the residents had been in a turmoil as many expected the Federals to march into the heart of the State after taking New Bern. In March a young refugee who had returned to her parents' home in Raleigh wrote her brother-in-law that many families were then packing to leave the city and the possibility of an immediate attack was "the sole topic of conversation." [23] On the same day in March that she wrote this letter Nathaniel Henry Rhodes Dawson of Alabama, en route to camp in Virginia, reported that Raleigh was crowded with refugees from both New Bern and Richmond.[24] By the time Mrs. Davis arrived the fear of attack had abated but Raleigh had absorbed additional numbers of the homeless as Lieutenant Benbury noted when he wrote his wife about the congestion. Benbury could not understand why these people insisted on crowding into cities where provisions were scarce and all necessities were more expensive than in rural areas or smaller communities. He told of a friend of his who was in Raleigh at the time but who was making plans to move into the country, for she was not in a financial position to pay seventy-five dollars a month board for herself and half that amount for her baby, whom the Lieutenant said was "a little thing to pay board." [25]

Charlotte was always fascinating to refugees, first those from the coast and at various times those from both Virginia and South Carolina. In September, 1861, the city was already making room for the homeless, and on the tenth of the month the *Western Democrat* noted that a number of people were there from the eastern part of the State.

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[22] Ben Ames Williams (ed.), *A Diary from Dixie*, by Mary Boykin Chesnut (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company [1949]), 229, hereinafter cited as Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*.

[23] Mrs. George L'Engle to Edward L. L'Engle, March 18, 1862, Edward L. L'Engle Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[24] Nathaniel Henry Rhodes Dawson to Elodie Todd, March 18, 1862, Nathaniel Henry Rhodes Dawson Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[25] John Avery Benbury to Harriet Ryan Benbury, May 7, 1862, Benbury-Haywood Papers.

The following summer a correspondent for the Richmond *Daily Dispatch* wrote, "Charlotte is filled with refugees," and he concluded that one of the greatest attractions in the city was the rapidly developing industry which offered employment to many displaced people. He also noted that many Virginians were in town and he mentioned that in the group was Mrs. "Stonewall" Jackson who was visiting in the home of her sister, Mrs. D. H. Hill, and it was here that the Jackson's only child was born.[26] A great many private homes in Charlotte were opened but even those who commercialized on their temporary boarders were not always kindly disposed toward them. One man who catered to the displaced people wrote that there were forty-three women living in his home and space was reserved for nine more who were expected to arrive shortly, and even as he derived an income from the lodgers he commented that the house was "crowded with the ugliest set of girls" he had ever seen.[27] The chances are, however, that he did not voice this opinion in the presence of his patrons.

It was in February, 1865, that Charlotte was called on to endure its greatest invasion of refugees as thousands flocked into the city from South Carolina. One of these was Mrs. Joseph E. Johnston, who by this time was an authority on refugeeing, for she had managed to stay with her husband through most of his campaigns and she had been uprooted in Dalton, Atlanta, and Macon. But never had she been in the middle of such congestion as she was when she rode the train from Columbia to Charlotte. However, on most of her previous flights she had not been required to use public conveyances for she was always assigned government vehicles, but the train that brought her to Charlotte was crowded with humanity, the like of which she had never seen. She wrote friends that three hundred of the women who were dumped in Charlotte could not find shelter of any kind and the situation was "lamentable: women hunting in every direction for shelter—and people . . . beginning to move off. . . ."[28] Many of the residents would have confirmed Mrs. Johnston's statement that there were hundreds who arrived without reservations and who went from house to house begging to be taken in and fed. One woman grew weary of hearing her doorbell ring day and night, and although she might have accommodated some, she refused because provisions were "not to be had" and prices were "going up every day." While this was

[26] *Western Democrat* (Charlotte), September 10, 1861; *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), July 14, 1862.
[27] D. S. Burwell to Edmund Burwell, October 6, 1863, Burwell Papers.
[28] Mrs. D. Giraud Wright (Louise), *A Southern Girl in '61: The War-Time Memories of A Confederate Senator's Daughter* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1905), 229.

probably a major consideration there was also another—she was not very fond of South Carolinians and she was disgusted with them for abandoning their homes when danger threatened for the first time. As she wrote her son, those who "first made all the fuss are now the *swiftest* on foot."[29] Many of the refugees who had planned to remain in Charlotte until they could return to their homes could not get accommodations there and either had to move on to other communities or return home to face the Federals. Before the city had completely recovered from this onslaught the families of high-ranking Confederate officials drifted into town, among these Mrs. Jefferson Davis. This group was spearheading the cavalcade of notables which would begin leaving Richmond after the adjournment of Congress on March 25 and would be climaxed by the flight of President Davis and his party on April 2.

Communities to the west of Charlotte absorbed hundreds of those displaced by Sherman during the last weeks of the War. Some of these had been moving about for nearly four years, having moved by stages into South Carolina only to be uprooted again, but for others, who were natives of that State, this was their first experience. They converged on Flat Rock, Asheville, Morganton, Lenoir, Shelby, and other towns, but it was to Lincolnton that a great many went, among these Mrs. Joseph E. Johnston, Mrs. James Chesnut, Jr., and various members of the Middleton, Rutledge, Preston, and Ravenel families. Mrs. Chesnut referred to Lincolnton as an "out-of-all-routes place" but she admitted that it was nevertheless "in the regular line of strategic retreat" from Sherman. Mrs. Chesnut was like most other refugees in that she was not happy in her role nor was she at first enthusiastic about her place of refuge or the people whom she met for the first time. However, she and her South Carolina friends did not socialize with the residents, thus erecting a barrier between themselves and the natives. When Mrs. Chesnut arrived in Lincolnton she was dejected as she moaned, "Here in Lincolnton I am broken-hearted, an exile," but this was the first and last experience of this kind she was to have. Her room in the local hotel was not satisfactory and she complained especially about the bare floors, featherbed, pine table, and the price, which was thirty dollars a day. She thought the owner boorish and she was irritated by him as he no doubt was by her, but Mrs. Chesnut was more fortunate than some in that she very soon moved into more comfortable quarters. Her landlady suited her taste for she was related to Mrs. "Stonewall" Jackson, Mrs. D. H. Hill,

[29] Mrs. R. Burwell to Edmund Burwell, February 16, 1865, Burwell Papers.

"the Brevards, Hugers," and other prominent families, and after settling herself here the future looked a bit brighter. Also in town was one of her dearest friends, the jolly, amusing, unpredictable Isabella Martin from Columbia, and the two became almost inseparable during their weeks as refugees. It was in Lincolnton that Isabella Martin saw for the first time Mrs. Chesnut's diary, and it was Miss Martin who convinced her that she should not destroy it. Later the diary was bequeathed to her and she was its first editor.

The primary reason for General Chesnut's sending his wife to Lincolnton was the abundance of provisions in the area, and while there was food aplenty the refugees had difficulty obtaining supplies because very few farmers or merchants would accept Confederate money in exchange. Mrs. Chesnut was unprepared for this situation and she soon found that if she were to get provisions she would have to use her clothing in payment, for the farmers were anxious to barter for any item of wearing apparel, so she concluded that in Lincolnton she ate her clothes. At no time during the War had she been required to struggle for food and this was a new experience for her. She was critical of the plain diet, bored with the quietness of Lincolnton, and unhappy with the rainy weather, but she thought it fortunate that during the weeks spent there it was also the Lenten season, so she could spend her time fasting and praying like a "drowned rat." Whether it was because she changed her first opinion of the community or because she was happy to be going home, Mrs. Chesnut left Lincolnton with a kindly feeling toward the place. She was especially fond of her landlady, and well she might have been for the woman charged her no rent, so the refugee departed believing that North Carolinians had "great depths of hospitality and kindness." [30]

An unidentified refugee who left Columbia about the same time as Mrs. Chesnut tried to get accommodations in several communities before he also came to Lincolnton. However, his stay in the village was brief, and although he thought it a pleasant enough place despite its being overcrowded, he had two complaints against it. He had never seen any town as filled with extortioners who made it impossible for him to remain there for any length of time, and he had a very real aversion to the name of the community, for being an ardent Confederate he was uncomfortable in Lincolnton.[31]

While many of the eleventh-hour refugees flocked to Lincolnton because they believed it safe and well provisioned and also because the railroad connected the town with Charlotte, Bishop Henry C. Lay

[30] Chestnut, *Diary From Dixie*, 478-507.
[31] *Columbia Phoenix* (South Carolina), April 8, 1865.

had already decided on the town as a place of sanctuary for his family before the South Carolinians arrived en masse. His wife and children had been homeless since the first year of the War, having left their home in Fort Smith, Arkansas, going first to the home of friends in Huntsville, Alabama, and later to Virginia. Bishop Lay had traveled about the Confederacy, preaching in various places and in the fall of 1864 he had been within the Federal lines in Alabama. However in January, 1865, he was shopping around western North Carolina in search of a temporary home to which he could bring his family, and after visiting several communities he narrowed his decision down to either Shelby or Lincolnton. He decided against Shelby because there was only one four-room house for rent in the town, and while it was situated on three acres of good land, there was not a shade tree near it, the rent was $1,500 a year, and the owner "was not easy to deal with." He wrote Mrs. Lay that he finally decided against moving here because he thought she would not find "anyone with whom . . . [she] would be likely to have pleasant association." Proceeding to Lincolnton he was immediately enchanted by the village. Here he found a house which the owner would rent reasonably, and while it did not have a garden plot which he very much wanted, there was a man who offered to let him use some of his land nearby. But the people in the community won his heart when one offered to buy him provisions more cheaply than a refugee could purchase them, another promised to get him yarn and have sheets woven, and several residents suggested that they be permitted to furnish the home. Enthusiastic over the prospects of living in such a friendly community, he wrote Mrs. Lay that he was sure that she would be very happy here for the people were so much like her friends in Arkansas. In telling her of his experiences he commented, "I don't know that I have ever applied myself with greater diligence to anything than to this matter of hunting up a home—may merciful Providence guide us aright." [32]

The towns in western North Carolina were especially appealing to those out-of-state refugees who were displaced early in the War and who settled with the idea of remaining in their hideaways until the end of the conflict. Some of these people came great distances to the mountains in the belief that this area offered greater safety than any other in the Confederacy, and many communities had an appreciable number of refugees throughout the War. Lenoir was so crowded with homeless people by February, 1864, that the wife of a Confederate colonel could find no place to board in the town, and she reported

[32] Henry C. Lay to Mrs. Lay, January 30, 31, 1865, Henry Champlin Lay Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

that such had been the case all the way from Augusta, Georgia, to Lenoir. A friend to whom she appealed in the latter community wanted to accommodate her, but his home was already filled with these temporary visitors; however, he wrote a cousin and asked her if she could possibly take the lady into her home. She was anxious to get herself settled somewhere and stay there for the remainder of the War.[33]

Those who went to the mountains were among the most enthusiastic of the out-of-state refugees, and none was more so than those who made their wartime home in Asheville. Although there were many Unionists in the town and surrounding areas, even the most ardent Confederates felt at home there when they found the citizens exceptionally hospitable and kind. One displaced person wrote, "You have heard of mountain *hospitality*, . . . but 'the half has not been told.' These mountaineers' hospitality seems inexhaustible. . . . The accursed greed for gain . . . sweeping over the land . . . has not prevailed here. They still have an open house and a welcome hand for the exiled refugee."[34] This tribute to the people of Asheville was especially meaningful for it was written only four months before the end of the War, and by this time most communities looked upon the refugees as nuisances and a great many individuals thought of them as enemies. Yet in Asheville the homeless were still finding a welcome.

Asheville had no greater boosters among the displaced people than the family of the Confederacy's "Fighting Bishop," General Leonidas Polk. Mrs. Polk and her unmarried daughters fled first from Nashville just after the fall of Fort Donelson and went to New Orleans where they had many friends, but soon after they arrived that city fell to the Federals. Mrs. Polk was not happy to have the battlelines separating her from her husband and she applied for a pass to go into the Confederacy. This was granted and she went to Richmond to confer with General Polk about a possible place of refuge where she could live for the duration of the War, and he suggested that she go to Asheville which he assured her was "a safe, retired place." Mrs. Polk and her daughters followed his advice and rented a ten-room house situated on a large lot which afforded them a garden plot, and included in the property were an orchard and a cow. Mrs. Polk was especially pleased that seven of the rooms were carpeted, for one of the universal complaints of refugees was the lack of floor coverings in most rented houses, and bare floors increased the problems of

[33] E. R. Harpin to Carolina Patterson, February 23, 1863, Lindsay Patterson Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[34] *Southern Presbyterian* (Columbia, South Carolina), January 12, 1865.

adequately heating the establishments. Mrs. Polk had reason to be pleased that her home had carpets, for the winters in Asheville were much colder than those to which she had been accustomed in Louisiana before the War. When the Polks' oldest daughter Kate, whose husband was William Gale of Mississippi and Tennessee, was driven first from their plantation home on the Yazoo River and later from Jackson, Mrs. Polk urged that she and the children join her in Asheville, assuring Mrs. Gale the house was large enough to accommodate all.[35] Kate Gale was delighted to accept her mother's invitation, and she arrived with her children in late 1863.

Not long after the second family was added to the household Mrs. Polk's son Hamilton and his family joined the others in Asheville. He had been wounded while fighting in Louisiana and he had no other place to take his wife and children, but the Polks and Gales were an exceptionally close-knit family and, as crowded as they were, they maintained more harmonious relations with each other than was the case in many congested transitory households. Soon after Hamilton's arrival, however, the family began its search for more spacious quarters, but large homes were hard to find and those which were available carried prohibitive rents. One of Mrs. Polk's newly acquired friends, however, offered to share her nineteen-room home with them, rent free, in order to have others in the house for company and protection. The Polks were unwilling to accept the invitation on these terms but the parties reached an agreement when Hamilton insisted that he pay the lady's taxes in return for their sharing the home. This settled, the family moved into the large house and here they lived until the end of the War. This was only one of the many acts of generosity bestowed upon the refugees by the Asheville citizens. Writing years after the War, Kate Gale remembered how very kind and sympathetic the neighbors had been when her father was killed and how thoughtful they were when her younger sister married William Huger in the spring of 1864. They helped to make the wedding a memorable event as they contributed items of apparel to the bride's trousseau, food for the wedding reception, and carriages to be used to take the family to the church. Some of the most generous friends they had in the mountains were those of Unionist views who accepted the Confederates without thought of their political differences. Mrs. Gale remembered one man who was an avowed Unionist who worried about the refugees being vulnerable to attack from others of his group, and once when a raid was rumored as imminent he insisted on

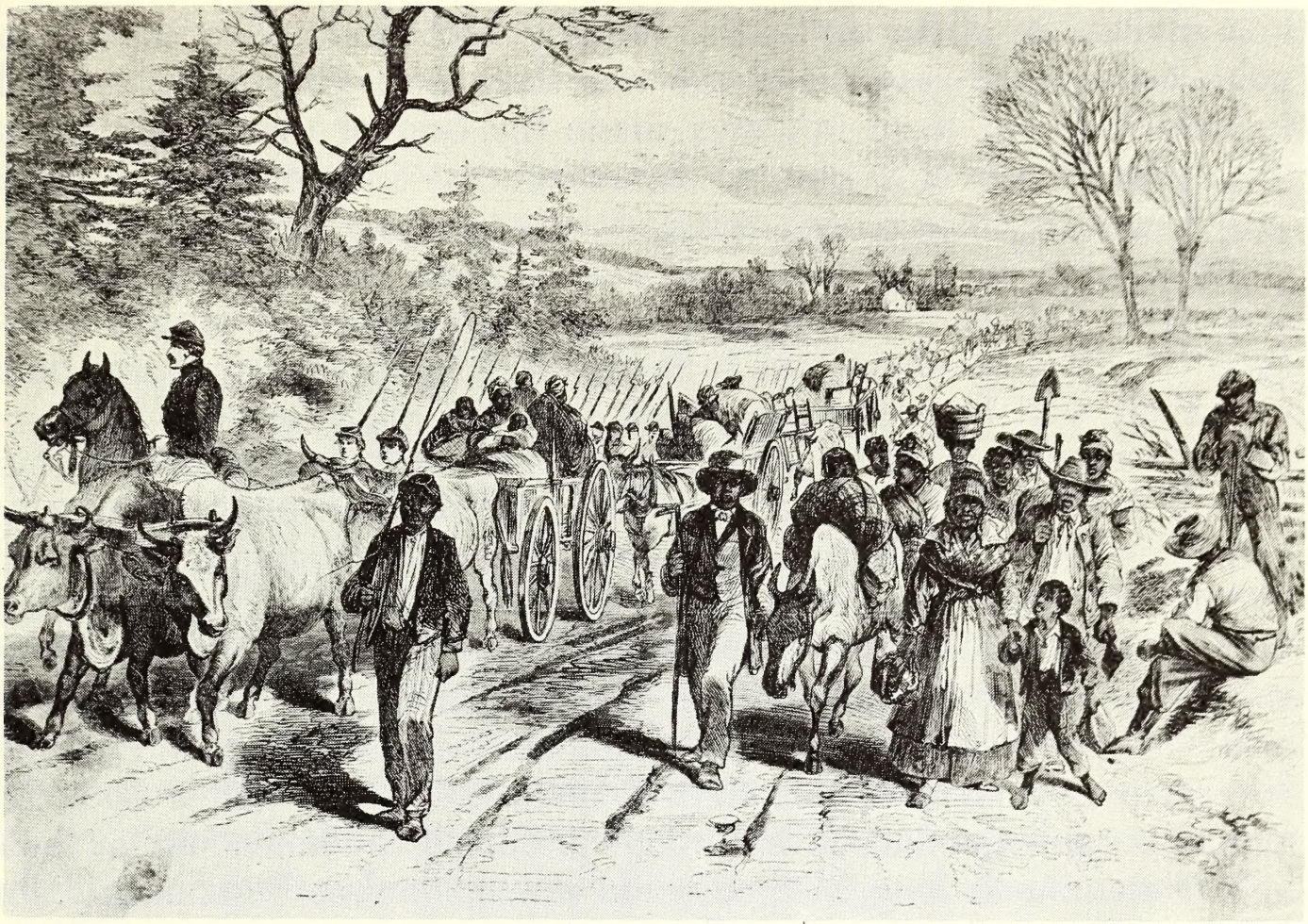
[35] Mrs. Leonidas Polk to Kate Polk Gale, December 17, 1863, Gale-Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Gale-Polk Papers.

taking the family's stock of provisions to his own farm near town where other Unionists would be less likely to steal or destroy them.

Mrs. Polk and her household were in some ways more fortunate than the average refugee, but the family came to know the meaning of privations, as did most southerners. The problem of clothing was a major one, for it was a struggle for the family to keep warm in the winter, and the women spent many hours patching, sewing, and converting all kinds of materials into clothing. Mrs. Gale recalled that a garment worn by one of the children had been patched a hundred times, and she remembered that during the last winter of the War her sons had to go "barefooted for *three weeks*" in midwinter because no shoes were to be had. There were times when it was difficult to feed the group and many days they had only milk and corn bread, but during the summer and early fall they were able to get vegetables and fruit from their garden and orchard. They also knew fear, for while they counted a number of Unionists among their friends there were others who would delight in causing trouble for the family of a Confederate general, and Hamilton Polk was especially vulnerable, having served in the Confederate Army. Yet despite their fears and their hardships, they hated to say good-by to their friends when the time came for them to go home after the War. Mrs. Gale wrote, "The whole community had extended to us individually & collectively the greatest kindnesses & sympathy. It was impossible to break from it all without real sadness and genuine regret." The only situation in Asheville which did not meet with her approval was the poor mail service, and once in 1864 she went for two months without hearing from her husband who was in the army. Yet it was not the fault of Asheville that letters arrived so irregularly, for the city averaged three incoming mails a week and this was far better service than many communities had.[36]

Most displaced people naturally looked forward to the day when they could return to their homes and many from the adjoining States did not wait for the return of peace to start their journey back. Some who were nestled away in isolated areas had difficulty in leaving their safe harbors. The transportation system was disrupted, vehicles and animals were scarce and those having them were often reluctant to take them out on the roads of the State in the turbulent weeks following the War. Some refugees had no home to which they could go if it had been destroyed or confiscated as abandoned property, and women were very reluctant to make the trip without male escort, for lawless bands roamed at will in many sections. One young woman,

[36] Katherine Polk Gale, "My Recollections of Life in the Southern Confederacy (1861-65)" (manuscript), Gale-Polk Papers.



Displaced persons near New Bern during the Civil War. From *Harper's Weekly*, February 21, 1863.

who had been sent to a point in North Carolina which she located as being forty miles from Greensboro and forty miles from Raleigh, had to wait four months before she could get a ride to Greensboro from which point she could take the train south. Her home was in Columbia, yet even when she boarded the train in Greensboro she knew she would be unable to travel in this way all the way to Columbia, for the tracks were torn up near Newberry, from which town she would have to take a stagecoach to her home. But the months between Lee's surrender and the start of her journey to Columbia were the worst she had known; and many refugees felt as she did, that although life was hard in many ways, as long as the War was being fought the displaced people could at least hope for victory, but when the War was lost everything seemed dark and hopeless.[37]

One prominent man, who bowed in and out of North Carolina several times during the War, joined his family in Mecklenburg County where they rented a farm in 1865. J. G. M. Ramsey had no home to which he could go nor did he have funds for his return to East Tennessee. When the War ended his wealth consisted of seven-

[37] Mrs. Clara Dargan MacLean, "Return of a Refugee," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XIII (1885), 502-515.

teen dollars in silver and Mrs. Ramsey had twenty-five dollars in gold; he was sixty-eight and she was sixty-four. The future seemed to hold little for them but they made the best of their situation as did so many others in similar circumstances. To their rented home near Charlotte came homeless friends who, for one reason or another, could not get back to theirs, and among these were several families from New Orleans. Despite the Ramseys' poverty they always managed to welcome others, and so many stayed varying lengths of time with them that Ramsey named their home, "Exile's Retreat." [38]

The course of the War saved a great many North Carolinians from having to make the choice of whether or not to become refugees, and many factors combined to keep the State from being as congested with displaced people as were some parts of the South. Yet there were hundreds who came into North Carolina for brief periods and there were others who came with the idea of remaining until the War's end. Other States might boast greater numbers of refugees, but few had more distinguished ones than did North Carolina. While both the Virginians and the South Carolinians preferred to remain within their own States for as long as they could do so, the combination of McClellan, Sherman, Grant, Sheridan, and desperation made them grateful for a refuge even in "the Valley of Humility."

[38] Ramsey, Autobiographical and Genealogical Notes, Ramsey Papers.

NORTH CAROLINA'S REACTION TO THE CURRENCY ACT OF 1764

By Robert M. Weir*

Great Britain's continental colonies suffered from a chronic shortage of specie in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result most colonial legislatures resorted to temporary issues of various types of paper money to provide a sufficient medium to carry on internal trade. Before the middle of the eighteenth century these issues were usually legal tender, but increasing opposition after 1720 from the British merchant community, which feared injury from depreciated colonial currency, culminated in Parliament's passage of two important statutes in 1751 and 1764. The 1751 measure prohibited issues of further legal tender paper in New England, and the Currency Act of 1764 extended the prohibition to all the continental colonies. The 1764 Act stipulated that no existing legal tender issue continue in circulation after the date originally specified for its retirement and threatened governors who violated the law with a £1,000 fine, loss of position, and permanent exclusion from crown office.[1]

Although opinion has been divided on the degree to which these laws actually affected the colonial economy,[2] the 1764 Act is often cited in the list of those British restrictions which marked the road to revolution following 1763. Speaking before Parliament in 1766, Benjamin Franklin mentioned "the prohibition of making paper money among themselves" as one cause of the recent decline in colonial respect toward Parliament,[3] and the First Continental Congress in-

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[1] 24 Geo. II, c. 53, Danby Pickering (ed.), *Statutes at Large from Magna Charta (1225 to 1868/69)* (Cambridge and London, England: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1762-1869, 109 volumes [Title changes to *The Statutes of the United Kingdom* and volumes are not numbered after volume XLVI]), XX, 306, hereinafter cited as Pickering, *Statutes at Large*, with proper citation; March 9, 1764, James Munro and W. L. Grant (eds.) *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series* (Hereford, England: His Majesty's Stationery Office [continuing number of volumes, I—], 1908—), IV (1745-1766), 623, hereinafter cited as *Acts of the Privy Council*; 4 Geo. III, c. 34, Pickering, *Statutes at Large*, XXVI, 103-105.

[2] E. James Ferguson, "Currency Finance: An Interpretation of Colonial Monetary Practice," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, X (April, 1953), 153-180.

[3] Testimony before the House of Commons February 3, 1766. John Bigelow (ed.), *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: C. P. Putnam's Sons, 10 volumes, 1887), III, 418.

cluded the Currency Act among those measures it considered "subversive of American rights."[4] Nowhere was the Act a more important and continuing issue than in North Carolina. Yet no one has attempted to spell out the relationship between the Currency Act and the revolutionary movement in North Carolina.

North Carolina's pre-1764 experience with paper money foreshadowed later developments. Crown attempts to restrict colonial paper money by instructions to the governor led to colonial evasions. Aided by military necessity and a casual attitude toward colonial administration in London, the colonists were fairly successful in their attempts to augment the currency supply. Indeed, the North Carolina situation was one of the prime considerations in the imperial decision to extend the restrictions on New England to the other continental colonies.

Imperial officials had long been skeptical of colonial paper money. They had instructed George Burrington, North Carolina's first Royal Governor, to approve only those acts emitting bills of credit which contained a suspending clause[5]—an instruction regularly issued to all royal governors after 1720. Following the North Carolina paper money issues of 1748 and 1754, British merchants complained bitterly that they were being unfairly compelled to accept colonial currency at the legal tender rate of £133/6/8 to £100 sterling when actually £133/6/8 in North Carolina paper was worth only £70 sterling.[6] As a result, in 1759 imperial officials approved an instruction to Governor Arthur Dobbs calling for an amendment to the 1748 and 1754 laws to provide that debts to British subjects should be payable in colonial bills of credit at their actual market value and then only if the creditor were willing to accept them. Furthermore, the instruction forbade Dobbs to assent to any future act which did not contain a clause to that effect and stipulated that paper bills should not be legal tender for quitrents or any other crown dues.[7]

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[4] October 14, 1774, W. C. Ford and Others (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1787* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 34 volumes, 1904-1937), I, 71.

[5] "Instructions for Our Trusty and Welbeloved George Burrington. . . ," December 14, 1730, William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), III, 95, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

[6] Laws of North Carolina—1748, and Laws of North Carolina—1754, Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *The Colonial Records* and *The State Records*], 1895-1914), XXIII, 292-296, 392-398, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*; May 31, 1759, *Acts of the Privy Council*, IV, 415.

[7] Instructions to Arthur Dobbs, May 31, 1759, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 43-45.

In December, 1759, Dobbs informed the legislature of the new instruction. The House not only failed to amend the issuing acts of 1748 and 1754 but also flatly refused Dobbs' request for a military appropriation which, it contended, would require emission of more currency. A new issue under such conditions, the House argued, "must depretiate the present Paper Currency and prove a means of destroying the Credit of the Country."[8] Dobbs agreed that an increase in currency was necessary not only because there was no other way to raise money for the French and Indian War, but also because specie was so scarce that he feared that sheriffs might have to levy executions upon the taxpayers' property in order to collect quitrents or public taxes. At a forced sale the few having specie might exploit those without it. Such a development, Dobbs warned the Board of Trade, might "raise a flame" which would prevent the government from enforcing the law. To relieve the situation and secure the military appropriation he resolved by the next spring to violate his instruction and permit issuance of some paper money.[9]

But Dobbs' plan was frustrated by a disagreement with the Lower House. At this point the Lower House saw the opportunity to increase the supply of provincial currency by appropriating and printing more than Dobbs thought necessary to meet the situation. In May, 1760, he vetoed the bill, charging that "the whole scheme [was] calculated to have £12,000 Currency issued without a sinking fund and made a tender in all payments. . . ."[10] After proroguing the legislature until September, Dobbs reported to the Board of Trade that the House scheme was simply a plan of a "Junto," composed chiefly of the Speaker Samuel Swann; the two Treasurers, John Starkey and Thomas Barker; North Carolina's London agent, J. Abercrombie; and Attorney General Robert Jones. This group, wrote Dobbs, intended to issue paper money, and as that money depreciated use North Carolina's share of the £50,000 in specie, granted by Parliament to Virginia and the two Carolinas for military operations in 1757 and 1758,[11] to buy up colonial paper at its market value, exchanging the depreciated paper at the colonial treasury for specie at the legal rate. This operation, Dobbs charged, would result in a considerable profit for the "Junto." To complete their nefarious scheme, he continued, they would petition again for more paper money. In all probability these

[8] House Journals, December 8, 1759, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 149-151.
[9] Arthur Dobbs to Board of Trade, January 19, 1760, and Dobbs to William Pitt, April 12, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 218, 234.
[10] House Journals, May 27, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 426.
[11] Ella Lonn, *Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945), 195, hereinafter cited as Lonn, *Colonial Agents*.

accusations were only a diversionary tactic; Dobbs included them in a letter to the Board of Trade replying to a series of House resolves charging him with maladministration. Apparently, the Board did not take Dobbs' accusations too seriously; at least it was unwilling to approve an alternative plan which he suggested.[12] Nevertheless Dobbs' report could not have been conducive to a more lenient imperial attitude toward North Carolina's paper money demands.

Eventually, Dobbs was forced to approve the emission of the additional currency on the House's terms. Requests for troops by both Pitt and Amherst in 1760 preceded a call from Governor Fauquier of Virginia for assistance against the Cherokees in the spring of 1761.[13] Upon the advice of his Council, Dobbs assented to an emission of £12,000 in 1760 and £20,000 in 1761, both of which were legal tender.[14] The refusal of the North Carolina legislature to comply with the instructions, however, only served to increase the determination of imperial authorities to take a stricter tone in currency matters.[15] Three years later Parliament, freed from the constraints of military necessity, enacted the stringent penalties of the Currency Act to prevent any such acquiescence to colonial demands for legal tender paper money.

The Currency Act did not evoke any immediate response from North Carolina officials, but the next four years saw a succession of attempts by the Lower House to obtain relief from its restrictions. Despite the strong support of Governor William Tryon and a fair prospect for success in late 1766 and early 1767, all of these efforts came to naught.

Except for an unsuccessful protest when Couchet Jouvencal, agent for North Carolina's Lower House, with representatives of five other colonies called upon the Board of Trade to protest the proposed act,[16] the first official North Carolina reaction to the Currency Act did not

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[12] Dobbs to Board of Trade, August 3, 1760, and Board of Trade to Dobbs, June 10, 1762, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 305, 725. Dobbs had recommended that the Parliamentary grant remain in London as credit upon which the colony might draw. The Junto had hoped to have the specie shipped to the colony. See also Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, x-xii.

[13] Upper House Journals, April 24, 1760, and House Journals, April 15, 1761, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 346, 687.

[14] House Journals, April 23, 1761, and "Report of John Starkey, Treasurer," House Journals, November 24, 1764, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 695, 1,309; Laws of North Carolina, 1760, and Laws of North Carolina, 1761, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 516-518, 539-542.

[15] Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, Volume II, *The Southern Plantations* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf and Company, 9 volumes, 1936—), II, 65.

[16] Lonn, *Colonial Agents*, 394; February 7, 1764, *Journals of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations: January, 1764, to December, 1767* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1936), 18, hereinafter cited as *Journals of the Commissioners* with proper dates.

occur until nearly two years after its announcement in the Council at Wilmington, November 2, 1764.[17] Wartime currency issues probably provided sufficient temporary relief, and the legislature which met in May, 1765, made no attempt to issue additional paper. However in November, 1766, a petition from Pasquotank County "setting forth the many great hardships the said inhabitants . . . of this Province endure, for want of Paper, and other currency," prompted the Lower House to appoint a committee to draft a petition to the king asking repeal of the Currency Act. But the House discharged the committee before it had completed the petition,[18] apparently because Governor Tryon had offered to intercede with English authorities in the matter. Shortly thereafter he wrote to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, that North Carolina had less than £70,000 paper money circulating and that local merchants thought £200,000 "barely sufficient for the circulating medium . . . under the present increasing state of [the colony's] commerce." [19]

This action revealed that Tryon was both an astute politician and an advocate of paper money. His inaction was equally revealing. Having received a copy of the 1759 instruction in regard to the currency emissions of 1748 and 1754 in one of his first letters from the Board of Trade,[20] Tryon was confronted with a dilemma. On the one hand, he might have attempted to follow his instruction and, by pressing for an amendment which his predecessor had already been unsuccessful in obtaining, risk conflict with the Lower House at the beginning of his administration. On the other hand, to conciliate the House he could have chosen to ignore his instruction. Tryon chose the latter course, some time later explaining to the Board of Trade that the amendment was no longer necessary. When the instruction had originally been issued, the courts awarded judgments in colonial paper money at its nominal value. Since then, however, Tryon reported, the Superior Court had reversed this procedure and now the courts considered currency depreciation in determining the amount of an award. Consequently, he contended, British merchants could have no further reason to complain.[21]

By the summer of 1767 it was apparent that the currency shortage had caused considerable distress. In June the Reverend Alexander

[17] Upper House Journals, November 2, 1764, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1,080.
[18] House Journals, November 20, 22, 27, 1766, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 386, 393-394, 408.
[19] Governor William Tryon to the Earl of Shelburne, January 31, 1767, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 433.
[20] Board of Trade to Tryon, November 29, 1765, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 132.
[21] Tryon to Board of Trade, July 15, 1767, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 511.

Stewart of Beaufort County wrote that "so great is the distress of the people for want of a currency, that Mobs and Riots are frequent, and in many places where there are Officers they dare not distrain for any Dues whatever." [22] When the legislature met the next winter, it immediately indicated concern over the situation. Predicting ruin for the colony "from the great want of a sufficient quantity of circulating currency to serve as a medium in Trade," the House asked that "every laudable measure be made use of by us to avert or delay the impending mischiefs, which from the still greater scarcity of a currency must consequently ensue." Both houses then appointed a committee to draw up a petition to the crown for permission to issue £100,000 in paper money to circulate for sixteen years. Pointing out that the paper then in circulation was due to be retired within the year, they contended that great "distresses of the poor inhabitants" would result if more were not issued to replace it. The petition also promised that the proposed emission would not be made tender for debts due to the crown or to British merchants.[23]

Tryon forwarded the petition to Shelburne with his own endorsement, noting that the promise not to make the issue legal tender for debts due to the British Isles seemed to conform to the 1759 instruction to Governor Dobbs. If these conditions were not satisfactory, Tryon wrote, the legislature would be glad to alter them to contain nothing prejudicial to British interests. Confirming the need for additional currency, he pointed out that distraint proceedings to satisfy debts, taxes, and quitrents caused much distress and frequently failed even to yield the required sum. He also suggested that replacing the money then circulating with a new emission would be an effective way to meet a serious counterfeiting problem that contributed to North Carolina's currency woes. Tryon evidently expected the petition to be successful. On the same day he asked Messrs. Drummond and Company to order copperplates and paper if permission for the new issue were granted.[24]

But Tryon's order was premature. Lord Hillsborough had recently assumed the new office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, thereby taking over duties formerly handled by Shelburne. As his reply to Tryon illustrated, Hillsborough was an implacable foe of legal tender currency. "But this Matter has already received so full a Discussion

[22] Alexander Stewart to Secretary of Society for Propagation of the Gospel, June, 1768 (1767), Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 495.
[23] House Journals, December 11, 1767, and January 16, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 570, 681.
[24] Tryon to Shelburne, February 2, 1768, and Tryon to Messrs. Drummond and Company, February 2, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 678-679, 680.

at the Board of Trade, at the Privy Council, and in each House of Parliament, and so strong and unanimous a Determination that Paper Currency with a legal Tender is big with Frauds, and full of Mischief to the Colonies, and to Commerce in general," Hillsborough wrote in rejecting the petition, "that I apprehend no Consideration of a possible local Inconvenience will induce a Deviation from the sound Principles of the Act of Parliament relative thereto."[25]

Faced with such a doctrinaire attitude, the negotiations carried on by North Carolina's agent had little chance for success. As early as September, 1767, Henry E. McCulloh, a colonist then residing in London, had expected a general discussion by imperial officials of the whole currency problem sometime that winter. Of several possible alternatives McCulloh felt that the one most likely to be adopted involved repeal of the restrictive acts and permission for the colonies to emit paper money under limited conditions. First, Parliament was to prescribe the amount; second, all debts contracted prior to emission of the new currency were not to be affected by any subsequent depreciation; and third, all sterling debts were to be paid "in Value." Before anything was done, however, the colonies would have to assent to these conditions. Because he could see little objection to them, McCulloh offered to represent North Carolina in the matter.[26]

On December 12, 1768, the Lower House appointed him its agent and instructed him to co-operate with representatives of the other colonies to secure repeal of the Currency Act.[27] However, a controversy between the two houses of the legislature over his appointment hampered his effectiveness as a negotiator. In fact, the Board of Trade temporarily refused to recognize his right to act for North Carolina.[28] Nevertheless, McCulloh was reasonably hopeful of success. By midsummer of 1769, however, the plan for a direct repeal of the restrictive acts seems to have been dropped; in July he wrote to the North Carolina House that a general repeal would be subject to many objections. He, therefore, planned to press for a Parliamentary act to answer your "particular purposes"—presumably a special exemption—for which he expected to be able to gather merchant support.[29] Nevertheless, Hillsborough remained adamantly opposed, and the negotiations soon died.

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[25] Earl of Hillsborough to Governor Tryon, April 16, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 709.
[26] Henry E. McCulloh to John Harvey, September 13, 1767, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 517.
[27] House Journals, December 12, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 878-879.
[28] April 18, 1769, *Journals of the Commissioners, 1768-1775*, 88.
[29] McCulloh to the Committee for Correspondence of the Lower House, July 14, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 56-57.

In the meantime, however, Tryon's administration was in the throes of the turmoil caused by the Regulators whose grievances were accentuated by the shortage of currency. "These regulators declare . . . they are not satisfied with the public and county taxes, and that it is not in their power to procure specie or currency, from its scarcity, to discharge them," Tryon wrote to Hillsborough. He predicted that if the colony's petition for a currency were granted, "the public taxes would be collected without any obstruction." Hillsborough was unmoved. "I have already . . . been so full and explicit upon the Application made by the Council and Assembly of North Carolina for a Paper Currency," he replied, "that I have nothing to add upon that Subject." [30]

Although previous petitions had been unsuccessful, the North Carolina Lower House, with Governor Tryon's support, continued to press for legal tender paper money. Continued failures during the period 1768 to 1771 led to repeated attempts at evasion of the Currency Act. Although unable to co-operate openly, Tryon was at least sympathetic to colonial proposals. Military necessity again provided an opportunity to augment the currency.

At the opening of the legislature's fall session in November, 1768, Tryon reported Hillsborough's refusal. The House replied by thanking him for the support he had given to their petition. Speaker Harvey then continued, "We adopted the measure . . . as the only remedy of saving this Province from ruin nor are we happy enough at this time to have the least reason to alter that opinion." [31] Yet, though in despair, the House made vigorous attempts to avert impending calamity. It rapidly passed a bill to discharge the public debt by an emission of £30,000 in legal tender debenture notes. The Council, however, hesitated over so large an issue and suggested instead £20,000 as a figure more apt to meet with imperial approval.[32] The Lower House refused to entertain the Council's proposal on the grounds that the Council had no right to participate in framing money bills.[33] The Council countered by suggesting that both houses waive the question of their respective rights. It argued that a money bill would certainly be deemed a violation of the Currency Act and asserted its willingness that the bill "should not be considered as such in any respect whatsoever." So anxious was the Lower House to secure passage that it

[30] Tryon to Hillsborough, June 16, 1768, and Hillsborough to Tryon, August 13, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 791-792, 800.
[31] House Journals, November 12, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 931.
[32] Upper House Journals, November 30, December 1, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 912, 915-916.
[33] Upper House Journals, November 30, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 914.

agreed not to stand upon its rights, and on December 1 both houses passed the bill at the Council's figure.[34] The Lower House also instructed McCulloh to work for "permission to emit a paper currency," and again asked Tryon to help with his influence. The following day Tryon vetoed the debenture bill because it violated the Currency Act.[35]

Over the following weekend Speaker Harvey and Tryon apparently communicated,[36] and on Monday both houses rushed through a bill, which Tryon subsequently approved, to issue £20,000 in nonlegal tender debenture bills to pay the forces raised to suppress the Regulators. At the same time, to further relieve the currency situation the House sought to continue in circulation the legal tender currency that still remained from the emissions of 1760 and 1761 by suspending collection of the poll taxes levied to redeem these issues.[37] But Tryon refused to approve the action because he thought it premature and rightly recognized it as a violation of the Currency Act.[38]

Apparently the Lower House then directed the treasurers to omit the tax from the list of those to be collected. Tryon countered with a proclamation enjoining sheriffs to collect it.[39] Gradually, however, he changed his position. Probably motivated by a conviction that, although the colony was in dire need of more currency, it was impossible to get imperial approval and influenced by a desire to conciliate the legislature to secure its co-operation in suppressing the Regulators, Tryon allowed the tax collection to lapse. Although he admitted in July, 1770, that there was still £58,000 in legal tender paper circulating, Tryon gave official sanction to this policy by consenting to a law which indemnified those sheriffs who had not made the collection since 1768. Having thus placed himself in jeopardy of the Currency Act, Tryon evasively reported to Hillsborough that he had rejected the House's initial attempt to suspend the taxes because he previously lacked information. He had originally been in error, he implied, and therefore allowed the taxes to lapse because the country afterwards agreed with the legislature.[40]

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[34] Upper House Journals, December 1, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 915, 917.

[35] House Journals, December 2, 3, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 974, 979.

[36] Tryon to Hillsborough, January 10, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 5.

[37] Upper House Journals, December 5, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 922, 924; Laws of North Carolina—1766, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 781-783.

[38] Tryon to Hillsborough, February 10, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 10.

[39] Governor Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 234.

[40] Laws of North Carolina, 1770, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 840-841; Tryon to Hillsborough, July 2, 1770, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 212.

Meanwhile, to comply with the House's request Tryon in February, 1769, again wrote Hillsborough urging the necessity of more paper money and pointing out the beneficial effects expected from it. Before he received this letter Hillsborough seemed to have been in a more conciliatory humor. On March 1, 1769, he had written, "The Commendable Conduct of the Assembly in the present disturbed situation of North America disposes His Majesty to shew them every indulgence in His Power, and the tranquility and support of your Administration are objects which you are well entitled to expect should be attended to by Government." But, continued Hillsborough, only Parliament had power to alter the Currency Act and "therefore no Petition that prays for Paper Currency as a Legal Tender can meet with . . . success" without Parliamentary action. He then suggested that the colony adopt instead a paper currency like that of New England and Maryland, one "upon a just foundation of Credit" but without legal tender provisions.[41] Hillsborough's next few letters, however, were less conciliatory and seemed to confirm McCulloh's opinion that in regard to legal tender paper money the Secretary of State for America is "your bitter enemy."[42] By 1770 Hillsborough removed any possible doubt about his position when he replied to Tryon's report that paper money outstanding had fallen to approximately £60,000, that "the only observation I have to make upon it is, that the sum appears to be large, and will I trust be fully sufficient. . . ."[43]

The colony would not have agreed with him. In an earlier petition inhabitants of Anson County had poignantly contended that "the Province in general labour under general grievances, and the Western part thereof under particular ones; which we not only see, but very sensibly feel, being crouch'd beneath our sufferings." Among other demands, they asked that no further tax be imposed until "a currency is made."[44]

In October, 1769, when Tryon reported to the legislature that, although Hillsborough was willing to consider colonial suggestions, there seemed little hope for legal tender paper money, the news gave the House the "utmost concern."[45] And cause for concern continued

[41] Tryon to Hillsborough, February 25, 1769, and Hillsborough to Tryon, March 1, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 12, 17-18.

[42] McCulloh to John Harvey, January 26, 1770, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 172.

[43] Tryon to Hillsborough, July 2, 1770, and Hillsborough to Tryon, October 3, 1770, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 212, 247.

[44] House Journals, October 9, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 75-77.

[45] House Journals, October 23, 1769, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 87-88; *The North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), November 10, 1769, hereinafter cited as *The North-Carolina Gazette*.

to increase. By the next year Regulator disturbances again demanded that the colonial treasury provide money for troops, but the House felt unable to meet the expense unless the restrictions of the Currency Act were lifted. Again it petitioned Tryon to recommend repeal and again, despite Hillsborough's repeated refusals, Tryon gave the House his wholehearted support. Requesting that Parliament exempt the colony from the currency restrictions, Tryon argued that North Carolina deserved concessions because "the several ports of this province have been open ever since the repeal of the Stamp Act for every kind of British manufactures to the full extent of the credit of the country." [46]

Tryon's appeal seems to have affected Hillsborough less than the members of the legislature. The former made no concession; the latter repaid Tryon's support in kind by giving him full co-operation in crushing the Regulators. Their action, however, was motivated by more than gratitude. To them, as members of an established government, civil insurrection was an immediate threat: The Regulators "were pursuing measures destructive to the felicity, and dangerous to the Constitution of their Country." [47] Before the legislature arranged to pay the troops, Tryon had moved to the governorship of New York, but even from his new post he made one final unsuccessful attempt to help North Carolina's currency situation by easing the financial burden of the expedition against the Regulators. On August 1, 1771, he wrote to Hillsborough that the cost of the expedition would probably be £40,000, "a load the province is *absolutely incapable to discharge, unless by a new emission of currency, or an aid from Parliament.*" [48]

In 1771 the arrival of Tryon's successor, Josiah Martin, marked a new and fateful era for North Carolina in the currency controversy. Because he had realized that some form of paper money was essential to the colony's economic and political life, Tryon had been tolerant of colonial expedients. Martin, however, rigidly opposed them. An inflexible supporter of the principles of the Currency Act, he termed all paper money "a fraudulent medium of circulation . . . contrary to good policy. . . ." [49] In effect Martin brought home to North Carolina's soil the Hillsborough attitude. At no time since passage of the Currency Act had the colonists been forced to deal with this attitude directly. Rather they had met it in a form attenuated by three thou-

[46] House Journals, January 25, 1771, and Tryon to Hillsborough, February 1, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 462-463, 495-496.
[47] House Journals, November 12, 1768, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 930.
[48] Tryon to Hillsborough, August 1, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 651.
[49] Martin to Hillsborough, December 12, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 67.

sand miles and by a governor sympathetic to their proposals. Therefore Tryon's departure and Martin's arrival had two implications of major significance. First, where Tryon made concessions to colonial need, Martin offered no compromise. When forced to deny colonial requests, Tryon brought to the task perception and political astuteness; Martin brought the insolence of office. Secondly, as long as Tryon held the governorship, the colonists felt that they had an important ally to intercede with the ministry. But Martin's coming deprived them of such support; only the colonial agent remained to represent them, and he was not an integral part of the imperial machinery. Given such a situation it was only a matter of time until the legislature and the governor would be in open conflict.

The conflict was not long in coming. In the fall of 1771 Martin's first legislature inherited the problem of paying for the expedition against the Regulators. Even Martin realized that an emission of more paper currency was necessary, but by pressing the legislature to call in all outstanding public debts he expected that enough could be collected to retire the £42,000 legal tender paper still circulating. Consequently he hoped that the new emission could be issued with only a small increase in the total supply.[50]

The Lower House had other expectations. On the one hand, by a bill to issue £130,000 in debenture notes, more than three times the amount Tryon had thought necessary, it moved to increase the currency supply with a new emission. On the other hand, by a bill to repeal the tax provided for its retirement, it hoped to save the paper money already in circulation. And finally, to reinforce the other two measures it again petitioned the king for repeal of the Currency Act. Promising to frame the issuing statute to protect British creditors against possible depreciation, the House contended that unless such an exemption were granted debenture notes provided the only means to pay for Tryon's expedition. At best, such notes were only a temporary expedient, the House declared, "attended with great Inconvenience to the Public, and those Individuals who are to receive them. . . ." Most unfortunate of all, the House shrewdly contended, was the fact that the first to suffer by depreciation of the debentures would be the very men who had risked their lives in support of the king's government.[51]

At this point Martin faced a situation roughly comparable to Tryon in 1768. Early in the latter's administration the House had planned to

[50] Martin to Hillsborough, December 12, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 67.
[51] Upper House Journals, December 12, 1771, and House Journals, December 6, 21, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 181, 166, 213.

petition against the Currency Act. Tryon cultivated good will by doing it himself. Five years later Martin's first legislature again planned to petition. Martin allowed this opportunity to slip by without action. In 1768 Tryon vetoed both a legal tender currency emission and a bill to discontinue the tax levied to sink the emissions of 1760 and 1761. Shortly thereafter he allowed the tax to lapse, and two years later, as Martin put it, "Governor Tryon was engaged, I must believe deceived or surprised, into sanctifying this political enormity . . ." by assenting to the 1770 law to indemnify sheriffs who had not made the collection.[52]

Martin planned to sanction no such enormity in 1771. Earlier in the session a member of the House had consulted him about the bill to withdraw the sinking tax. Martin had indicated that he would not approve it. He pointed out that the tax was to continue until the currency was retired and that, if the tax were discontinued in 1771, "the money now in circulation would be continued contrary to the express letter" of the Currency Act. Such a step, Martin argued, would be a "measure teeming with fraud" which would have "reduced to worthless paper" the still outstanding currency. His caller intimated that if the bill passed both houses only to be vetoed by the governor, his veto would "bring odium upon the dawn of [his] administration. . . ." To which Martin reportedly replied that he would never "become a pandar to the public dishonor." Nevertheless, the House bill passed the Council although Martin contended that if the full membership had been present it would have been defeated.[53] The debenture bill, reduced to £120,000, had also passed both houses. On December 23 both bills were presented to the Governor.

Martin decided to invite the threatened odium. A rumor had reached him that the House had devised an alternative plan in case he refused to approve the tax bill. Previously agreed upon resolves to discontinue the tax and to indemnify sheriffs for doing so were to be entered on the Journal. Already, Martin had been told, the treasurers had omitted the tax from the list of those to be collected. Martin inquired if this were true. When assured that it was not, he vetoed both the tax and debenture bills[54] and immediately dissolved the legislature, hoping thereby to have "frustrated their illegal intentions."[55] However, to avoid alienating those who had supported the government against the Regulators, Martin provided for their pay-

[52] Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 234.
[53] Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 230-235.
[54] House Journals, December 23, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 222.
[55] Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 233.

ment by assenting to a compromise bill for £60,000 in debenture notes.[56]

For about a month Martin believed that he had effectively countered the House tactics. But one day in talking to the treasurer for the northern district he discovered that the treasurers actually had omitted the sinking tax from the collection list. The House had even debated an order calling upon the customs collectors to discontinue the rum duty, also levied for sinking the currency, but had dropped the idea, so the treasurer reported, because a majority felt that such an order to crown officers would be futile. "Of all this extraordinary proceeding," wrote Martin, "not one word appears upon the Journals." The House, he continued, "by an order clandestinely suggested through its Speaker to the Treasurers . . . exercise[s] a sovereign power; virtually abrogating by its breath, a positive Act of the whole Legislature ratified by his Majesty. . . ." Such a "monstrous usurpation of authority . . . proves irrefragably the propensity of this people to democracy." And, concluded Martin with an ironically prophetic statement, "these people are studiously fermenting dispositions of which they cannot forsee or determine, but will certainly rue the consequences."[57]

Thus horrified to discover that the House had outmaneuvered him, Martin issued a proclamation ordering the sheriffs to collect the tax.[58] Here the matter rested for almost two years, but during the following summer Hillsborough gave approval to Martin's conduct of the tax affair and instructed him that, if he thought the speaker of the House had been responsible for the episode, to refuse approval of his re-election at the next session.[59] Apparently the issue did not arise.[60] However, at the winter session in early 1773 the House continued to seek more paper currency by instructing its agent to "represent the particular distresses . . . of the Province" due to the currency shortage.[61]

The following legislature pressed the issue more vigorously. During its first session in December, 1773, the Lower House passed another bill to discontinue the currency sinking tax only to see it fail in the Council.[62] The next spring at its second session the same House ap-

[56] Martin to Hillsborough, December 26, 1771, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 76; Laws of North Carolina, 1771, Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 850-851.
[57] Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 233-235.
[58] Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 234.
[59] Hillsborough to Martin, June 6, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 301.
[60] Richard Caswell was the speaker of the 1771 session, John Harvey of the 1773 session. Examination of *The Colonial Records* for the period under study revealed no conflict over the latter's election.
[61] House Journals, March 6, 1773, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 579.
[62] House Journals, December 9, 1773, and Martin to the Earl of Dartmouth, April 2, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 744, 959.

pointed a committee to petition for permission to make the North Carolina debenture bills legal tender. Finally, its patience exhausted, it again turned its attention to the tax issue. On March 24, 1774, by a series of solemn resolutions the House irretrievably committed its prestige to victory in the controversy. These resolutions represented a drastic step from which there could be no retreat. The one shilling poll tax and the fourpence duty on imported spirits levied to retire the currency issues of 1748 and 1754 had already served their purpose, the House declared. Although it had frequently passed bills to suspend those taxes, it had never been able to obtain a law to this effect. This failure, it maintained, constituted a "great grievance." Therefore, pledging its faith to make good any shortage which might result from suspending these taxes, it resolved that the treasurers order all collectors to omit them from their tax lists and to "inform such collectors that their not complying with the said order will be deemed a great contempt to the Resolutions of this House, and merit its highest censure." [63]

When he prorogued the legislature on March 26, Martin had not yet learned of these resolves; two days later he discovered them. Acting on the advice of his Council, he reacted with first one proclamation dissolving the legislature and then another ordering collection of the tax and duty. The next session, the final one under the crown, lasted only four days. Thus the last major legislative session was that of March, 1774. In this session the House had posed the challenge to royal authority for which it was dissolved because as Martin wrote at the time, "The plain truth is . . . the Assembly wishes to continue the legal tender Paper Bills in circulation forever. . . ." [64]

Actually Parliament had made a major concession to colonial demands before the North Carolina Lower House took this drastic action. In 1773 it passed a statute to supplement and explain the Currency Act. Although this act continued to prohibit legal tender paper money for general transactions, it specifically provided that voluntarily accepted "certificates, notes, bills or debentures," might be legal tender at the colonial treasury for duties and taxes.[65] Because the effect of this provision was to give legal sanction to a reasonably successful means for stabilizing currency values which several of the colonies had employed only at the peril of royal disallowance, the new law represented an important concession. But for North Carolina it was too little and too late. Apparently by 1773 the situation had

[63] House Journals, March 23, 24, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 937, 943-944.
[64] Martin to Dartmouth, April 2, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 959, 960.
[65] 13 Geo. III, c. 57, Pickering, *Statutes at Large*, XXX, Part 1, 113-114.

so deteriorated that any official notice of the act seems to have been lost in the excitement of the conflict between Lower House and governor. Moreover, the colony continued to demand more than Parliament granted. The new act became effective September 1, 1773; as late as March, 1774, the House was still petitioning for permission to make North Carolina debenture bills "a legal Tender in all payments. . . ."[66]

A general fear that nonlegal tender paper money would be subject to great depreciation seems to have deterred the legislature from greater use of this expedient. Thus unwilling to issue sufficient quantities of the only type of money permitted, North Carolina was trapped. The currency shortage became so critical that the House even attempted to jeopardize its own tax revenue to keep in circulation the legal tender paper previously issued.[67] General distress united the colony in opposition to imperial policy.

Not once in the record of the eleven years between passage of the Currency Act and the downfall of royal authority did the colonists question Parliament's right to pass the law, but they repeatedly questioned the wisdom of its application to North Carolina. As entreaty after entreaty yielded no relief, it would not have been surprising had the North Carolinians concluded that an arrangement in which Britain placed the commercial interests of her merchants before the stability of the colonial government was not to their advantage. They saw that the Currency Act, as it operated in North Carolina, helped to nourish such unrest as the Regulators; they saw equally well that "no consideration of a possible local inconvenience" would induce Britain to alter her policy. The men who led the fight against domestic insurrection were the same men who later spearheaded the revolt against imperial encroachment. While the astute and sympathetic Governor Tryon represented the colonial position to the royal bureaucracy, North Carolina could hope for relief. Martin's arrival extinguished that hope, and the House grew desperate. From peaceful petition it moved to outright defiance.

A multitude of small things can sometimes be more effective in motivating men than a few dramatic acts. The causes of the Revolution in North Carolina lay in a host of incidents and grievances. Of this host the Currency Act, and its rigid enforcement, was only one, but there is little question that it contributed to the growing convic-

[66] House Journals, March 23, 1774, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 937.

[67] Although the taxes it sought to discontinue had been appropriated to retire the currency issues, the House had often used this revenue to meet contingent expenses. See *The North-Carolina Gazette*, March 24, 1775; Martin to Hillsborough, January 30, 1772, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 230-235.

tion among North Carolina leaders that they were the only ones who knew how to solve local problems. Certainly, the Currency Act was important in helping to raise that flame which Governor Dobbs had so prophetically feared fifteen years before.

A NEW HISTORY BUILDING FOR NORTH CAROLINA

By McDaniel Lewis*

The year 1963 will mark two of the most significant anniversaries in all North Carolina history—the tercentenary of the granting of the Charter of Carolina by King Charles II of England to the eight Lords Proprietors and the centennial of the critical year of the War Between the States. These two anniversaries will be commemorated throughout our State by appropriate ceremonies, publications, dramas, dedication of historic sites and historical markers, and in various other ways. It will be indeed a year that will highlight, and when we may memorialize, the great past and background that are ours.

What could be more suitable, I ask you, than for us during this year of dedication to make funds available for and to begin construction of a stately North Carolina History Building and to hold ceremonies marking the beginning of this important and much needed enterprise? Today, as Chairman of the Executive Board of your State Department of Archives and History, I wish to use the brief time allotted to me to state the pressing, indeed almost desperate, need for such a structure. Let me give you the background and the reasons why we Tarheels so urgently need a new building to house the records and the relics of our past.

Your State Department of Archives and History will be sixty years old next year. It was established in 1903 as the State Historical Commission, and the name was changed in 1943 to its present form. Among all the fifty States of the Union it is one of the oldest of the State historical agencies—and, if you will pardon my saying so, it is generally recognized as being one of the half dozen pioneers and leaders in the field.

For a good many years the agency moved along rather slowly, with a limited budget and a small staff. Only in recent years has the marked expansion occurred, when the program has spread into a

* Mr. Lewis of Greensboro, Chairman of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, made this address at the morning meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held on December 7, 1962, in Raleigh.

number of new fields and channels in order to provide a well-rounded and well-balanced service to all our four and one-half million people. And the people like it.

Statistics can be dull, but let me illustrate this expansion in terms of merely two things—budget and staff. In the fiscal year 1934-1935, at the bottom of the Great Depression, the total budget amounted to $11,315. During 1962-1963, thirty years later, the Department's budget totals $576,714—an increase of fifty fold. Even allowing for the erosion of the purchasing power of the dollar, I believe you will agree with me that this growth has been little short of phenomenal.

Likewise the staff has greatly increased in number—from eight in 1932 to 90 at the present time—an increase of eleven fold. Thus, from a small and insignificant agency, your Department has developed into one that in size and scope of activities ranks among the larger and better-known agencies of the State of North Carolina. You will be interested to know also that nationally, in size of budget and of staff, we rank among the six leading States. Most other States in the South cannot begin to equal us, and actually our budget for archives, records, and manuscripts is larger than that of any other State in the Union.

As for quarters, the old Historical Commission was first located temporarily in two rooms of the State Capitol—and had to move out of these rooms when the General Assembly was in session. In 1914 the Commission moved to the second floor of what is now the Library Building. That space in turn was outgrown, and in 1939 the agency made its last move to date—to the first floor of the Education Building. At that time, twenty-three years ago, the new quarters seemed ample—almost magnificent. Today they are completely and totally outgrown.

What are the space handicaps under which your Department of Archives and History labors and seeks to serve our people today?

(1) The total amount of space is grossly inadequate. So crowded have we become that the staff seeks to perform its functions in storage rooms, in hallways (where workers are constantly interrupted by passing traffic), in basement cubbyholes and, the most extreme case of all, we have actually torn the telephone out of a telephone booth and have placed in that tiny space a typist and such equipment as we could.

(2) The present space is not suitably designed to meet the Department's specialized needs. The Education Building was planned as an office structure and not for an agency needing uniquely designed storage areas, workrooms, space for exhibits, and other special areas.

(3) The Search Room, where the public makes use of the archives

and manuscripts, is entirely too small and inadequate, so that frequently researchers overflow into offices, archives areas, and everywhere else we can put them.

(4) Though the Department is required by law to preserve the permanent official records of our State, counties, and municipalities, there is not sufficient space in the Archives to care for all these records. We know of thousands of cubic feet of records that should be moved into the Archives but that cannot be placed there, because there is no room. Actually, we have been compelled to transfer a number of records of permanent value to places other than the Archives, where they cannot be adequately protected.

(5) There is no suitable place to preserve microfilm. Under a broad program, the Department has now microfilmed more than 50 million pages of State and local records, and this enormous and extremely valuable mass of film ought to be preserved in specially designed cabinets with controlled temperature and humidity. Actually, we have nothing of the kind, with the result that the film is steadily deteriorating.

(6) The Department possesses by far the largest and most complete set of maps relating to North Carolina history. At the present time, for lack of space, the cases in which these maps are contained are placed in hallways where there is danger of theft or other loss.

(7) Archives, manuscripts, museum items, and other historical materials that are received are frequently infested with insects of various kinds. In order to eliminate these pests, all such materials need to be fumigated—but at the present time the Department lacks adequate facilities for this purpose.

(8) Many of the official records and private manuscripts that are received have been damaged by fire, insects, and even occasionally by one or more of that species known as Homo sapiens. Such damaged records need to be repaired by scientific and highly specialized processes—but the Department now has its equipment for this purpose placed in such crowded quarters that it is difficult to use—cannot be used to the greatest efficiency.

Let us look at the situation in a slightly different light.

The situation described above is bad enough, but even worse—indeed a tragic condition—is the following:

The General Assembly has required the Department of Archives and History "To preserve and administer such public archives as shall be transferred to its custody, and to collect, preserve, and administer private and unofficial historical records and relics relating to the history of North Carolina and the territory included therein from the

earliest times. The Department shall carefully protect and preserve such materials . . ." (General Statutes, Chapter 121-2[4]). Under present conditions it is impossible for the Department to give proper protection and suitably to preserve such materials, so that the Department actually is not carrying out the mandate of the law.

(1) *These archives and manuscripts are unique and irreplaceable.* They are not like books, of which a number of copies usually exists, so that if one copy of a book is destroyed another copy is ordinarily available. *If these archives and manuscripts are destroyed, they are gone for all time. There are no other copies* (except microfilm copies which we are making of a small percentage of the total).

(2) These records constitute the great body of the official (and some unofficial) source materials of the history of North Carolina and its people, going far back into the colonial period. They have been gradually brought to the Archives over a period of nearly 60 years.

(3) In addition to the historical value of these records, many of them are essential to the operation of government and to the protection of the rights and interests of persons. For instance, there are early court minutes which are frequently used; land records that are necessary to determine land ownership; maps and drawings of boundaries which exist nowhere else; marriage records; correspondence of our governors through 1960 (which must be referred to frequently); official opinions of the Attorney General; and many other types of irreplaceable records. In addition, there are housed in the Archives areas security microfilm copies of essential records of the counties, as described above.

(4) These records have an intrinsic value of millions of dollars (though, of course, the State will never sell them). The State should take every possible step to protect such valuable property.

(5) At present the records are deteriorating. Some of the trunk pipes of the State's heating system run through these Archives areas, so that it seems impossible to obtain suitable humidity and temperature conditions. We have had one expert after another study this problem, and they all report that, though we have air-conditioning equipment, it cannot be made to produce the desired results because of the heating pipes.

In the Hall of History, or State Historical Museum, conditions are similarly bad.

(1) A large portion of the exhibit areas contains wall space made of plaster and therefore it is difficult or impossible to use for hanging pictures or other objects. The space is not suitable to handle the

60,000 school children who annually visit the Museum. There is no public room for showing films and for public gatherings.

(2) The Museum requires study and research rooms, for each year scores of researchers visit the Hall of History in order to make use of the Museum's study collection. Such researchers have to be placed in offices, storage rooms, and wherever we can find a small amount of space for them.

(3) The Museum lacks appropriate receiving space where incoming collections can be temporarily placed and processed.

(4) There is no fumigating and cleaning space.

(5) There is not enough workroom space for preparing, altering, and otherwise processing exhibits.

(6) The storage areas are only a fraction as large as they should be. According to the standard of the American Association of Museums, a first-rate museum should have at least twice as much storage space as exhibit space. The Hall of History has been assigned only a small fraction as much.

(7) The storage areas should be air-conditioned. Portraits, photographic negatives, and other historic objects are deteriorating every minute that passes, and they will continue to do so until proper conditions are provided.

Likewise, in the other phases of its work the Department is hampered for lack of space.

Do you realize that every State from New Jersey and Pennsylvania on the north to Mississippi and Alabama on the south now have or are in the process of erecting new history buildings—every State, that is, except North Carolina? The State of Georgia has just let the contract for such a building to cost approximately $6,000,000. Texas has just completed such a structure.

Today in North Carolina we are proud of our history as never before. In the past our people were not fully cognizant of the contribution our State made to the building of the great American nation. Massachusetts and other New England States made—and received—full share of the credit. In the South, Virginians and South Carolinians proclaimed their historical achievements. But we in North Carolina knew little about our history and seemed to care less. Indeed, other States were credited with rights of priority and achievements that really belonged to us.

Recently our people have become more and more conscious of their history—have come to realize that we have made a truly great contribution to the growth and development of the United States. The first English colonists in America; the first official act of any colony calling

for independence from Great Britain; the oldest State University; the first public school system in the South; the greatest contribution of men to the Confederate cause—these few examples will serve to illustrate the great events and achievements of our history.

And yet our State has still not made adequate provision for preserving the records and the physical relics of the past. We have permitted one State after another, not only in the Southeast but also in other parts of the country, to surpass us in making such provision. This lack and failure on our part must be remedied.

And so, in the approaching tercentennial and centennial year, let us begin the erection in our Capital City of a building to provide for our historical records and relics. Let us build a structure of which all our people may truly be proud and which will be second to none in the nation.

NORTH CAROLINA NONFICTION BOOKS, 1961-1962

By C. Hugh Holman*

As one of the five judges of the competition for the best work of nonfiction by a North Carolina resident published in the twelve-month period ending June 30, 1961, I have the pleasure of trying to suggest to you something of the nature, the scope, and the subject matter of the books entered in the contest for the Mayflower Society Cup. I must begin my remarks by disclaiming a competence for such a task. There are at least a score of books entered in this competition that merit for their proper evaluation the attention of highly skilled experts in perhaps a dozen fields and would demand from those experts in each case a longer period of time than I have for all the works. I shall, therefore, content myself with essentially non-evaluative brief descriptions. Yet I believe that such descriptions have a collective value and, perhaps, some interest for an audience such as this one, for it tells us something significant about ourselves.

Herman Melville, faced with the problem of somehow classifying whales without, in fact, knowing very much about them, resorted to the whimsical—and face-saving—device of grouping them under book sizes—folio, octavo, duodecimo, and so on. Faced with an equally difficult task, I have elected to classify the Mayflower volumes in terms not of whales but of how they reflect the concerns and attitudes of North Carolinians.

Two decades ago W. J. Cash, a graduate of Wake Forest College and the Editor of the *Charlotte News*, made a brilliant exploration of the way the natives of the southeastern region think and have thought. He called his book *The Mind of the South*, and in it he defined both the homogeneous and the heterogeneous qualities of thought in this section of the United States. As I cast a backward glance over the road I have been fortunate enough to travel in surveying the books entered in this year's Mayflower competition, it seems to me that they give a strengthened and qualified picture of that southern mind as it is found in North Carolina twenty-one years after Mr. Cash's study.

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* Dr. Holman is a Professor in the Department of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Mr. James Chaney, Book Editor of *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), reviewed the North Carolina fiction, 1961-1962. His speech was subsequently published in the December 9, 1962, edition of his paper and is therefore not published in *The Review.*

For here are thirty books by persons resident in the State for the past three years or longer. Furthermore, these thirty books are works of nonfiction, and none of them, under the rules of the competition, is a technical or scientific work. Thus they form an impressive accumulation of the results of thinking in a broadly non-artistic and nontechnical sense in North Carolina. Let us examine what they show.

First, some statistics: Here are 7,761 pages of thoughtful writing, in thirty books varying from a thin 96 pages to an impressively thick 577. They are the physical and editorial products of 22 different publishers, ranging from the author himself in several cases to such nationally established houses as Harpers, McGraw-Hill, Lippincott's, Little-Brown, William Sloane, and Atheneum. The predominant type of publisher is the university press: the press at the University of North Carolina produced four of the books, at Louisiana State University two, and at Duke and the University of Wisconsin one each. Twelve of the books were not only written by North Carolina residents but were also published entirely within the State.

The authors, on the other hand, show a surprisingly unified picture. Of the twenty-nine persons who wrote these books (Burke Davis was the author of two of them), twenty are from the academic world and four more are practicing journalists. Thus the Mayflower books this year predominantly show what our college teachers and university scholars are writing about and what concerns our journalists when they extend their efforts beyond the limits of the newspaper or magazine.

North Carolina, like the region of which it is a part, has obviously had a deep interest in history. As W. J. Cash said, "The mind of the section . . . is continuous with the past." To an abnormal degree, if judged by the nation at large, the events and the personages of history are at the forefront of our thoughts. It is, therefore, not surprising that nine of the Mayflower books deal directly with history and that seven more are biographies. Thus 53 per cent of the entries this year are concerned with the record of the past.

This exploration of our history, not surprising in the degree to which it has concerned North Carolina writers, does have a great surprise in its subject matter. Only one of these books deals directly and exclusively with the Civil War period, either in the State or in the nation. Perhaps our writers have already grown weary of the Civil War Centennial, which began with such strength; perhaps the Civil War fails to have for this State the obsessive interest that it has for some others. Whatever the reason, the presence of only one Civil War

book in the Mayflower collection is, I think, both interesting and encouraging.

The concerns of these historical writers is sharply local. Only one of the nine works of history deals with non-North Carolina material, and that one is Jonathan Daniels' story of the Natchez Trace, *The Devil's Backbone,* written as the first volume in *The American Trails Series,* a historical project that gives promise of presenting distinguished but popular accounts of special kinds of local history. Mr. Daniels' book got the series off to an excellent start, for it is a picturesque account of violence, villainy, and heroism in the old Southwest—an admirable example of exciting and romantic but accurate and serious history.

Three of the historical works are the proud records of North Carolina counties. Ruth Blackwelder, in *The Age of Orange,* confines her account of the period between 1752 and 1861, when Orange County had, she asserts, the political and intellectual leadership in the State. Col. C. Wingate Reed, in *Beaufort County: Two Centuries of Its History,* follows his subject from the days of the Indians to the turn of the twentieth century. Judge Johnson J. Hayes, in the longest of this year's Mayflower books, *The Land of Wilkes,* records the events which have marked Wilkes County from its beginnings as a white man's settlement to the present and in a valuable group of appendixes supplies much additional primary information.

Two books deal with history in the colonial period. J. K. Rouse's *Colonial Churches in North Carolina* is a group of thirty-six brief, pictorial, and historical studies of churches that were established in North Carolina during the days before the Revolution. In *The First South,* Professor John R. Alden of Duke University discusses the rise of a conscious sectionalism in the South in the period immediately after the Revolution and about thirty years before sectionalism is usually supposed to have appeared. This important brief volume was developed from the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures which Professor Alden delivered at Louisiana State University.

Burke Davis' *The Cowpens-Guilford Courthouse Campaign,* a popular military history of the Revolutionary campaign that led to Yorktown, is a volume in another new and promising historical series, *Great Battles of History.*

Two other historical works move into the more recent past. Professor James H. Boykin of St. Augustine's College in *North Carolina in 1861* examines the State's posture on the eve of the Civil War and traces its drift toward secession. Professor Robert F. Durden of Duke University in *Reconstruction Bonds and Twentieth-Century Politics* ex-

amines in detail and with a meticulous use of primary evidence the celebrated suit of *South Dakota v. North Carolina* in 1904 to collect payment of North Carolina Reconstruction bonds, a suit that had grave political repercussions and gave the North Carolina Democratic party the slogan, "Butler and bonds."

In the seven biographical works, however, there is no such local concentration of interest as the histories display. Only Mary Polk's autobiographical *The Way We Were,* a charming reminiscence of childhood, is centered primarily in North Carolina. Logna B. Logan's *Ladies of the White House* is a useful collection of thumbnail sketches of the wives of the presidents. Burke Davis' *Marine! The Life of Chesty Puller* is a memoir, resting largely upon many interviews with General Lewis B. Puller, the record of whose military exploits it recounts. Professor David L. Smiley of Wake Forest College, in *Lion of White Hall,* gives a scholarly account of the life and eccentric adventures of Cassius M. Clay, a Kentucky abolitionist. Harry Golden in *Carl Sandburg* gives a warm and relaxed biographical portrait of his friend, now a resident of this State but primarily a poetic citizen of the world. Professor Joseph C. Sloane, Director of the Ackland Art Museum at the University of North Carolina, examines the nature of the failure of a man of talent and promise in *Paul Marc Joseph Chenavard: Artist of 1848,* a critical biography of a nineteenth-century French painter who devoted his life to the development of a heroic interpretation of history.

Professor Charles E. Ward of Duke University in *The Life of John Dryden,* was the only biographer whose choice for a subject was a demonstrably great figure from the past. Ward's account of the life of a major English poet of the seventeenth century is a thorough, careful, and detailed piece of work, monumental in its scope, its scholarship, and the calm certainty with which it deals with its subject. It will stand as a major and standard biography for many years to come.

Two persistent concerns of the southern mind, both past and present, have been race and religion. Certainly as we look at our daily newspapers or simply gaze on the scenes around us, we see that these concerns have not lessened in North Carolina. It is, therefore, surprising that they received scant attention from this year's Mayflower authors. Only three books entered in the competition deal primarily with racial issues and only three others with religious matters.

Professor M. Elaine Burgess of the Woman's College of the University, in *Negro Leadership in a Southern City,* studies the class and institutional structures of Negro life in a North Carolina city and attempts to discover who the real decision-makers of the Negro com-

munity are. Dr. Wilmoth A. Carter, who teaches at Shaw University, makes what is in many respects a parallel study in *The Urban Negro in the South,* a study of adjustment to change in Hargett Street, Raleigh, which, she believes, has the character of "the Negro Main Street" in any southern city of comparable size. Professor R. Frederick West of Atlantic Christian College links the subjects of race and religion in his aid to pastoral and preaching duties, *Preaching on Race.*

Two of the books on religion are guides to the study of the Bible. Professor William W. Sloan of Elon College in *A Survey of the New Testament* presents an introduction to New Testament study for laymen, designed as a companion volume to his popular *Survey of the Old Testament.* Dr. Howard Justus McGinnis, long associated with East Carolina College, has written a useful guide book in *Know Your Bible,* a layman's study of Old Testament history and literature. In the most important of the religious books *The Gloomy Dean,* Professor Robert M. Helm of Wake Forest College explores the philosophical and theological positions and expressions of William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London from 1911 to 1934 and a significant figure in twentieth-century religious thought.

Since the turn of the century education has been a central issue with North Carolinians, and that concern is reflected in three widely different works entered in this year's contest. Alice Noble's *The School of Pharmacy of the University of North Carolina: A History* is a record of the beginnings, growth, and present status of an important instrument of medical education in the State. Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael, now a member of the State Board of Higher Education, in *Graduate Education: A Critique and a Program,* makes an intensive study of the nature and problems of graduate study in America and advances challenging proposals for setting our houses in better order in this segment of the educational picture.

Professor Randall Jarrell of the Woman's College of the University, a distinguished poet and critic, has assembled ten of his essays and addresses in *A Sad Heart at the Super Market.* These essays, witty and sparkling with wisdom, I am also calling works on education; for Mr. Jarrell in presenting them to the audiences to whom they were originally delivered or to the readers of journals like *The Saturday Evening Post* was trying to instruct our taste, to improve our sensitivity to values, and to awaken us to right, wise, and beautiful actions. Here skill, courage, and cunning conspire with grace, insight, and style to produce some of the best writing done in this State in this or any other year.

The temptation to quote a stylist like Mr. Jarrell is very strong, but I shall hurry on to my last group of books, five volumes which have successfully resisted my Procrustean classifications and upon whom I take the revenge of applying the label "miscellaneous." Attorney L. A. Martin, in *Around Court Square,* presents more than fifty very short familiar essays which he calls "meditations and observations"—thoughts on many subjects appropriate to the end of the day.

Mrs. Louisa E. Rhine of the Parapsychology Laboratory at Duke, in *Hidden Channels of the Mind,* treats various forms of extrasensory perception revealed in the experiences of men and women in many walks of life and makes an important addition to the studies of extrasensory perception for which her husband is famed.

Arthur Larson, Director of the World Rule of Law Center at Duke, in *When Nations Disagree: A Handbook on Peace Through Law,* explains in nontechnical language the elements needed, as he sees it, to achieve a lasting peace and suggests how we can go to work to do our part in creating these elements.

And Professor Roger H. Crook of Meredith College, concerned with keeping another kind of peace, has produced in *Let's Get Married,* a manual of conduct and attitude for engaged couples.

This year, too, Bill Sharpe published the third installment of his *New Geography of North Carolina,* a county-by-county description of landscape, industry, current conditions, and anecdotes, together with maps and illustrations. Volume III, which covers twenty-six of North Carolina's counties, will be followed in about three more years by the concluding volume. When it is complete, this *Geography* will be an almost unbelievable wealth of information about the State.

And thus we come to the end of this very rapid summary of what the Mayflower books of 1961-1962 are about and what they suggest about the mind of North Carolina. Two decades ago, W. J. Cash, concluding his study of *The Mind of the South,* said:

> Proud, brave, honorable by its lights, courteous, personally generous, loyal, swift to act, often too swift, but signally effective, sometimes terrible in its action—such was the South at its best. . . . Violence, intolerance, aversion and suspicion toward new ideas, an incapacity for analysis, an inclination to act from feeling rather than from thought, an exaggerated individualism and a too narrow concept of social responsibility, attachment to fictions and false values, above all too great attachment to racial values and a tendency to justify cruelty and injustice in the name of those values, sentimentality and a lack of realism—these have been its characteristic vices in the past. And, despite changes for the better, they remain its characteristic vices today.

These Mayflower books generally support Mr. Cash's contention, and yet they show that the virtues are slowly but surely winning out over the vices. They are books in which we can take pride, and the mind which they reflect is one in which we can be proud to share. Although enamored of the past and local in some of its sentiments, the eyes of that mind are turned resolutely to the future and it is in the control of a sensible judgment.

THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF CAROLINA HISTORY

By Chalmers G. Davidson*

It is a charming happenstance that the colony of Carolina should originate in the 1660's with the Merry Monarch of old England, Charles II of the House of Stuart. I wish I could believe that his present condition is the same felicitous well-being as that of his geographical namesake, but all that is Presbyterian within me, I believe he is frying in Hell.

The period of the Restoration was, of course, the nadir of British morals. For about a decade the English people had been Puritanized and Presbyterianized. They were ready for a swing in the opposite direction and Charles II was happy to give the swing a push. He had no intention, as he said, of going again "on his travels." The disastrous period of the Civil War in England, of Cavalier versus Roundhead, or one might almost says of F.F.V.'s versus New England Founding Fathers, had been a distressing one for Charles as he wandered in exile and poverty throughout Europe. It had also become distressing to many of those remaining in England who had unwittingly helped to make of Oliver Cromwell the most absolute dictator England had seen since the days of William the Conqueror. It is always distressing to crusaders to discover that the road they travel to controlled conformity, of however pious intent, leads not to liberty but to totality.

There would be little difference of opinion, then and now, that Restoration England swung too far in the direction of license. It was a day of new man (with new women), of turncoats, and chastened Cromwellians.

Of the eight men whom the King delighted to honor with the grant of Carolina, two had fought against the Stuarts, George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. It depends, of course, on who is writing the history as to whether these men were opportunists or sincere penitents for past errors. Riding the bandwagon is no modern invention for getting ahead. The other

* Dr. Davidson, Professor of History and Director of the Library of Davidson College, read this paper as his Presidential Address at the dinner meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Raleigh on December 7, 1962.

six, however, had signalized their loyalty by sacrifices while Stuart fortunes were at low ebb. Edward Hyde had traveled with Charles and served as his Chancellor-in-exile. Lord Craven contributed generously to Charles I and his property was confiscated by the Roundheads (he is also notable for his tender attentions to Charles II's aunt, the Queen of Bohemia). George Carteret defended the Channel Isles for the Cavaliers, welcomed the Royal family at his castle, and eventually gave up home and comfort rather than surrender to Cromwell. John, Lord Berkeley, Baron of Stratton, rendered his services to Charles' brother, the Duke of York, who eventually became James II, and fought beside him in the Spanish War in the Low Countries. The two Proprietors with personal knowledge of the New World were Governor William Berkeley of Virginia, who held the Old Dominion for the Stuart cause, and Sir John Colleton of Barbados who did the same for that very English island. It was said to be Colleton who first proposed that the Stuart adherents be rewarded with the grant of Carolina.

Perhaps Charles thought he was getting off with easy payment. As a matter of fact this was the seventh time that the monarchs of England had attempted to give away the territory including the present Carolina. In 1578 Queen Elizabeth granted it to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. When he failed to return from his second voyage, the grant was transferred in 1584, to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh's unsuccessful efforts to establish a colony have provided North Carolina with her most intriguing mystery. The land next went to the Virginia Company of London in 1606. Two revised charters to the Virginia Company, one in 1609 and one in 1612, in effect regranted the territory. In 1629 Charles I conveyed to his attorney general, Sir Robert Heath, the region south of the Virginia settlements between 31 and 36 degrees north latitude. For the first time the name "Carolana" (spelled with two a's) came into use. Heath's failure to fulfill his obligations simplified the revocation of his grant and the Carolina Charter of 1663 was the seventh and final effort of the kings and queens of England to give away the most delightful, the most beautiful, and now the most civilized area of America.

An effort to compare the Carolina of 1663 with that of 1763, 1863, and the present is fruitless. There was a government in 1663 for the inhabitants, but there were no inhabitants, except those "noble savages" who so intrigued the artists Jacques Le Moyne and John White and whose females presaged the future by their revealing bikinis and their frizzled Kennedy coiffures. To claim that these were the first Tarheels is historically possible and, if so, our recorded history begins with the efforts of the natives to resist a government not of

their own choosing, but I prefer to invoke the privileges of my faith and to believe that these people were not *predestined* to prevail. At any rate, the provisions of the Carolina Charter did not include "the barbarous people who have noe knowledge of almighty God."

Most of the privileges of government granted in the Charter went, it is true, to the eight Lords Proprietors, but there is specific provision that the settlers were to enjoy all "liberties, franchises, and privileges" of the King's subjects in England. And although the Proprietors had the power to propose laws they were to become effective only "with the advice, assent and approval of the freeman of the said Province or the greater part of them or their delegates or deputies." These were to be assembled from time to time in such manner and form as seemed best to the Proprietors. The nonresident government, that of the Proprietors in England, was particularly enjoined to propose no laws contrary to the laws and statutes of England. This, to the colonists, meant clearly that they were to be protected by what was already recognized as the unwritten constitution of England, and they resisted henceforth with varying degrees of energy and success the efforts of any bodies but their own elected legislature to revise, reverse, or re-interpret those liberties which they conceived to be theirs when they became a part of the domain of Britain.

A century later, the year 1763, finds the colonies in the throes of such a struggle for survival. The Governor was Sir Arthur Dobbs, a well-meaning Anglo-Irish gentleman, who had no intention of depriving the good citizens of North Carolina of any of their liberties, except such as were obviously, of course, not being exercised for the best interest of the world empire or the ruling family. Legislation was slow, owing to distances to be traveled and differences of opinion, and the Governor received instructions from the Crown that henceforth fifteen members of the legislative Assembly should constitute a quorum. On May 16, 1763, the Agent for the Province of North Carolina reported to the Board of Trade (the body in England which controlled the economic affairs of the colonies), the unequivocal objection of the Carolinians to such an innovation.

> . . . by the Charter of the said Province granted by King Charles the Second to the late Lords Proprietors of Carolina, they [the North Carolinians] humbly conceive the Laws and Constitutions passed for the good and happy Government of the said Province . . . are to be passed by, and with the advice, assent and approbation of the Freeman of the said Province, or the greater part of them, or their delegates or deputies, as by the said Charter (to which they beg leave to refer your Lordships) doth at large appear, and that no Assembly from the first settlement of the

Province, ever proceeded to the passing of Laws or any other business without such majority [except for a law of 1746 making fourteen members a quorum which caused great confusion and was shortly repealed by his Majesty] . . . that should fifteen Members be constituted a Quorum to proceed upon Business, it might afford an opportunity for eight evil-designed Persons . . . to pass bills . . . destructive of the Rights, Liberties and Properties of His Majesty's good Subjects in the Province [and finally, the Tarheels hope], they will not justly incurr the severe censure of disobedience & undutifulness, in adhering to their ancient Constitution settled by Charter [until lawfully altered].

But whether they were to incur censure or not, as their conduct fifteen years hence was to show, they had no intention of giving up their liberties without resistance.

Fortunately for Sir Arthur Dobbs, other events of the year 1763 were more propitious for peace. The Treaty of Paris brought to an end the French and Indian War in which North Carolina had played an honorable if minor part. To the very Anglican Mr. Dobbs this had been in large part a religious crusade of English Protestantism to oust the forces of French "popery" and he greatly rejoiced in the victory. On the fall of Quebec to General Wolfe, he had himself composed a hymn to be sung throughout the Province, which is perhaps of more value as a cultural document than as literature.

What culture there was was peripatetic, for the colony had no settled capital. It had no college and, for the time being, no newspaper. The Governor had recently purchased what he called his villa at Russelboro in the neighborhood of Brunswick town and had designated the handsome edifice of St. Philips in Brunswick as the King's chapel in North Carolina. But Brunswick was not large enough to entertain many politicians or much culture and Dobbs' favorite seat for the government was nearby Wilmington. There was agitation to make New Bern the permanent capital and on this proposal Dobbs wrote on February 23, 1763, "I told them [the legislators] I could not recommend it as a healthy situation having been thrice at death's door from its low stagnated situation and bad water."

His health was not so stagnated, however, as to prevent his exhibition of a good dash of Tarheel vigor in marrying at the age of seventy-four a fair native of fifteen summers. He died soon afterward and lies today somewhere near the ruins of his beloved St. Philips, as controversial a figure at the present writing as he was two centuries ago.

A hundred-year leap lands us in the middle of the War for Southern Independence. In 1863 the issue was still in the balance. Many problems had been solved in the intervening century, or at least the opti-

mistic Carolinians had so believed. The old charters from kings and queens had been replaced by written constitutions, State and national, granting to the governments the powers which seemed appropriate, and guaranteeing to those governed the liberties they retained for themselves. North Carolina had entered the Union reluctantly, refusing to ratify the Federal Constitution until the Bill of Rights was made a part thereof expressly stating by the Tenth Amendment that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution or prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people."

The North State left the Union as reluctantly as she had entered it. Though dubbed by her own gadflies as "Old Rip" and by her neighbors as "The Valley of Humility" there was an increasing level of prosperity and much with which to be contented by the end of the ante-bellum era. The capital had found a resting place in Raleigh to the general satisfaction of all sections. The Capitol building was then as it is now, an evidence of good taste which could successfully stand the test of time. Thanks to Calvin Henderson Wiley and a few cooperative governors, the system of public education at the secondary level was the best in the South. Higher education suffered a relative lag, but only relative for out-of-state students were being attracted by the four institutions for men—the University at Chapel Hill, and the denominational colleges—Trinity, Wake Forest, and Davidson—and by two excellent Piedmont academies for ladies: Salem in her present lovely locale, and Edgeworth Female Seminary which flourished for three decades in Greensboro. The plantation system was less entrenched than in the States to the north and south, but the observation of an ultra democratic chief executive that North Carolina had no plantations was an indication less of agricultural poverty than of gubernatorial ignorance. For plantations there certainly were, as is amply evident to this day from the magnificent "Creekside" near the mountains around Morganton to the elegant "Orton" on the Cape Fear River.

There is good reason to believe that North Carolina might have remained within the Union had Lincoln not ordered troops to invade the South. Old Rip woke up with a start and no State did more for the Confederacy than did she. Her peerless leader was Zebulon Baird Vance, the most popular Governor this State has ever had. That Vance loved the Confederacy there is ample evidence from his service in the field before he was chosen chief magistrate, but no love could blind him to the rights and privileges of the State he called his own. Reminiscent of the colonial agent's protest to the Board of Trade exactly

100 years before is Vance's letter of September 11, 1863, to President Jefferson Davis. A few days previously, a Georgia regiment had entered Raleigh and destroyed the office of the *Standard* newspaper. The next morning a mob of Raleigh citizens destroyed the office of the *State Journal* in retaliation. Governor Vance requested the Confederate government to direct troops passing through the vicinity to stay out of the capital city. To President Davis he wrote "I feel very sad in contemplation of these outrages. The distance is quite short to either anarchy or despotism, when armed soldiers, led by their officers can with impunity outrage the laws of a State. A few more such exhibitions will bring the North Carolina troops home to the defense of their own State and her institutions. I pray you to see that it does not occur again."

The best illustration that I have seen of the unique personality and power that was Zebulon B. Vance's comes from an incident of the War which took place in the same year 1863. It was related some years afterward by a member of his staff who accompanied him on a visit to the Army of Northern Virginia.

> He was then a candidate for re-election to the gubernatorial chair, and was being opposed by the party proclaiming itself for "Peace and Reconstruction" on any terms; and though the ostensible object of his visit was to advance his political fortunes, its real object was to rekindle the fires of patriotism in the hearts of the North Carolina troops and to cheer and stimulate the entire army.
>
> General Lee ordered a general review in his honor—an incident I believe without parallel in the history of the army. Upon an immense plain near Orange Court House, there were assembled the troops which composed the then unconquered Army of Northern Virginia***Jackson, Longstreet, Stuart, Early, Ewell, Hill, Rhodes, Gordon, Hampton, Pettigrew, and Fitzhugh Lee were there to do honor to Carolina's illustrious son.
>
> Arranged in two confronting lines, the noble veterans awaited the coming of the old chieftain and the youthful Governor. Finally the cannons boomed and General Lee and Governor Vance appeared, and, amid storms of enthusiastic cheers, rode slowly along the excited lines.
>
> Soon as the review was ended the men and officers came crowding around the elevated platform which had been prepared for the orator, and for two hours they gave him their most earnest attention. The day was truly a proud one for North Carolina and her gifted son, and a more appropriate, effective and eloquent address was never uttered by human lips. Under the influence of his varied imagery, his happy and graphic illustrations, his stirring appeals and deep pathos, his masterly grasp and inner meaning, trenchant thrusts and touching allusions and, in a word, under his magnificent and resistless eloquence, the audience was stirred, enraptured, enthused and carried away as if by the spell of a magician. Not a man who heard the impassioned outburst of patriotic

inspiration would have hesitated to die for his country. If aught of lukewarmness or despondency had been produced by the machinations of a selfish faction at home, they vanished as the morning mist before the rising sun under the spell of this good man's matchless eloquence. I heard General Lee remark that Governor Vance's visit to the army had been equivalent to its reinforcement by 50,000 men, and General J. E. B. Stuart said of it, "if the test of eloquence is its effect, this speech was the most eloquent ever delivered."

And that is a good note, it seems to me, on which to move to the Tercentenary year of the Carolina Charter. As in the year 1663, it would be fruitless to review the condition of the State, and for the opposite reason—in the first year we had nothing, in this year we have everything. Our happy cities seduce industry from the strife-torn metropolises of the North and West. The face of our land is adorned with all that the ingenuity of our race can contrive. Architecturally we are uniquely blest: The outstanding residence of the thirteen colonies was Tryon's Palace on the Trent. The most elaborate residence that will ever be built in these United States is "Biltmore" in the Land of the Sky. Both are now open to the public. And in State College we have a school of design which is not merely abreast of the times but a pace-setter for the times to follow. Our Research Triangle is a national center for the propagation of knowledge. The magnificence of the monument of James B. Duke, cultural and athletic, is matched by the intellectual ferment of Carolina, scholarly and sophomoric, both complemented by the serene loveliness with which millions of shekels have endowed Wake Forest and Davidson. The catalog is endless, our cup runneth over.

In the current dispute over the centralizing tendencies of the United States government since World War II, it is not the purpose of this paper to become involved. Our present Chief Executive made this statement in an address in New York this past summer: "I am sure the President and most Cabinet members and substantial leadership in the Congress would like to stop the trend to centralization but they can't do it unless the public will tolerate it and the public will not accept it until we as a state and local officials demonstrate our competence and willingness to handle the legitimate needs of the public."

Many will welcome his Excellency's assurance as to the intent and purpose of the federal government and its desire to retire from the local scene.

Whatever our differences of opinion with respect to the "legitimate needs of the people," the Tercentenary year is an appropriate milestone at which to take note of where we are and how we got there.

This, indeed, is the purpose of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, established in 1959, by the General Assembly, and to which some $225,000 has thusfar been alloted in State funds in addition to private contributions.

Impressive achievements have already been accomplished, although the Tercentenary date for the issuing of the Charter does not arrive until March 24, 1963. A TV music drama is in the process of composition, a commemorative work for symphony orchestra is being scored, an art exhibit, featuring loans from England of three-hundred-year-old paintings, will be presented in Raleigh in March and April. Most educational institutions in the State plan appropriate observances during the year, and a motion picture film available for loans to teachers, clubs, and the like, should be released by September. The Charter Commission has some half a dozen informative pamphlets, on topics dealing with early colonial history, being published and scheduled for distribution to schools throughout the State. The first volume of the much-needed revised *Colonial Records* is now on the press and will be available early in 1963, and a campaign is underway to persuade the legislature to appropriate funds for a building for the Department of Archives and History, ours being one of the few southern States without an adequate structure exclusively for such purposes.

I am quite obviously taking advantage of this captivity of the cultural elite of the State to enlist support for the Tercentenary celebration in all its varied facets of history, literature, education, religion, and the arts. There is much to be remembered in these three hundred years and there are many to whom we should be grateful. The Tarheel names most frequently found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* published by the American Council of Learned Societies are Ashe, Nash, and Henderson. But there are great and small in every county who deserve our thanks for present blessings and there is no more appropriate time to accord them their due. The North State, old and new, was made not by hundreds but by thousands of sincere and self-sacrificing patriots.

We did not get here by chance, although as I suggested in the beginning, it may have been by Predestination. We will most certainly not stay here without emphasis on the absolutes of success and service —however relative each generation is determined to prove them—and without, most important of all, the eternal vigilance with respect to both friend and foe, which is the price of the Charter—adumbrated and God-given liberty which distinguishes our happy State.

LOCALIZED HISTORY IN THE AGE OF EXPLOSIONS

By Clifford L. Lord*

I stand before you tonight with great personal pleasure, partly because of the nature of this audience which we were assured this noon by Dean Holman is enamored of the past, but particularly because it gives me a welcome chance to express publicly before a North Carolina audience, my long-standing admiration for—and my hope that you equally admire—the remarkable job that is being done in your Department of Archives and History under the leadership of Dr. Crittenden. All of us in the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History have admired Chris for many years, not just as the gentleman he is but as the dynamic and deceptively calm leader of a model program in not only archival but museum work, with junior historians, sites and celebrations, publications, and everything that constitutes the well-rounded program of the State historical organization. And this he has done, as you know, on relatively limited resources. He is a man of great success in winning the co-operation of others in a common cause—as all of you in this audience tonight certainly well know—and a man, too, of great success in drawing to his staff bright, attractive, and able people and then holding them against the seductions of those of us elsewhere in the country who try to get them away from him. I hope that everyone here is going to get behind the two latest projects of the Department—the county history program and the sorely needed new building.

This is a remarkable occasion—an occasion, that is, worthy of remark. Here we are in the Hotel Sir Walter, spending a week discussing culture, cultural projects, history, heritage and similar esoteric subjects, in the midst of the most exciting and explosive, dangerous, and promising era in the history of mankind. At Canaveral and Vandenburg, at Wallops Island and Central Siberia, mankind is launching satellites to probe the ionosphere, to send us data on space phenomena, or even to relay television programs from continent to continent. There are

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according to the latest figures well over 200 satellites in orbit around the earth at this moment and, just possibly, one of them is passing overhead right now. We are launching space probes on the moon, to Mars, to Venus; we are launching astronauts and cosmonauts; we are beginning the serious exploration of space.

It is popular in history to characterize various periods as "ages"—the Age of Reason, the Age of Enlightenment, the Golden Age of this or that. I think of this as the Age of Explosions.

Though the explosions which launch the exploration of space have captured the popular imagination, there are other dramatic and significant explosions taking place all around us. Take, for instance, the explosion of knowledge. Robert Oppenheimer not too long ago—and how can even a brain like his comprehend this—said that the corpus of human knowledge is now doubling at the rate of once every eight to eight and one half years. In science, you know something of what is going on; the probing of space is paralleled by exploration in the opposite direction, as Operation Mohole probes through the underseas surface of the earth to explore what lies beneath. You know some of the accomplishments of the sensational International Geophysical Year so recently completed. You have been reading of the progress in biochemistry and the discovery of DNA, that rather remarkable five-foot-long-coil buried in each living cell—animal and vegetable alike—which operates rather like a built-in computer to tell that cell how to develop and what kind of cell to become. You know something of the progress being made in the behavioral sciences and the growing understanding of what makes men and women and animals act and react as they do. You know something of the progress in medicine: the antibiotics, the miracle drugs, the radical surgery now undertaken of heart and brain. You know of the new unity that has come to the physical sciences with the appreciation of the atomic structure. You know something of the miracles and the perils of atomic science. This is common knowledge. But let's assess this putative doubling of the corpus of human knowledge every eight or eight and one half years in some less likely field like ancient history. When I was in school, the Empire of the Hittites was *terra incognita.* It consisted, so far as we then knew, of a few Biblical references and some extraordinary ruins at Boghazköy and one or two other places in Asia Minor. But because, since World War II, we have uncovered some extensive Hittite archives and because linguists have cracked the code and now can translate the Hittite language we know a great deal about this powerful empire that once ruled so much of Asia Minor forty centuries ago.

Again, when I was in school, Ankhor Vat in modern Thailand was a complete mystery, a huge ruin completely overgrown by the jungle. Who had built it, where they had gone, and what had happened to them nobody knew. Now we know a great deal about the Khmers and the rather remarkable civilization that once centered at Ankhor Vat. The discovery of amphora in Turkestan and Roman coins in Mongolia has proved what had only been surmised before as to the extent of trade in the pre-Christian eras. The same thing is true of the Aztec Empire and the civilization of the Incas. We have acquired the use of remarkable tools in carbon 14 and a modern derivative of Uranium 238 with which we can successfully date the objects of pre-history. So it is fair to say as we look at ancient history that here is another field of knowledge where the corpus of human knowledge is doubled approximately every eight or eight and a half years.

Let's take a look at another unlikely field, like literature. Here I would cite only one development—the so-called Mark II translator, which IBM will have on the market before long. The present Mark I translator has a vocabulary of 27,500 words. The Mark II translator will have a vocabularly of 275,000 words, will do very much better with dangling participles and split infinitives, and may even be able to handle poetry. Now think what this means. We all know of minor French classics which have never been translated into English. We know of major Russian classics that are not available in English. Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali have hardly been tapped. Even Chinese literature is for the first time being extensively and scientifically translated. The Mark II translator can go to work on all the great mass of untranslated literature and make it all more or less available in more or less good English more or less instantaneously. It can also take all English literature and translate it into the several hundred major languages and dialects of the world. Here again, clearly, knowledge of the literatures of other languages is exploding and the end is not in sight. This, of course, conjures a publisher's paradise while pointing up the fact that all of us in this enormous explosion of knowledge are becoming increasingly illiterate.

Take this theory of Oppenheimer's and put it the other way around. It means that by 1970—eight years hence—the corpus of human knowledge will be just exactly twice what it is today. Fantastic? I think it is happening.

Another explosion is that of automation. There has been in print for less than six months a prophesy by one of the students of this new development that all jobs below the middle management level will be automated within ten years. This may prove to be a slight

exaggeration but we know what is already happening in the displacement of persons. We know what is happening in retraining and retreading programs—retraining and retreading people in many instances, I am afraid, for jobs that will not exist by the time the retraining and retreading is done. We know what this means in terms of unemployables—the hard core unemployment of the unskilled, undertrained, undereducated, which is beginning to be serious.

Automation is accelerated by computers. We have just installed a new computer at Columbia. It will be functioning in about two weeks. It will take the entire payroll of the University—all the teaching staff, all the guards, all the building maintenance helpers and secretaries and everybody else paid by the University—compute their social security deductions, their retirement premiums, their Blue Cross-Blue Shield deductions, their major medical insurance, their group life insurance, all the other fringe benefits, New York State taxes, federal income taxes, and print the entire payroll in 35 seconds. Librascope operations, Control System (General Precision Company), Product Administration and Contract Control (Sperry Rand), Uniform Reporting Systems, Automatic Data Acquisition (RCA), all entail elements of a new mechanized managerial revolution with all the accompanying problems and with some potential at least of early realization of Dr. Donald M. Michael's startling prophecy.

Take another explosion: the explosion of population. Note the prediction that there will be standing room only on this poor globe of ours by the twenty-first century. Note the threat meanwhile of major explosions in overpopulated areas like China, India, and Latin America.

Take the explosion of nationalism, the collapse of the old colonial empires and the creation of new nations literally by the dozen. Think what this means in terms of its impact on international politics, on the balance of power in the United Nations, creating problems of tremendous scope and significance. Among others, speeding the realization of equality of opportunity—so long the proudest boast of Americans—in many areas in this country and abroad, in the process unsettling many deeply-rooted customs that people in many areas have come to count upon.

All over the world there are explosions, or explosive situations—Cuba, Berlin, Laos, the Chinese-Indian border, Arab nationalism against Israel, Kashmir, the captive nations, Latin-American poverty, racism in Africa, etc.—any one of which conceivably, directly or indirectly, could result in the biggest explosion of them all, which, of course, would solve all our problems by the process of elimination.

This then is the Age of Explosions—the Space Age, an age of great insecurity, an age in which you can take nothing for granted, an age of religious revival and yet of greatly increased delinquency both juvenile and adult, an age of awe and of religious affirmation on the one hand and of increasing amorality and immorality on the other, where many of the bases that we have accepted as basic to our civilization are shifting. It is an age full of vast, disturbing uncertainties—and of great potential and great challenge.

And here we sit in the Sir Walter participating in Culture Week. And this, I repeat, is worthy of remark because we seem also to be in the midst of a cultural explosion. Some of you like myself are old enough to remember when the newspapers across the country began to issue little coupons which you would cut out and send in with something like 89 cents and get an anonymous recording of classical music. You will remember the extraordinary success of this project which all of a sudden, overnight made classical music something not just for the elite or the highly cultured but part of the culture of the people as a whole. Since that breakthrough we have seen the unanticipated proliferation of symphonies in cities across the country, of summer opera in Santa Fe, of opera companies in many of our major cities, of festivals like those at Tanglewood and Gibraltar, and in New York the new Council of the Fine Arts which subsidizes at State expense the sending to the smaller cities of the State of operas, symphonies, ballets, and theater. This is just one example—music—of what I mean by the explosion of culture. Take art. Not just the fantastic prices we pay for masterpieces or the even more fantastic prices that are paid for experimental art just a few years old, but the new galleries and the new art museums which also are springing up all across the country. Remember, too, that the art of painting is no longer just a quaint curiosity but an acceptable part of the life of public figures like Winston Churchill or Eisenhower, or of less well-known people like my wife. Take a look at the theater where we all know that summer stock and the amateur playhouse and even good television programs are things of quite recent popularity and origin. Take projects like Lincoln Center in New York, or like the new cultural center underway at Trenton, where New Jersey will commemorate the tercentenary of *its* Charter by erecting a new building for its archives, a new State library, a new State museum, and a large public auditorium. This form of Charter observance I would emphasize without making the point, I hope, too obvious. These are signs of an affluent society to be sure, but they are something more. They are the signs, too, of an increasing

maturity, of rising educational levels, of rising standards of cultural appreciation throughout the land.

This brings me, as we come to the conclusion of the last evening program of this 1962 Culture Week in North Carolina, to localized history where also since World War II there has been a major explosion. I will be frank with you: It has not attracted the national-international attention that the exploration of space or even the explosion of knowledge has attracted, but it is here. A recent survey taken by the American Association for State and Local History indicates that the State historical societies between 1951 and 1961 have almost tripled their budgets, have more than trebled their membership, and have gone in for much more comprehensive programs of history for the people: junior historians programs, television, proliferation of sites, the expanded scope of the local societies, mobile museums, and the rest. I have seen it happen in Wisconsin. You have seen it happen in North Carolina. This survey also indicates that there are over 1,700 county and local societies with over 391,000 members and an annual income of close to $6,000,000 a year, that they own real property valued in excess of $18,000,000, that they own and operate some 470 historic houses and museums. These are just the county and local societies. And when you add to this the special groups—the Civil War Round Tables, the corrals of the westerners, the specialized historical societies, church, regional, and special interest groups, the total becomes highly impressive. But that is not all, because we have also to add the proliferation of movements to preserve sites and historic buildings. It's really getting to be a matter of keeping up with the Joneses: Every community must have its own historic site or historic house, some of which are not quite as historic as some of the others. Another alarming modern statistic is that across the nation we are dedicating an average of one historical museum per week at the present time. One wag, as a matter of fact, has charged that we are in the throes of a national edifice complex. To this you must add the restorations, starting with Williamsburg and your own remarkable Tryon Palace; the College Hill project in Providence, Rhode Island; the Independence Hall-area project in Philadelphia; the movement to restore historic St. Augustine; the preservation of San Francisco's waterfront; the restoration of Virginia City, Nevada, and so on almost *ad infinitum.* You have to add also the pageants, again Williamsburg, again your own Roanoke and Cherokee pageants, New Salem (Illinois), and all the myriad small ones which are being staged all over the country. And you have to add the phenomenal success of the magazine *American*

Heritage—hardbound, expensive, without advertising, and yet with an enormous subscription list. I cite these things simply to indicate that interest in localized history is widespread and deep-rooted.

Forgive me two personal experiences to emphasize the point. The first is the story of a rather remarkable county society which had gone on the rocks. It had been very active in the 1920's and early 1930's, had produced some very good county history, had built its own museum in a county of only 10,000 people, had gathered a rather select collection of artifacts and newspapers, but had made the sad mistake of not recruiting new personnel. It was now down to two members, both of them octogenarians, and both of them cardiacs. At this point the County Board, which had been supplying light and heat to the museum, resolved that since there was no county society it would return the building to the heirs of the donors. At this point I got on the telephone and called up the octogenarian who was then the president of this society and said, "Bert, it can't get any worse; would you let us come up there and see what we could do?" He said, "Come ahead, Cliff, but it is hopeless. You can't do anything. There is nobody in this county interested in history." Two colleagues and I drove to this county, sat down for two hours with the county clerk, the county agent, and the county agricultural 4-H leader and went through the telephone book. In a county of 10,000 people this was not very hard to do. They checked off the people whom they thought would be interested, and off we started. We divided the county into three zones, took one each. For two and a half days we rang doorbells. The result was that we took in the membership dues of about 200 people who could not come to the mass meeting we called at the county courthouse for the last night of the three-day sojourn. We turned out, despite a three-hour torrential downpour, at least one car from every community in the county. We had 150 people there. They elected the twenty-eight-year old postmaster of one of the towns as their president. They organized a group of active committees. They got a flourishing county society going, and for the time being they saved the museum.

The second experience I would cite I enjoyed within the month in Bergen County, New Jersey, where the county historical society had run a small two-column ad once in the county daily. The gist of this was if you want to know more about this county you reside in, come to this meeting at the civic shopping center at a specified auditorium. I attended partly out of curiosity and partly because the president invited me to "come on down and see what happens." The turnout was

1,500 people. The society is going to hold a series of such meetings next fall and capitalize on the obviously great public interest.

All this activity in historical societies, museums, restorations, markers, and programs both scholarly and popular reminds one of one of those incidents that sears itself into one's consciousness. It came at the end of my first presentation to the Joint Finance Committee of the Wisconsin legislature. I had made what I thought was a highly spirited and I hoped effective plea for an extra $100,000 and I sat down with a slow glow of satisfaction spreading over me. It vanished very abruptly as the little white-haired senator who was chairman of the committee at that time looked up over his half-moon glasses and said, "Very interesting, Lord, very interesting, but is it important?"

That was a good question—a good question then, a good question now: Is this important? In this Age of Explosions is it escapism? Is it just doing what we have done for years regardless of the situation the world is in? I think not. Localized history shares the values that all history has to offer. It helps teach us how to weigh conflicting evidence; that there is more than one side, one version, to most stories; gives us a little experience in sifting and winnowing against the deliberate lie, propaganda, the misrecollection. All history by definition gives background—the background of our present problems, the story of how we got where we are. And this I suggest makes for more intelligent citizenship. It also makes for understanding—understanding of how things happen, why they happen, who makes them happen. Understanding of that kind makes for a sort of wisdom. And finally all history, I think, gives perspective—how far we have come and how fast. It makes people a little less radical about the cure of present evil, a little less ready to upset the apple cart to get rid of one rotten apple. It makes for balance, it makes for evolution rather than revolution.

So much for history in general. Localized history has its own very special importance. I must first make clear that by localized history I am not talking about the mere calendaring of local events: who started the first bank, who was the second mayor of the town, who was the Presbyterian minister when the town burned down. Localized history is not antiquarian; it is not provincial. It is not just collecting the old fact or the old artifact simply because it is old. It is, instead, the serious interpretive study of what has happened, how it has happened, why it has happened, and that all-important who made it happen. This has been called the microscopic approach to history, the worm's eye view of history, grass roots history or, what I call it, localized history.

It is the story of the man who gets an idea, which becomes a shop, which becomes a factory, which makes a product that is ultimately

exported to Japan where a bright entrepreneur picks up the idea, reproduces it, starts exporting back to this country, and precipitates a tariff fight in Congress. It is the story of the editor who fulminates against all transgression, real and imaginary, so mercilessly that he actually succeeds in creating a different climate of opinion in his community and in his region. It is the story of the preacher, who by precept and example, does bring a genuine element of Christian love (*Xápitos,* charity) to his community. It is the story of the gadfly who by reiterated attack ultimately may achieve a measure of reform. Or the story of the "stand-patter" or of the "middle-of-the-roader" through whom most progress is actually made. It is the story of the patron who brings new cultural opportunities to his or her community. It is the story of the teacher who opens to generation after student-generation new vistas, new horizons, new insights. In short, localized history is the story of people, working together or against each other, singly or in groups, shaping the course of local events and in that process making history, often far beyond the borders of that community or that region.

Looked at another way, our communities are different because their people make them so. I am sure I could illustrate this from North Carolina history, but it is safer for an outlander to illustrate from a distance—in this instance, Wisconsin. There are two towns on the Mississippi River, Cassville and Prairie du Chien. Cassville is a town of 900 souls; Prairie du Chien is a town of 5,000. Cassville is one and a half blocks wide and it will never be any wider because that is all the room there is between the water and the bluffs of the Mississippi. Prairie du Chien, on the other hand, is on a broad alluvial plain and has room to grow and grow and grow. Cassville has one railroad and the trains don't stop; Prairie du Chien has two railroads and the trains do stop. Cassville has one river; Prairie du Chien has two. All the advantages are Prairie du Chien's and yet Cassville is a booming, bustling, thriving, prospering town and Prairie du Chien is coming apart at the seams. What is the story? One man, literally one man: the local undertaker, who has been Mayor of Cassville for 29 years and who is one of the great promoters of this generation. I said to a friend this morning that if Mayor Eckstein had ever hit Madison Avenue this country would not be the same. But he has promoted one thing after another for Cassville to the point that his small, disadvantaged town is prospering mightily whereas a far better situated, larger community, thirty miles away is in desperate trouble. Localized history then, is the study of the men who have left towns—or companies or institutions or statutes or what will you—as their monuments.

Or take another approach. Our political parties are not, as you well know, great monolithic unities. They are in their operations made up of local groups, local leaders, local interests. There are conflicts of policy in both parties at the national level, at the State level, at the county level, at the local level. Acts of Congress are best understood not as reflections just of the national interest (except in times of crisis), but as reflections of these local interests, local pressures, local desires worked into cohesive bills by strong leaders and effective compromisers—all of them individuals. Localized history is the study of those on whose shoulders we stand.

Two critical contributions emerge from this approach to local history, both of genuine importance, both of basic significance in this Age of Explosions.

First of all in an era of such fantastic change, of such vast uncertainty, of such rapid shifts in formerly basic concepts, man—if he is to keep his wits and his balance—needs as never before a sense of roots, of stable background, of participation in a vast stream of history, culture, foundations, heritage. For us this sense of heritage goes back to Greece, Rome, and Bethlehem to be sure. But it also goes back to Roanoke, Hillsboro, Moores Creek Bridge, Brunswick, and Kitty Hawk. If we are to keep our sense of perspective we must recognize our continuity with and our debt to the past; we must sense the way we belong to North Carolina, to Raleigh, to America. If we utilize the peculiar values of localized history to compare life in Carolina today with life here one hundred, or two hundred, or three hundred, or three hundred and fifty years ago; if we study life in a Raleigh or a New Bern or a Beaufort then and now; if we look at what our forefathers did in the Revolution, or the War Between the States, or the Industrial Revolution, or what the present generation and its immediate predecessor did to bring North Carolina to its present unique position below the Mason and Dixon Line, our present problems fall into perspective. We gain not just insight, but wisdom and courage. A modicum at least of order and pattern begins to emerge. Some things to hold fast to, some guideposts for the individual and for the State come clear. Localized history puts one in intimate touch with the past, the rock on which we stand. It is a taproot into the rich soil of heritage, into a sense of understanding and belonging through knowing. This we need.

The second critical contribution of this localized approach is the way it brings into focus and spotlights the continuing importance of the individual—yesterday, today, and tomorrow. This no longer is just a slogan of the National Association of Manufacturers, but—

through localized history—a solid, demonstrable, historical fact. It is also a tenet basic to Western Civilization since the days of Greece, a tenet basic to the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Localized history gets away from the broad generalization of world, or western, or even American history, which necessarily condenses the facts of history into broad syntheses or sweeping trends, in which the individual is reduced to a statistic, too often to a cypher. It moves from the general to the specific, from mankind to men and women. It gives the lie to the economic determinist who would have us believe that action is determined solely by self-interest. He who studies the history of people knows full well the impact of love and hate, of sentiment, principle and morality, of loyalty, and self-sacrifice.

Localized history brings us close to the source springs of the American genius, close to an understanding of what has produced the most dynamic economy, the most fluid (democratic) society, and the highest standard of living the world has yet seen.

We are now engaged in a fateful world-wide contest for the minds and souls of mankind. Here, in the localized approach to American history, we have at hand the means both the better to know—to understand—ourselves, and to arm ourselves with the understanding, the knowledge, the facts with which to help others understand us, our way of life, the dynamics of the American experiment.

Armed with such knowledge, such understanding, balance, perspective and wisdom, we achieve that oak-like quality that is the hallmark of those well rooted. But simultaneously we arm ourselves for what Andrew Jackson once called "the expansion of the areas of freedom." Never was this understanding of the nature of the American experiment and of the importance of the individual of more critical importance than in the turmoil of this Age of Explosions.

So my answer to that Wisconsin senator, and my conclusion for tonight—and for tomorrow and tomorrow's morrow—is that localized history, if well-pursued and well-practiced, is of great importance, the more so now than ever before.

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* Mr. Powell is Librarian of the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of William Alexander Graham, Volume IV, 1851-1856. Edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. (Raleigh: The State Department of Archives and History. 1961 [1962]. Pp. xxii, 701. $3.00.)

Volume IV of the Graham papers reveals comparatively little about Graham personally, but a great deal of the political thoughts of Whigs in this vital period. It should constitute a very useful source for scholars seeking an understanding of the 1850's.

The volume opens when Graham is Secretary of the Navy. Most of his correspondents discuss the Compromise of 1850 insisting that they loyally support it, but enemies call them "submissionists" and seek destruction of the Union. Quite a few assert that the Union will be saved only if northern states obey the Fugitive Slave Law. Graham in a few speeches urged the North to obey the Constitution which he clearly explained required the return of fugitive slaves.

Most of Graham's correspondents praise President Millard Fillmore and demand his re-election. A Fillmore-Graham ticket is widely advocated as one that can defeat the Democrats and save the nation. Letters by and to Graham denounce Winfield Scott as a "Tool" of William H. Seward and the abolitionists. Angry letters reach Graham concerning the publication of a letter by Willie P. Mangum which praised Scott and denounced Fillmore. After the Whigs nominate Scott and Graham, Graham writes several letters asserting Scott's alleged ardent support of the compromise, and many of the same correspondents who denounced Scott begin to praise him. A Democratic victory in the North Carolina gubernatorial election is blamed on the treachery of Thomas L. Clingman and on "free suffrage." Hopes get high in September and October and Graham receives letters from many areas predicting Whig victory. Graham lost, failing to carry even North Carolina, but a slight hope existed that he could be elected United States Senator. This failed, but Graham was nominated and elected to the State Senate. In an amazing speech Graham opposed free suffrage likening it to taxation (on land) without representation. In 1856 Graham ardently supported Fillmore. The letters whet one's appetite for wishing to learn more concerning the partial merger of Americans and Southern Whigs.

Matters other than politics, of course, enter the study. There are interesting letters from Matthew Perry concerning Japan. Graham's

complex dealing as a contractor for the North Carolina Railroad is the subject of several letters. Graham received dozens of letters from his overseer about crops and slaves. Incidentally, a medical bill for five years, mostly for treatment of slaves, amounted to $650.25. Graham wrote and received letters concerning a large bequest to Davidson College as he was counsel for the trustees in the case. He was an amateur historian and wrote and received many letters concerning sources of Revolutionary War history. He gave a long address before the New York historical society.

Historians owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Hamilton and to the State Department of Archives and History for making this valuable source available. One regrets that Democratic sources of State history aren't preserved in a comparable manner.

William S. Hoffmann.

Delta College,
University Center, Michigan.

O. Henry from Polecat Creek. By Ethel Stephens Arnett (Greensboro: Piedmont Press [Distributed by Straughan's Bookshop, Greensboro]. 1962. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, and index. Pp. xxi, 240. $5.95.)

William Sidney (later Sydney) Porter is usually thought of as a native of Greensboro and is so listed in many reference books. According to Mrs. Arnett, author of this account of Will Porter's boyhood and youth, he was not born in the city, however, but on a farm a few miles away near Polecat Creek in Guilford County. After the death of Will's mother three years later (in 1865), Dr. Algernon Sidney Porter moved with his two young sons to the home of Dr. Porter's mother, Mrs. Sidney Porter, in Greensboro; and here Will lived until he went to Texas in 1882. In 1890 and again in 1891 he returned to Greensboro with his first wife Athol and his young daughter Margaret. These appear to have been his only visits to the city after he left it, though in 1907 he married (after Athol's death) a Greensboro widow, Sara Lindsay Coleman, who had been his first sweetheart twenty-six years before. After his death in 1910 he was buried not in Greensboro but in Asheville, where he had gone the preceding year in an attempt to recover from a decline in health.

Mrs. Arnett has confined her account of Will almost exclusively to his Greensboro years, adding a brief postscript on his later years and

his death. Though she has used many printed sources, she has enriched her account with additional material gathered in numerous interviews with relatives, friends, and acquaintances of young Will Porter. Thus he is seen usually through the eyes of people who knew him long before he became O. Henry. For example, his brother Shell recalled hearing him laugh only three times. His school friend Tom Tate, in remembering Will's extensive reading, had "no recollection of his caring for poetry or historical works. His seemed to be the love of the story teller for the story." Another school friend remembered his "gentleness of manner, a delicacy of feeling, [and] a refinement in speech and demeanour that was as much a part of hi mas his humour."

One valuable aspect of Mrs. Arnett's book for students of O. Henry's stories in her relating people or incidents in Will's early life to characters and actions in specific stories. She cites his use of plots, scenes, and descriptive or other details not only in the southern tales but also in scattered ones with Central American, Western, and New York locales.

O. Henry from Polecat Creek is an important addition to O. Henry biography. One minor objection may be raised, however, to the portrait of Will Porter in the book. Occasionally he sounds a little too much like one of the Rover boys or one of Horatio Alger's heroes.

H. G. Kincheloe.

North Carolina State College.

The Face of North Carolina. Compiled and edited by Bruce Roberts. Text by Dick Gorrell. Foreword by Paul Green. (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin, Publishers. 1962. [Pp. vi, 176, unnumbered]. $12.50.)

From the wind and wave swept shores of Hatteras to the cloud-encircled tops of the Smoky Mountains, North Carolina has many faces. There are the faces of great wealth and greater poverty, of intellectual brilliance and pathetic ignorance, and of sublime beauty and stark ugliness. In *The Face of North Carolina* the ethereal and naive faces of children and the seasoned resigned faces of the elderly contrast sharply with the expectant and rapturous faces of youth. Often the photographs are silhouettes—a burdened farm boy outlined against the westering sun or a homing shrimp boat slipping through silvered waters. These are pictures to make Tarheels nostalgic, proud, thoughtful, and determined.

The collection of photographs in this ambitious book by Bruce Roberts shows all of the faces of North Carolina, its people, and its resources. Mr. Roberts has arranged his material with artistic appeal and a fascinating story would unfold even if there were no commentary. He is to be congratulated for his success in presenting North Carolina photographically. The book is a treasure house of expressions of joy and pathos, of despair and hope, which has been caught by the camera and grouped to tell the story of the growth of a great State—changing, yet unchanging.

Dick Gorrell supplied the text. Following an Introduction he outlines the geographical sections of the State, frequently using a few words to delineate an entire series of related pictures. Mr. Gorrell writes well, at times lyrically and poetically, and only a severe critic would berate him for the errors found in a few of his descriptions. His introduction to "Land of the Sky" is phrased succinctly—a précis—nonetheless, it is an admirable piece of writing.

This large volume, 9½ x 12 inches, is another praiseworthy book to come from the presses of McNally and Loftin, the young Charlotte publishers. They have done a notable job of publishing North Caroliniana by North Carolinians. Paul Green in the Foreword says, ". . . the editors of this volume have created a stunning pictorial study of our beloved State. The book is a work of art from start to finish and is crammed full of beauty and delight." It is obviously a book to give *and* to keep. It will become more valuable as the face of North Carolina changes.

Elizabeth W. Wilborn.

State Department of Archives and History.

Ghosts of the Carolinas. By Nancy Roberts. With photographs by Bruce Roberts. Foreword by LeGette Blythe. (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin. 1962. Pp. 64. $3.50.)

In 1959, Nancy and Bruce Roberts brought out, with popular success, *An Illustrated Guide to Ghosts & Mysterious Occurrences in the Old North State,* among whose sixteen stories were those of the hoofprints at Bath, Peter Dromgoole, and the Maco Lights. By no means did that book exhaust phantom possibilities in the State, though this time Mrs. Roberts has extended her geographical field by having her eighteen yarns equally divided between North and South Carolina.

In fact, with a gracious invitation for other writers to enter the arena of ghost-story writing, she reveals that she has barely scratched the surface, for "there is a wealth of material in North Carolina and South Carolina libraries which was gathered by those who engaged in the federal writer's project during the 1930's," she explains. "Although most of it has not been published, it is available in manuscript."

Well-told ghost stories almost never fail to make for good reading, and it is practically impossible for even the most literal-minded to resist them. From North Carolina, Mrs. Roberts dramatically narrates the appearance of several apparitions in the Wilmington environs, recounts the superstitions about Tsali's ghost and the Brown Mountains Lights, and raises the reader's hair right off his head with events in the House of the Opening Door. From South Carolina, there are the Hagley ghosts of Georgetown, the shades of Litchfield Plantation, the Gray Man of Pawley's Island, and others. All the stories are written in an easy, journalistic style. No sources are acknowledged for the separate stories.

In the general preservation of our folklore, it is vastly important that ghost tales be constantly rewritten and continually resurrected. These two books by Nancy Roberts (with fascinating trick photographs by her husband), plus John Harden's *The Devil's Tramping Ground and Other North Carolina Mystery Stories* (1947) and *Tar Heel Ghosts* (1954), give North Carolina a certain prestige in the field of recounting its popular legends.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College.

The County of Moore, 1847-1947: A North Carolina Region's Second Hundred Years. By Manly Wade Wellman. (Southern Pines: Moore County Historical Association. 1962. Appendixes, illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. viii, 211. $7.50.)

Moore County is unique among North Carolina counties. Situated in the eastern edge of the Piedmont region, the upper portion is fairly typical Piedmont country. It was inhabited at mid-nineteenth century, when Mr. Wellman's story begins, by a sturdy people, most of whom were farmers or fairly prosperous "planters." Many of them were descendants of the Scottish Highlanders who had made their way up the Cape Fear Valley a hundred years before; and most of them were devout Presbyterians.

The southern part of the County was relatively undeveloped and had few inhabitants. It was a region of sand hills, and they were covered by forests of longleaf pine. The farmers had passed them by for more productive lands.

Within a quarter century, however, a revolution had begun which was to turn this backward area into a relatively populous and prosperous region. Some of "the Builders" came to Moore from other counties and some were "Yankees," but many were natives of Moore. Observing the pleasing fragrance of the pine-scented air and the relative dryness of the rain-absorbing soil, they advertised it first as a haven for sufferers from respiratory diseases and even obtained testimonials from reputable physicians as to the efficacy of Moore's climate.

This approach, however, was soon discarded. After all, the climate was delightful and the rolling hill country was beautiful. Furthermore, the Sandhills were only half as far from the northern city dwellers as Florida where many of them were already going to avoid the rigorous winters. So, roads were built and towns laid out and beautified by the best landscape architects of the country. Thousands of trees and flowering shrubs were imported and planted. Hotels, private homes, and schools were erected by such indefatigable promoters as John T. Patrick and James W. Tufts whose faith in Moore County led them to risk their fortunes in developing its attractions. The prosperous and cultured community that the Sandhills has become justifies their faith.

This well-written and readable book represents painstaking research. It is well documented. More studies of North Carolina's counties such as this are needed.

John Mitchell Justice.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

The Land of Wilkes. By Johnson J. Hayes. (Wilkesboro: Wilkes County Historical Society. 1962. Pp. xii, 577. $6.00.)

The Land of Wilkes traces the history of Wilkes County from its beginning to the present, a period of about 200 years. The chapters are organized into three divisions, the first ending in 1868, when the present North Carolina Constitution was adopted; the second in 1900; and the third in the present. The first division has 18 chapters, the

second 10, and the third 16, totaling 44 chapters varying in length from one page to 36 pages.

In addition to the book proper the volume has 35 pages of appendixes, 17 pages of notes and references, and a full index. It is attractively printed and copyrighted by the Wilkes County Historical Society.

Judge Hayes has written an unusual county history. His first sentence surely tells much about the book when he writes, "It has been difficult to condense the data compiled. . . ." That he succeeded in condensing his materials, numerous enough for two books, into one volume illustrates both his task and his understanding of what a county history should include.

The history is unique and excellent in its treatment of the early settlers and others, where they lived, whom they married, their children, acres of land owned and from whom purchased, boundaries of land, dates purchased and the page and book references to recorded deeds. In his emphasis upon land ownership, the author shows an understanding of the importance of land in local as well as in general history.

After land, emphases are given to three other phases of the history of Wilkes County, described as "a land of change." These are legal or governmental acts, church annals, and educational development.

The author studied carefully and thoroughly minutes of justices of the peace, county commissioners, grants and school records, wills, deeds, church and association records, as well as all available files of newspapers published in the County. He examined old county records at Wadesboro, Salisbury, Dobson, as well as at Wilkesboro. Incidents taken from the official records are often joined to make the history. The chapters on the churches of Wilkes are among the longest and most complete in the book, including pastors and Sunday School superintendents. In recording the history of education, Judge Hayes gives full endorsement to the fact that education and progress go hand in hand.

The book covers many other phases of the history of the County. Answering a long-standing claim Judge Hayes writes, "It thus seems clear that Tennessee never was a part of Wilkes County notwithstanding the long tradition that Wilkes was called the 'State of Wilkes' because it extended to the Mississippi." Other phases include the longest land trial in the history of the State, from 1752 to 1831; the case which resulted in the State Supreme Court limiting the size of the stick used in disciplining a wife to one no larger than a husband's

finger; and the first and second wives of William Berkley Lewis, close friend of Andrew Jackson and head of the "Kitchen Cabinet" in Washington, who were natives of Wilkes. There are many biographical sketches including those of General William Lenoir who is described as "Wilkes' first citizen," and Montford Stokes, the only Governor Wilkes County has furnished the State.

Doubtless because of the lack of space, a few subjects are treated briefly or omitted. These include political parties and elections before 1910 and only brief treatment after 1910 of taxes, land valuations, prohibition, and modern highways.

The reviewer likes best the author's ability to choose from much data those events which interestingly but accurately record the history of a great people, not omitting the bad but stressing the good as the basis for future constructive progress. Indeed, there are many passages in the book which illustrate the author's reverence for the achievements of his beloved native people.

Judge Johnson J. Hayes has set high standards in his excellent history for future county historians. Every home in Wilkes, and every school and public library in North Carolina, should have this history.

Daniel J. Whitener.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

North Carolina Votes. Compiled by the Staff of the Political Studies Program at the University of North Carolina under the Direction of Donald R. Matthews. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [c. 1962]. Pp. x, 315. $5.00.)

This paper-back volume contains the North Carolina general election returns by county for President, 1868-1960; Governor, 1868-1960; and United States Senator, 1914-1960. There is also a list of candidates for each position, by party and year, together with the total United States and North Carolina returns for each election. Percentages and pluralities or majorities are given in all cases.

This in a sense is not a new work, for the statistics presented were already available in various publications. It will be useful, however, in that for the first time these figures are gathered in one handy volume. The presidential election statistics are obtained from six different printed sources. The gubernatorial and senatorial tabulations come exclusively from different editions of the *North Carolina Manual*, an official publication of the State of North Carolina. It is stated (p. x)

that "A few clerical errors and arithmetical discrepancies were found in these works and were corrected."

The chief question regarding the value of the work involves its accuracy. A spot-check, made by Mrs. Frances T. Council of the State Department of Archives and History, indicates that there are a few errors in the presidential and gubernatorial returns. For example, the presidential vote for Alamance County, 1876, is given as Democratic, 1,391 and Republican, 1,446, indicating a Republican victory; but the official manuscript volume from the Secretary of State (in the State Archives) gives the respective figures as 1,391 and 1,146, a Democratic majority. The total State vote for Governor, 1876, is given as Democratic, 118,258 and Republican, 104,330; but the official figures are 123,265 and 110,256. In 1956 the total Burke County presidential vote is shown as Democratic, 9,679 and Republican, 9,968, a Republican majority; the official vote is Democratic, 9,968 and Republican, 9,679, a Democratic majority. A few other discrepancies could be pointed out, but in most instances the presidential and gubernatorial votes appear to be correct. In no case that has been found does an error change the official state-wide party victory. It seems that the volume is for the most part reliable and thus a valuable research tool, one that will be used for many years to come.

Practically no interpretation is given except one: a comment on the tendency of Republican strength to grow in recent years, with appropriate questions as to the reasons. To attempt to interpret extensively would have been to go far beyond the intended scope and can be left for future graduate students and others. Making available the figures for each county will be useful for writers of local history.

There is one mistake in the statement that the *North Carolina Manual* "was not begun until 1913 . . ." (p. vii). Actually, such a publication (under a slightly different title) was published as early as 1874, and beginning in 1903 it has been issued every odd year to date.

Christopher Crittenden.

State Department of Archives and History.

Josephus Daniels Says . . . An Editor's Political Odyssey From Bryan to Wilson and F.D.R., 1894-1913. By Joseph L. Morrison. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xi, 339. $7.50.)

Newspaper editors in the post-Civil War South were counted among the section's most influential leaders. And certainly Josephus Daniels

of the Raleigh *News and Observer* would have to be numbered among the top two or three southern newspapermen of his generation. Fortunately, Daniels wrote a good three-volume autobiographical account of his career. More scholarly and objective analyses of his later activities after he became nationally prominent in the Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations have been published also. We have now Joseph L. Morrison's description of the Tarheel editor's participation in politics at the State level during his early editorial days before he went to Washington in 1913 to become Secretary of the Navy. It is appropriate that Morrison, an associate professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina who has had good historical training as well, should write on this period of Daniels' life when he was more journalist than politician.

Students of the New South will find this volume most helpful. Daniels was required as editor of the State capital's daily newspaper to comment on the politics of the time. But his interest was more than journalistic for he became national committeeman of the Democratic Party in 1896 and held that office for twenty years. He was thus doubly involved in North Carolina and national politics in an interesting and crucial period.

The basic issue Morrison has to come to grips with is the one of trying to understand and reconcile the contradictions and paradoxes of Daniels' early career. The terms must be carefully defined but it is fair to say that Daniels thought of himself as a liberal and progressive in State and national politics. He was against "privilege" and trusts, including North Carolina's own tobacco trust. He campaigned for low tariffs, free silver, and public education, especially on the university and college levels. On the other hand, his editorial attacks on the Republican-Populist Fusion party in the 1890's bordered on irresponsibility. He condoned and preached white supremacy in the 1898 campaign that eliminated the Negro vote in North Carolina and precipated the Wilmington race riot. He hounded John Spencer Bassett so viciously that he finally drove one of the foremost scholars from the State. And in 1912, when there was a clear choice in the senatorial contest between progressive Walter Clark and conservative Furnifold Simmons, Daniels looked the other way and remained silent while the progressives went down to defeat.

To this reviewer it seems that Morrison is overly sympathetic toward Daniels and too ready to accept the editor's own definition of politics as the "art of the possible." This definition along with blind loyalty to the Democratic Party were the guide lines of Daniels' career. Morrison

is too quick to recognize these as positions of strength and too slow to recognize that they were also positions of weakness. Daniels' unwillingness on either one or both of these grounds to go out on a limb at crucial times to support the tenets of progressivism was in fact one of the signal weaknesses of that movement in North Carolina and a major reason why Joseph Steelman, the historian of North Carolina progressivism, has concluded the State's record was not "consistently outstanding." Nevertheless, Professor Morrison has added to our understanding of the man and his times.

James A. Tinsley.

University of Houston.

The Priceless Gift: The Love Letters of Woodrow Wilson and Ellen Axson Wilson. Edited by Eleanor Wilson McAdoo (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962. Illustrations, footnotes, and index. Pp. xii, 324. $6.95.)

The more than 1,450 letters exchanged between Ellen Axson and Woodrow Wilson constitute one of the most important sources of information about Wilson's life. Heretofore these letters have been closed to Wilson scholars, but they now are available at Princeton University. Mrs. McAdoo, the youngest and only remaining daughter of Ellen Axson and Woodrow Wilson, has done a thoroughly competent job of editing these remarkable letters. She provides the connecting narrative passages which place the letters in their proper setting.

Perhaps no other figure in American public life wrote as many love letters as did Woodrow Wilson, nor has any American surpassed the ardent Woodrow in the ability to turn a romantic phrase. "Eileen," as Woodrow frequently called Ellen, confessed her inability to keep emotionally cool while reading her lover's fervent messages.

The Editor has not included all of the letters that passed between her parents. Enough of the messages have been printed, however, so that no significant phase of their lives, as expressed in their correspondence, has been omitted. In the numerous communications published, Mrs. McAdoo has wisely chosen to delete unimportant family matters, mention of casual visits with friends or relatives and other repetitious materials of no consequence to posterity.

Ellen Axson was a demure, quiet, young woman when she met Wilson. Although her formal education was somewhat limited, she

was well read in English literature and talented in art. She gave Wilson a sense of security, a feeling of confidence in himself. She widened his intellectual horizon by introducing him to fields of knowledge which he probably would never have known without her encouragement and influence. As the years flew by, Wilson depended upon Ellen much more completely than most husbands ever do their wives. She was, he stated repeatedly, the only one who could give him an easing of his tensions, an assurance in the ultimate victory of his cause.

Unfortunately for Wilson's later years, Ellen died in August, 1914. Certainly she would have prevented such statements as Wilson made to the American voters in October, 1918, and would have lessened her husband's bitterness against the League of Nations opposition in the United States Senate. Ellen's death was inopportune for Wilson and America in these situations, but Wilson was certainly fortunate in having Ellen as his bosom companion throughout most of their adult lives. The rare warmth of their relationship is attested by the publication of *The Priceless Gift.*

George Osborn.

University of Florida.

Florida Breezes: Or, Florida New and Old. By Ellen Call Long. Introduction by Margaret Louise Chapman. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press [Facsimile reproduction of 1883 edition]. 1962. Floridiana Facsimile and Reprint Series, Rembert W. Patrick, General Editor. Pp. xxxiii [vi], 401. Index. $8.50.)

In 1883 Ellen Call Long, daughter of Unionist General Richard Keith Call of Florida, published a semi-fictional description of the State before the Civil War along with an account of the degradation of southern civilization following disunion and defeat. The author described the book as "a compilation of anecdotes, facts, and histories, intended for reference and the entertainment of posterity." But her real purpose was to defend her father's career, both in the Seminole War and in the events of the 1860's. Almost bitterly she castigated her father's opponents, the defenders of secession: "Thus, our generous, chivalrous, and brave southern people are to be dragged into the whirlpool, by selfish and designing politicians. . . ." Mrs. Long included a quotation from the *New York Herald* describing Florida as the "smallest tadpole in the dirty pool of secession," and quoted at length General Call's speech against disunion in Florida.

Such views made her book unpopular. Though she also referred to the "state to which Buncombe, bluster, ignorance, arrogance and New England fanaticism have brought us," the book irritated the sensibilities of a generation far enough removed from the War to see it as the romantic Lost Cause rather than—as General Call would have it—as the realism of misguided zeal and excitement. Irate Floridians burned many copies of the book, making collector's items of those few which survived. Though its prose is heavy and at times even tedious to the modern reader, and its long poems even more so, Mrs. Long possessed a sure eye for detail, including descriptions of southern "poor whites" and mechanics, and a finely attuned ear for the cracker accent. The University of Florida Press merits praise for making the volume available in facsimile.

David L. Smiley.

Wake Forest College.

Evolution of a Federalist: William Loughton Smith of Charleston (1758-1812). By George C. Rogers, Junior. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1962. Illustrations, notes, genealogical charts, bibliography, and index. Pp. x, 439. $8.00.)

William Loughton Smith's family belonged to the landed and commercial aristocracy of colonial Charleston. At the age of eleven he was sent to Europe for an education. There he remained, absorbing learning and worldly experience, until 1783. He returned, amid accusations of disloyalty, to an estate that had been depleted by war and inflation; but he was able to rise rapidly in the booming commercial expansion, due to his luck, hard work, astute thinking, family and social connections, and his rare ability as a lawyer.

Smith represented the Charleston district in Congress, 1789-1797, where he became known as a stalwart Federalist, and Hamilton's right-hand man in the controversies over the bank and the national debt. He led the fight in the House against Madison's resolutions calling for retaliatory commercial legislation against Britain, and he gave his strong support to Jay's treaty. In 1797 he became America's Minister to Portugal. Upon his return to America in 1803 he could still hold his own as a lawyer and businessman, but was unable to get back his seat in Congress. In 1808, being convinced that the Federalist Party was dead and that he could no longer serve self or country under

that banner, he tried unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination to Congress.

The Federalists in South Carolina and throughout the nation caustically condemned Smith's "defection and apostasy." Many of his best friends and most intimate life-long associates in Charleston turned their backs upon him scornfully. Yet the Republicans refused to welcome the new adherent, and they withheld from him the coveted nomination for Congress in 1810. Two years later death put an end to his painful frustrations.

Rogers seems to have made a remarkably thorough study of the source materials and secondary works relating to Smith. Footnotes are at the foot of each page, fortunately. The story is well told, and it ties in the statesman neatly with the surging life of South Carolina and the young nation he tried so diligently to serve.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

Stetson University.

By Sea and By River: The Naval History of the Civil War. By Bern Anderson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1962. Preface, plates, notes, and index. Pp. xiv, 303. $5.95.)

This one-volume history of the naval side of the Civil War is not a detailed story of the many naval campaigns and battles of that historic struggle. Rather, it is a brief, highly-readable account of the strategic aims and results of the important naval operations, with special emphasis on the Union naval blockade of the South as a crucial factor in the final outcome of the War.

The author begins his story by reviewing briefly the history of the United States Navy prior to 1861. He emphasizes that the Navy was active and progressive in the years prior to Fort Sumter, but being essentially a "deep-water" navy was almost entirely unprepared at the beginning of the conflict for the type of warfare required of it from 1861 to 1865. Admiral Anderson is high in his praise of the officers and men in the United States Navy in 1861, and considers President Lincoln most fortunate in his selection of such a capable Secretary of the Navy as Gideon Welles, the "policy maker," and of Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the "administrator." Of course the author emphasizes the fact that the Confederacy had no navy to begin with.

Admiral Anderson considers that the main task of the Union Navy after Lincoln's famous proclamation of a naval blockade of the South was the establishment and maintenance of that blockade. On the other hand, the chief task of the Confederate Navy which evolved was to break, circumvent, or discredit the Union blockade. The author disagrees strongly with those historians who maintain that the Union blockade was only a paper blockade which could be run at relatively small risk throughout the War. He claims that the Union blockade became highly effective as the months and years passed, and that the blockade was the chief instrument in bringing on the economic collapse of the South, which made possible the victories of the Union armies over those led by Lee and other southern generals. Thus, the author contends that it was "sea-power" which was the major factor in bringing on the ultimate collapse and defeat of the South, especially "sea-power" as demonstrated through the Union blockade.

Admiral Anderson says Lincoln was well aware of the Navy's contribution to the War effort, even though in the eyes of the northern public at the time the Navy was subordinate to the Army, and its activities and accomplishments not as well recognized.

As far as the Confederate Navy was concerned, Admiral Anderson says its story was one of complete frustration, and, except for the exaggerated success story of its commercial raiders and the use of submerged mines, the results were largely negative. He insists that this was the case in spite of the ability of the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, Stephen B. Mallory.

In addition to his emphasis on the blockade Admiral Anderson shows how the Civil War was the birth of truly effective joint action by American military and naval forces, paving the way for the success of that type of warfare in World War II.

In *By Sea and By River* Admiral Anderson, who is intimately connected with naval strategy and tactics, looks at the Civil War strictly through the eyes of a naval officer. His conclusions are based not only upon the documents he studied but also upon his own intimate knowledge derived from thirty years experience. Thus he makes out a very strong case for the Union Navy's being a major factor in the North's winning of the Civil War. While there is no formal bibliography included in the volume, the author indicates in the preface and the footnotes that he has consulted the appropriate sources for this study.

For a complete understanding of the strategy which won the Civil War for the Union forces, this volume is a must for all students of this conflict. In order not to be completely overwhelmed by the Navy's

part in the winning of the War, one should remember while reading this volume that Admiral Anderson's viewpoints might be slightly biased in favor of the Navy.

Alvin A. Fahrner.

East Carolina College.

Halleck: Lincoln's Chief of Staff. By Stephen E. Ambrose. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. vi, 226. $5.00.)

A study of Henry W. Halleck's triple service as Civil War departmental commander, General-in-Chief and Chief-of-Staff rather than a full-scale biography, this book's purpose is to examine Halleck's determining contribution to three movements in the Federal military experience which became basic to the development of the present "American military establishment." These movements were: first, the application—and ultimate rejection—of Baron Henri Jomini's military principles by the Union high command; second, the growth of a professional, national army at the expense of the State militia; third, the beginnings of a modern command system. Obviously, this is no easy undertaking and Ambrose, a 1958 master's degree-holder from Louisiana State University and teacher at its New Orleans branch, has not quite carried it through. There are good things in this book but more that are unsatisfactory due to inadequacies in treatment and argumentation.

Thus, although Ambrose makes clear Halleck emerged a Jominian from West Point, six months of European study, and authorship of *Elements of Military Art and Science*, "in large measure a translation of Jomini's writings," he does not show why Halleck should be designated that theorist's "high priest in America" any more than he explains what reasons "army officers and Washington leaders" could have had in 1861 for considering him the country's "foremost exponent of the art of war." Halleck had sat out the Mexican War, had become a leading California lawyer, had resigned the army in 1854, had married a granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton, and had accumulated an estate worth $500,000, but if he remained a student of war after publishing his *Elements*, Ambrose does not tell it. He does provide the essentials, however, of Halleck's service as departmental and then over-all commander in the West, from November, 1861, through his

capture of Corinth in June, 1862. Ambrose is good in showing Halleck's adherence to Jominian teachings in his Missouri and Tennessee campaigns, but is weak on such other matters as the slavery issue and its politics, the Washington end of the Western campaigns, especially as related to General-in-Chief McClellan's plans, and, most important, in substantiating his assertion of there being in 1862 anti-Jominian Union commanders who upheld destroying armies as more important than capturing strong places.

McClellan's repulse before Richmond made Halleck General-in-Chief, and in six middle chapters, covering Second Bull Run through Gettysburg and Vicksburg, Ambrose is discerning on Halleck's relations with McClellan and Lincoln both before and after Pope's defeat, at his best on the Lincoln-created problem of a McClernand Mississippi expedition, which so plagued Grant, and good on Halleck's minimal role—in accordance with his practice of avoiding positive instructions to field commanders—in the Chancellorsville and Gettysburg campaigns. Hardly convincing, however, in view of his account of non-co-operation among western commanders, is his statement that Vicksburg was "the ultimate example" of the Jominian principle of concentration to take a place.

Grant's elevation in March, 1864, terminated Jominian limited war and ushered in "modern, total war." So says the author, who pictures Halleck as going along with the transformation, indeed capping the "movement," by becoming its advocate. His treatment of developments is too scanty to afford satisfactory proof of the existence of a "total war" mind in 1864-1865 any more than earlier. Similarly concerning the advent of an efficient, if rudimentary, Union high command system and Halleck's "new" Chief-of-Staff role as liaison between Lincoln and Grant: What took place during the last year of the war seems not to have been controlled by a "system" any more than before, and it is hardly consistent to speak of Halleck as effective and at the same time write, ". . . he could not make himself understood. Unable to give of himself he was unable to communicate."

In 1958 the late Kenneth P. Williams virtually asserted that a proper account of Halleck's Civil War career could be written only by a soldier-historian, a "general officer" with at least staff closeness to high command experience, and not by an academic historian. One need not be taken as agreeing with Williams in suggesting that Ambrose's account is at best a study of merely interim usefulness.

Eugene C. Drozdowski.

Appalachian State Teachers College.

Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War. By Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers. (Washington: Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office. Published by the National Archives. 1961. Pp. x, 721. $3.00.)

Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers, of the National Archives staff, have accomplished a Herculean task and performed an outstanding service to researchers in compiling this *Guide*. In the Foreword, Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, explains that the *Guide* has been published as a part of the contribution of the National Archives to the Centennial Commemoration of the Civil War.

In determining what should be included in the *Guide*, the compilers initially concluded that all extant archives of federal agencies which existed in the 1860's would contain information on the Civil War. Eventually, however, they decided that events and developments occurring subsequent to the War often had a direct bearing upon the struggle. As a result, pertinent documentary materials of the postwar period, even down to the present century, have also been included.

Because most of the records with which the *Guide* is concerned were created during the war years, the information about them is listed in sections corresponding to the government's organization in that period. An interesting and valuable by-product of this arrangement is the fact that the table of contents provides a blueprint of the organization of the Federal Government during the Civil War.

The first section of the volume lists general records of the government; subsequent sections describe the records of the Congress, judiciary, presidency, the executive departments, and various other offices and agencies of government. Each section opens with a historical statement of the functions and responsibilities of the government agency concerned. Names of the wartime heads of the agency are listed. Records of a general character are first described followed by separate descriptions of the records of the component bureaus and other offices. Bibliographical references and descriptions of records are followed by notations of finding aids, documentary publications, and other pertinent information.

Records described include not only those in the National Archives and Federal Records Centers, but also in other custody. The last class includes materials still held by other Federal agencies as well as official or quasi-official materials on deposit or available elsewhere.

Significant accumulations of private papers are referred to under Records in Other Custody, found in each section.

Many of the Federal Government records obviously relate to the Confederacy, but the official records of the Confederacy itself will be described in the forthcoming Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America. In the two *Guides* historians and Civil War buffs will have ready access to descriptions of all important archival collections of the great struggle and its aftermath.

The Contents itself would serve as an adequate guide to the contents of the book, but there is also included a comprehensive and meticulously prepared index of 123 pages which greatly facilitates the use of the *Guide*.

In the publication of the *Guide* the authors and the National Archives are to be congratulated on an accomplishment of mammoth proportions. It is difficult indeed to conceive of any other project in the publication field which could possibly contribute more than the *Guides*—Federal and Confederate—to the Centennial commemoration of the Civil War.

A. M. Patterson.

State Department of Archives and History.

Teapot Dome: Oil and Politics in the 1920's. By Burl Noggle. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1962. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, and index. Pp. ix, 234. $6.00.)

From time to time throughout America's history the public has been shocked because leading political and business figures have been guilty of scandal and conspiracy in which the public was the chief victim. For some reason these principal government scandals of fraud and corruption have followed major wars. Probably the most complex, although widely publicized, story of corrupt partnership by political and business leaders involved oil reserves during the early 1920's. The Elk Hills (California) and the Teapot Dome (Wyoming) oil scandals exploded with such force that their effects were widely felt within both political parties.

Although one cannot say that Mr. Noggle has written a definitive history of Teapot Dome, he has written a rather objective story and appraisal of the affair. His emphasis is on the oil scandals and their effects on politics and political leaders of the 1920's. Here the story begins with the nomination of Warren G. Harding and his selection

of a cabinet, which certainly did not appeal to such stanch conservationists as Gifford Pinchot and Harry Slattery, two alert watchdogs of conservation. These two men were greatly upset over the administration plan to transfer the U. S. Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Interior, then under the control of Albert B. Fall. While gathering evidence for their fight with Secretary Fall, Slattery became aware of questionable handling of government naval oil reserves. Appreciating the significance of a possible oil scandal, the conservation forces began in earnest to attack their prime target, Fall, along that line. The result, of course, was the famous Teapot Dome Scandal, which shook the country from every corner.

Mr. Noggle, in most respects, has done an excellent job of tracing the history of the affair from its beginning to the Hoover administration. Seemingly, it has been the author's purpose to relate, and emphasize, the relationship of this affair to the politics of the 1920's and the effects, therefore, on the presidential elections of 1924 and 1928.

The author is to be commended for the evidence of diligent research, his attempt to be objective, and the new interpretations that are suggested. A major contribution to a knowledge of the 1920's has been made. One minor drawback is the excess of quotations, short and long, by which the readability of Mr. Noggle's scholarly work is adversely affected.

William H. Wroten, Jr.

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The Farm Bureau and the New Deal: A Study of the Making of National Farm Policy, 1933-40. By Christiana McFadyen Campbell. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1962. Tables, bibliography, and index. Pp. ix, 215. $4.75.)

Here is a doctoral dissertation that was good enough to win the Agricultural History Society Award for 1961. It is everything such a product should be: scholarly, analytical, clear, concise, and significant. The author is a graduate of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, received her master's degree from Columbia University, and earned her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago under the guidance of Professors Avery O. Craven, William T. Hutchinson, and Theodore W. Schultz. With her husband and three children she now

lives in Australia and is a teaching fellow in history at the University of Sydney.

Mrs. Campbell first summarizes the early history of the American Farm Bureau Federation, describes its intimate connection with the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service, explains the structure and functions of the A.F.B.F., and details the historic political alliance between midwestern and southern farmers during the McNary-Haugen movement of the 1920's. The main part of the book then focuses upon the relationship between the A.F.B.F. and the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. This relationship is seen as close and cordial during the early years of the New Deal, but as strained after 1936 when the Department of Agriculture ceased to consult Farm Bureau leaders in the making of agricultural policy. While considering the role played by America's strongest farm organization in the 1930's, the author discusses the several sectional and commodity conflicts within the Farm Bureau and how they were resolved under the skilled leadership of President Edward A. O'Neal of Alabama. Mrs. Campbell has made particularly effective the use of O'Neal material in Farm Bureau headquarters in Chicago, and of personal interviews she had with farm and government leaders of the period.

In 1936 A.F.B.F. officers launched a strong membership drive in the South. They regarded North Carolina as the key State in their plans. Several pages of this book recount the development of the Farm Bureau in North Carolina and offer revealing glimpses of Dean I. O. Schaub, Director of Extension; Dr. Clarence Poe, Editor of *The Progressive Farmer*; R. Flake Shaw, President of the State Farm Bureau, and others.

Stuart Noblin.

North Carolina State College.

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Setzer School Story, written by Max F. Harris, Research Associate, State Department of Archives and History, and published by the Salisbury City Schools, tells of the restoration of the nineteenth-century school. The restored building was dedicated on May 9, 1962. Located on the campus of the Knox Junior High School, the Setzer School will be used as a "living laboratory of educational history" in the community. Copies of the 20-page, illustrated pamphlet may be ordered from Mr. J. H. Knox, Superintendent, Salisbury City Schools; the price is 25¢.

Legends, Myths and Folk Tales of the Roanoke-Chowan, by F. Roy Johnson, was published by The Daily News Company of Ahoskie and Murfreesboro. No less than sixty-four tales are included in the 105 pages. The prefatory remarks indicate that "this book is being published primarily to preserve the traditional stories that could easily become lost in a changing sense of values of the twentieth century." The paper-covered, illustrated book is being sold by the publisher for $3.00.

Also relating to the same area of North Carolina is *The Roanoke-Chowan Story,* by F. Roy Johnson and Tom Parramore. The fifteen chapters, which cover the history of the area and contain information on outstanding men and women produced by the section, were originally published in *The Daily Roanoke-Chowan News;* in fact, the present book was produced by binding the entire series exactly as it first appeared in the form of newspaper supplements during the period 1960-1962. The result is 180 pages, complete with advertisements interspersed with the newspaper stories. Additional information may be obtained from the publisher.

New Hanover County Court Minutes, Part 4, *1794-1800,* abstracted, compiled, and edited by Alexander McDonald Walker has been published and is ready for distribution. Like the three preceding volumes, Part 4 will be of special value to students of social history and genealogists. The 121-page book has its own Index and is complete for the years indicated. Part I of this work may be purchased in 35 mm. microfilm copies only, perhaps a dozen of Part 2 and several dozen of Part 3 are still offered while the supply lasts. All copies, including Part 4, are $5.00 each and may be purchased from Mr. Walker, 4887 Battery Lane, Apt. 21, Bethesda 14, Md.

The Branch Banking and Trust Company of Wilson has published *Branch: A Tradition with a Future,* commemorating the ninety-year history of that institution. The 117-page book presents the story of credit and private banks in North Carolina from the days of Reconstruction through recent years. Miss Vidette Bass, the author, has written the history around the personalities who built the Branch Bank and Trust Company into the present-day bank. A number of tables, lists, appendixes, a bibliography, and footnotes make the book more useful as social history. The Foreword is by Mr. J. E. Paschall, President. Attractive illustrations add to the volume, especially the two maps of the town of Wilson for the years 1872 and 1882.

Bladen County, North Carolina: Abstracts of Wills, 1734-1900, was compiled and published by Wanda S. Campbell. The abstracts themselves, 95 pages, contain names of testators, executors, beneficiaries, and witnesses. Where there is a relationship between the testator and beneficiaries, the information is noted. All Bladen County wills from the extracts of Grimes' *Abstracts of North Carolina Wills* were included, as were abstracts from the will books in the office of the Clerk of Superior Court and from a few wills recorded in miscellaneous deed books. A 66-page index makes the work unusually valuable. Because 55 of the present 100 counties were at one time a part of Bladen County, the information contained in this paper-bound book will be of particular interest to genealogists throughout the State. Copies of the publication may be ordered from Mrs. Wanda S. Campbell, Box 547, Elizabethtown, N. C., for $5.50 each.

Persons interested in the history of education in North Carolina will like to know that a story about Dr. R. H. Lewis and his work in Kinston has been written. Entitled "The Lewis School in Kinston," the paper was written by Ellen Ragan. It was issued in mimeographed form by Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro.

Republican Heyday, by C. A. Stern, discusses Republicanism through the McKinley years. The text of 45 pages is supplemented by notes and a lengthy bibliography, making the total booklet 97 pages in length. A companion booklet, *Resurgent Republicanism: The Handiwork of Hanna,* by the same author is similar in format and length to *Republican Heyday.* Copies of the publications are available from Mr. Stern, P. O. Box 401, Sioux City, Iowa, for $1.25 postpaid.

Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites, by Kenneth Carroll, tells the story of this religious group in colonial America. Though the sect originated in Maryland, it grew and communities of members were established in both Carolinas. So similar were they in belief and organization to the Quakers that they were absorbed by the Society of Friends after forty years of separate existence. Nearly half of the 116 pages will be of especial interest to genealogists. Appendixes give Nicholite birth records, Nicholite marriages, witnesses to Nicholite marriages, the names of Nicholites admitted into the Society of Friends, and Nicholite wills. A bibliography and an index add to the usefulness of the book. It is available for $3.75 from the publisher, The Easton Publishing Company, Easton, Maryland.

History: Sandy Creek, 1858-1958, is an account of the Sandy Creek Baptist Association, its history, its leaders, its churches. Hundreds of names of delegates, messengers, pastors, and associational clerks will make the booklet useful to those interested in genealogical research. Sketches were written by various individuals; the 173-page, paperbound book was dedicated to the late Rev. Clyde P. Stinson of Goldston, who did much of the research and collection of material needed for the publication of the history. Copies may be ordered from the author, Mr. H. A. Teague, Rt. 3, Box 281, Siler City, for $1.00, each.

The Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology has published another in its River Basin Surveys Papers series. Number 25 of the series is entitled *Archeology of the John H. Kerr Reservoir Basin, Roanoke River Virginia-North Carolina,* by Carl F. Miller. Persons interested in archeological findings in this area will find much of value in the book. Site descriptions, details concerning pottery and other artifacts, burials, and numerous other topics are included. The book is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for $4.00.

Folklore Keeps the Past Alive, by Arthur Palmer Hudson, contains in published form the Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, delivered at Mercer University on October 24, 25, and 26, 1961. Dr. Hudson, Kenan Professor of English and Folklore at the University of North Carolina and Editor of *North Carolina Folklore,* has included the three lectures, entitled "The Poetry of Earth: Two Old Folksongs," "Glimpses of History in Folksongs of the South," and "Folksongs in American Poetry and Fiction," in this 63-page book. Published by the University of Georgia Press, Athens, the book cost is $2.50.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

North Carolina's three-hundredth anniversary celebration was formally opened by Governor Terry Sanford at a cake-cutting held on January 4 at the Executive Mansion in Raleigh. The Governor and Mrs. Sanford, attired in colonial costume, received State officials and members of the Charter Commission and press.

Chairman of the Charter Commission, the Honorable Francis E. Winslow, opened the ceremony, after being introduced by the Commission's Executive Secretary, General John D. F. Phillips. Mr. Winslow pointed out that with the ceremony, the Charter Commission had started on the execution of a plan to uncover the forgotten history of North Carolina, the plan being over two years in preparation.

Announced by a trumpet fanfare, the Governor and Mrs. Sanford, leading a procession of State officials clad in colonial costume, descended the stairs of the Executive Mansion into the ballroom where a cake in the shape of the United States, with the Carolina territory outlined, was displayed with 300 candles. After the Governor and Mrs. Sanford lit and extinguished the candles, the cake was cut and served with yaupon tea.

Appearing in costume were: Secretary of State Thad Eure, Insurance Commissioner and Mrs. Edwin Lanier, Adjutant General and Mrs. Claude Bowers, Revenue Commissioner and Mrs. William Johnson, and Mr. and Mrs. Roger Jackson, Jr. Mr. Julian Oneto and Miss June Scarborough of Nags Head were garbed as pirates to remind guests of the era of Blackbeard the Pirate in the State's colonial history. Chief of the Cherokee Nation, Chief Osley Saunooke, assisted in lighting the candles. Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin Swalin, also wearing colonial costumes, provided music from the period.

A special postage stamp commemorating the three hundredth anniversary will be issued by the United States Post Office on April 6 in Edenton, North Carolina. Governor Sanford was quoted, commenting on the decision, "North Carolinians will be pleased and honored to learn that the Post Office Department is issuing this stamp. This significant beginning point in the history of America is worthy of such attention and I am grateful to Senator B. Everett Jordan, Dr. Frank P. Graham, and General John D. F. Phillips and others who worked to get the Department to recognize the importance of this anniversary."

Mr. Hunter Johnson of Benson, North Carolina composer, has been commissioned to write a special composition for North Carolina's tercen-

tenary celebration. The composition will be titled, "North State, A Composition Celebrating the Granting of the Carolina Charter in 1663."

It will consist of three movements. The first—Introduction and Celebration One. The second—Three Interludes: The Colonist. (1) Westward, the Unknown; A Prayer. (2) Land Bright with Sun and Birds. (3) Simple Lives, Often Lonely. The third movement will be Celebration Two: A Dance.

The Charter Commission has announced the publication of the first volume of its new Colonial Records Series. The first of the unnumbered volumes is entitled *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698.* It is the first publication since the ten-volume series edited by William L. Saunders was published, 1886-1890. Never before have these charters and constitutions been published in one volume.

Mrs. Mattie E. Parker and her staff did not re-edit the *Colonial Records* by Saunders but worked from photographic reproductions of the original manuscripts. Many of the materials were obtained from the Public Record Office in England.

Being printed by the Kingsport Press, Inc., Tennessee, the volume contains a foreword by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History. Acknowledgment of a $10,000 donation for continuation of the project is made to the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation.

Modern discoveries and new editing techniques make it possible for the new series to shed light on North Carolina's history, telling a great deal more accurate and valuable story than the obsolete edition of almost 70 years ago.

The Chairman of the Charter Commission, the Honorable Francis E. Winslow of Rocky Mount, presented a personal copy to Governor Terry Sanford at the Capitol on January 24.

Orders are being accepted for the book by the Charter Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh. The price for regular binding is $5 per copy and $10 per copy for deluxe leather binding. Check or money orders should be made payable to the Carolina Charter Corporation.

A state-wide essay contest for junior and senior high school students enrolled in North Carolina and United States history courses is being sponsored by the Charter Commission. The assigned subject is "The Carolina Charter of 1663: A Milestone in the Advance of Democracy."

State-level winners will be announced on May 20 with prizes of $250, $100, and $50 being awarded in each division, junior and senior high. This contest is one of many projects being sponsored by the Charter Commission as a part of the State's three hundredth anniversary observance of the Carolina Charter. Rules for the contest have been supplied to all county and city school superintendents who have been asked to forward winning entries from their administrative unit levels for final judging on the State level. A board of judges will be organized by the superintendents and winners in the units announced prior to March 24, the anniversary date of the granting of the Carolina Charter by King Charles II to the eight Lords Proprietors. The essay contest is being con-

ducted by the Charter Commission with the co-operation of Dr. Charles F. Carroll, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The contest is designed to contribute to the over-all objective of the Tercentenary—the development of knowledge and appreciation of a little-known period of North Carolina history, 1663-1763, or the colonial period. Concurrently, the Charter Commission is publishing a series of historical pamphlets. Written by prominent scholars, the publications include *Upheaval in Albemarle, 1675-1689—The Story of Culpeper's Rebellion; The Lords Proprietors; The Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763; The Highland Scots in North Carolina; The Royal Governors of North Carolina; The Influence of Geography upon Early North Carolina;* and *Colonial Architecture.*

The above pamphlets are also available for purchase by the public for fifty cents each, postpaid. In addition are two pamphlets entitled, *A Selective Music Bibliography from the Period, 1663-1763,* by Dr. James Pruett and Dr. Lee Rigsby, and *Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists, 1663-1763,* by Dr. Arthur Palmer Hudson, also fifty cents each. A series of leaflets on colonial life are distributed by the Commission. The leaflets, *Colonial Carolina Coins and Currency, Colonial Colonists' Costumes* (men and women), *Colonial Carolina Cookery, The Guns of Colonial Carolina,* and *Colonial Carolina Sports,* are available by writing the Charter Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh. Additional leaflets will be available soon.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

The Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, Mr. Norman C. Larson, presented a program on the Fort Fisher salvage operations to members of the High Point Civil War Round Table on November 30. He was assisted in his presentation by Mr. Samuel Townsend, a member of the Hall of History staff and co-ordinator of the preservation aspect of the operation.

On December 5 Mr. Larson met with the production staff of WTVD-Durham to discuss that station's plans to televise Betty Smith's "Durham Station." The one-act play, which was written especially for the North Carolina Confederate Commission, will be adapted for television by Mr. Harry Middleton, WTVD Production Manager, and will be produced in co-operation with the Raleigh Little Theater.

The Executive Secretary was in Rockingham on December 12 to inspect the H. B. Garden collection of Civil War guns. On January 8 he met with the Commission's Audio-Visual Committee in High Point to complete plans for the production by WUNC-TV of a full-length television drama on James J. Pettigrew. Mr. Larson was in Wilmington on January 14 to attend a meeting of the New Hanover County Centennial Committee. The meeting was held to plan the April Confederate States Centennial Conference, which will be held in Wilmington.

The Tenth Plenary Meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission was held in Raleigh, January 17. By unanimous decision, approval was given to the purchase by the Commission of the H. B. Garden Gun Collection. The Collection will be placed in the Hall

of History as a permanent memorial to the Commission and to the period which it commemorates.

Following the Commission meeting, a meeting of the newly elected Board of Directors of the North Carolina Confederate Corporation was held. New Directors are Senator Hector MacLean, Mrs. Alvin Seippel, and Senator R. F. Van Landingham. Re-elected to a second term were Mrs. D. S. Coltrane, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Colonel Hugh Dortch, Judge R. Hunt Parker, Mr. John R. Peacock, and Dr. Robert H. Woody.

In a special interview over WBTV-Charlotte on January 24, Mr. Larson told of the Commission's part in recent operations to salvage materials from the "Modern Greece" and other blockade-runners off the North Carolina coast. The following day, January 25, he spoke on the same topic to members of the Charlotte Civil War Round Table. A sampling of artifacts from the "Modern Greece" illustrated his talk.

Director's Office

On November 30 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director; Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor; and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, of the Department of Archives and History presented a selection of the Department's publications for the permanent library of the Governor's Mansion. Governor Terry Sanford accepted the books for the State. Lt. Col. Thomas A. Price, Jr., newly-appointed Director of the Wilmington-New Hanover Museum at Wilmington, was in Raleigh on December 20 to confer with Dr. Crittenden and Mrs. Jordan.

Mrs. Martha Hutaff, Chairman, and members of the Cross Creek Park Commission, appointed by the Mayor of Fayetteville, met in Raleigh on January 8 to discuss plans for the development of a proposed historic area in Fayetteville. The map prepared for study and discussion includes the Kyle House, purchased in 1962 by the city; a stretch of the Cross Creek bank land; St. John's Episcopal, First Presbyterian, and St. Ann's Catholic churches; several old stores, and various historic buildings and sites; Cool Spring Inn and a number of Confederate gravesites. The project as suggested would also include formal gardens where the city parking lot is located at present. Dr. Crittenden and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, were present for the meeting.

Mr. John G. Dawson of Kinston, Chairman of the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission, and Mayor Guy Elliott of Kinston met with Dr. Crittenden on January 9 and later called on Governor Terry Sanford to request highway funds to pave an access road to and a parking area at the Caswell site. The Governor has since stated that the funds had been made available.

The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and representatives of the various cultural societies which participate in Culture Week each December met on January 26 to make plans for the meetings to be held in December, 1963. On January 17 and February 3 the film telling the story of the salvage operations on the "Modern Greece" was presented on WECT-TV and WRAL-TV, respectively.

On February 11 the Historic Bath Commission met with Chairman Edmund H. Harding presiding. Present were Mrs. Wilton Smith, Secretary; Mrs. Claude Venters, Treasurer; Mr. Dan Paul, Finance Officer; Mrs. Roy Charles, Dr. Crittenden, Mr. Grayson Harding, Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, Rev. A. C. D. Noe, Col. C. Wingate Reed, Hon. Wayland J. Sermons, Bath Mayor Wilton Smith, Mrs. Mary Fowle Stearns, Mrs. John A. Tankard, and Miss Elizabeth Thompson, all members of the Commission; others attending the business meeting were Mrs. Julian Davenport, Mrs. Noe, Mrs. Reed, Miss Anna Riddick, and Mr. Tarlton. The Commission voted unanimously to prepare a suitable memorial resolution to send the family of Mrs. Oscar F. Smith, who had contributed so generously to the restoration of Historic Bath. Plans were made to begin work on the outbuildings and the landscaping of the grounds which is necessary to complete the Palmer-Marsh House restoration. Other projects discussed included the placing of a marker and the building of a fence on the property once owned by John Lawson, and the erection of a 330-foot long pier at Harding's Landing. Col. Reed proposed that the Commission seek an appropriation from the 1963 General Assembly to maintain Bath as a State Historic Site. A number of committees were appointed and ways of promoting Historic Bath as a tourist attraction were discussed. It was decided to open the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses for visitation on March 24 to coincide with ceremonies planned by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

In order to consider a "Historyland Tour" through eastern North Carolina, a conference was held in Raleigh on February 13. Present were Mr. Charles B. Wade of Winston-Salem, Vice-President of R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and Chairman of the Advertising Committee of the Board of Conservation and Development; Mr. R. L. Stallings, Jr., Director, and Mr. Charles J. Parker of the Advertising Division of the Department of Conservation and Development; Mr. Merrill Evans, Chairman of the State Highway Commission; Mr. T. E. Pickard, Jr., of Charlotte, President of the Travel Council of North Carolina; Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, of the Department of Archives and History; and others. It was agreed that the possibilities of developing such a historyland trail, especially in connection with the tourist business, were worth exploring. As a result of the conference a meeting was called in Raleigh for March 19 of leaders from various parts of eastern North Carolina.

The Executive Committee and Chairman of other committees of the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society met in the cafeteria of the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest on February 14. Plans were made for a campaign to raise $15,000 additional which is needed for the restoration of the interior of the Calvin Jones House, where the College had its beginning. Work on the exterior of the house is virtually completed. Mr. James B. Cook, Jr., of Winston-Salem is chairman of the Finance Committee; Dr. Crittenden is President of the Society.

A weekly Associated Press column, "In the Light of History," written by Dr. Crittenden, is being published in the daily afternoon newspapers

of North Carolina. It seeks to cover historical events and developments that are connected with present-day conditions.

In the recommended budget for the Department of Archives and History for the biennium 1963-1965, the Advisory Budget Commission has included $589,478 for the first year and $605,274 for the second year, as compared with the budget of $556,063 for 1962-1963. Also $3,000,000 has been recommended for both the Department and the State Library for a new building, and $50,000 for a security records vault for the Department. On February 21 the Department at a hearing before the Joint Appropriations Committee of the General Assembly requested an additional $15,824 for 1963-1964 and $37,960 for 1964-1965 to continue the Colonial Records Project (administered through December 31, 1963, by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission), and $96,000 for a Fort Fisher visitor center-museum.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, participated in a meeting of the Survey and Standards Committee of the Association of State Librarians' survey of library functions of the States in Chicago, December 7-8. On December 27-30 in the same city he attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and the Council of the Society of American Archivists. At the same time he met with representatives of the latter Society and the American Association for State and Local History for the purpose of developing plans for the joint meeting of the two organizations in Raleigh, October 2-5, 1963. He also attended the Governor's Conference on Maps and Mapping in Chapel Hill on December 11.

Compilation of a *Union List of North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1900,* being edited by Mr. Jones and Mr. Julius H. Avant from data gathered by the Department and the Committee on the Conservation of Newspaper Resources of the North Carolina Library Association, was continued, and publication is expected before the end of the spring.

In the Microfilm Services Center, 1,253 reels of microfilm consisting of 123,440 feet were processed during the quarter ending December 31, 1962. In addition to the negative film of State, county and church records processed, this quantity included 162 reels of positive copies of newspapers on microfilm sold to individuals and institutions. During the same period filming was completed for every known issue of newspapers published in Edenton, Elizabeth City, New Bern, and Wadesboro prior to 1901 and work was begun on filming of the *Wilmington Messenger.*

The Laminating Shop restored 23,682 pages of deteriorating records by the Barrow method, including 16,961 pages of county records. In addition, the staff members laminated 1,907 pages outside of office hours for individuals and institutions.

A series of staff meetings in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts was inaugurated on November 14 when the State Records Section sponsored a demonstration of its records management, microfilm, Records Center, and archival appraisal program. The Local Records Section was host on December 14, and the Archives on January 9. The meetings, de-

signed to co-ordinate more closely the extensive activities of the Division, will continue on a less frequent schedule.

The most notable additions to the holdings in the Archives during the quarter ending December 31, 1962, were the official letter books of Governor Zebulon B. Vance, 1862-1864, and an index to miscellaneous letters and telegrams, 1862-1865, which were transferred from the National Archives. These books were captured by Union troops in 1865 and taken to Washington. In 1888 copies were made by the War Department and sent to the Governor of North Carolina. The return of the originals to the Archives is the culmination of many years of effort on the part of the Department to have these valuable records returned to their rightful custody.

Other accessions during the quarter totaled 125. Included were public records from nine State agencies; reports of separation from the North Carolina Selective Service Office; and the newspaper collection of Mr. Joffre Bunker consisting of copies of 23 North Carolina publications, 1868-1953, and totaling 173 items.

The papers of the late Nell Battle Lewis, newspaperwoman and prominent Raleigh citizen, have been arranged and described, and through the co-operation of the State Library are now available to researchers in the Archives. This valuable collection covering the years 1926-1956 contains correspondence, articles, clippings, and pamphlets on a wide variety of subjects including politics, literature, history, labor strife, psychic phenomena, and segregation.

During the quarter 540 researchers visited the Search Room and 754 letters requesting information from the Archives were answered. Photocopies numbering 716, together with 102 paper prints from microfilm and 33 typed certified copies, were furnished to the public from records in the Archives.

The accumulation of Halifax County records already in the Archives has been augumented by the following additional records received from the register of deeds: record of deeds (1819-1829), cross-indexes to deeds (1732-1889), record of elections (1878-1922), and a marriage register (1872-1895).

The permanently valuable records of 26 counties have now been microfilmed and work is in progress in Alamance, Mecklenburg, Halifax, and Hertford. Microfilming in the first two counties named is being done by county personnel, with the advice and assistance of the Department. For the program of microfilming by the Department, counties are selected according to age.

Microfilm copies of the counties and churches listed below have recently been placed in the Search Room and are now available to researchers:

Edgecombe County: Record of deeds (1759-1928), marriage registers (1851-1961), indexes to vital statistics (1914-1961), County Court minutes (1757-1868), Superior Court minutes (1862-1924), records of estates and of fiduciaries of estates (1830-1861), wills (1760-1959), inheritance tax records (1920-1961), maiden names of divorced women (1940-1960), orders and decrees and special proceedings (1868-1931), records of election (1878-1960), military discharges (1918-1961), minutes of board

of county commissioners (1868-1933), and of the county board of education (1885-1907), marriage licenses (1866-1961).

Granville County: Record of deeds and land entries (1746-1923), marriage bonds and certificates (1758-1868), marriage registers (1867-1961), indexes to vital statistics (1913-1961), County Court minutes (1746-1868), Superior Court minutes (1807-1928), Equity minutes (1825-1851), miscellaneous bonds (1802-1917), records of estates and of fiduciaries of estates (1868-1961), wills (1749-1961), inheritance tax records (1923-1950), tax lists (1767-1935), special proceedings (1852-1925), record of incorporations and partnerships (1895-1961), military discharges (1921-1962), and minutes of board of county commissioners (1868-1925).

Churches: Various types of records of Calvary Episcopal, Tarboro (1898-1961), Howard Memorial Presbyterian, Tarboro (1890-1958), Primitive Baptist, Tarboro (1908-1961), Baptist, Oxford (1881-1961), Enon Baptist, Granville County (1875-1934), New Hope Baptist, Berea (1886-1891), Pope's Chapel Christian, Pocomoke (1859-1961), St. Stephen's, Oxford (1832-1949), Geneva Presbyterian, Granville County (1823-1912), Presbyterian, Oxford (1821-1887), First Baptist, Clayton (1839-1962), Primitive Baptist, Smithfield (1847-1960), Lee's Chapel Christian, Four Oaks (1923-1956).

In the records restoration program, the job of repairing Rowan County records has been completed, a total of 8 volumes of wills and 36 volumes of deeds having been laminated, rebound, and returned to the county. Restoration work is done in conjunction with microfilming in each county and a large number of old records of Cumberland, Mecklenburg, and Halifax counties are now being laminated and rebound.

The local records program received, on December 7, a Certificate of Commendation from the American Association for State and Local History for "exemplary effectiveness in organizing and carrying out a statewide program of local records management and security." It was also featured in the National Association of Counties' report on "Records Management and Preservation for National Survival" as "probably the most comprehensive and singularly successful state-assistance program" in the United States, and the President of the National Association of County Recorders and Clerks, writing in the December, 1962, issue of the *County Officer,* called the *County Records Manual,* edited by Mr. Jones and Admiral Patterson, "one of the most significant recording documents of the year."

By the end of 1962 the records scheduling project of the State Records Section was virtually completed, with the records of almost all State agencies under disposition and retention control. Records of the Hospitals Board of Control and the Department of Water Resources were scheduled for the first time; and revisions of the Department of Archives and History, Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, and Department of Public Welfare schedules were approved. Schedules for the Board of Higher Education, State Library, and North Carolina State College are in the hands of the respective agencies for approval. The Department of Public Instruction and State Highway Commission schedules have been amended.

Other activities centered about a series of workshops which have been made available to State agencies. In December Mr. A. K. Johnson, Jr., Chief of the Records Management Division, National Archives and Records Service, Atlanta, conducted the Correspondence Management and Plain Letters workshop for 21 persons representing eight agencies. He also gave the Forms Improvement workshop to 18 persons representing nine agencies. Both of these workshops have been purchased from the Federal Government and will be made available to all State agencies.

The *Records Management Handbook: Files and Filing* has been issued and is accompanied by a workshop which has been developed by the records management staff. The handbook and workshop are expected to solve many of the less serious filing problems that constantly harass the State employees who are responsible for filing and finding.

Files reorganization surveys have been conducted in the Department of Archives and History, office of the Board of Public Welfare's Consultant for Negro work, and the Board of Architects. The State Librarian has asked for a reorganization of the files of the State Library and the Commissioner of Public Welfare has asked for assistance in streamlining the Board's extensive files.

The study of fiscal paperwork and systems throughout the State is approaching completion. Because of wide variations in fiscal practices, it now appears that it may not be feasible to issue a general schedule for fiscal records that will have state-wide applicability. Standards will be developed, however, that will be applied to fiscal records of individual agencies as their disposition schedules are prepared or revised.

In the Microfilm Project 144 reels containing 672,566 images were filmed during the quarter ending December 31, 1962. Filming of the original Supreme Court cases has been resumed and the film of the Monthly Reports on the Budget, 1925-55 and 1955-57, has been re-indexed.

In the State Records Center 1,403 cubic feet were accessioned and 1,360 cubic feet disposed of, resulting in a net increase of 43 cubic feet in the quarter ending December 31, 1962. The total holdings of the Records Center were 24,612 cubic feet. January and February saw accessions of more than 2,000 cubic feet, thus bringing the holdings 1,000 cubic feet above capacity.

On January 4, 1963, the General Services Division, Department of Administration, opened bids for rewiring the Records Center and replacing and relocating all light fixtures in the storage areas. All of the existing shelving has been moved into the location called for in the new lay-out, and it is hoped that additional shelving will be available for installation after the electrical work is completed.

References services totaled 11,136, including 5,349 items furnished and 5,787 items refiled or interfiled. There were 70 visitors from 14 State agencies, State College, U.S. Army Intelligence, and U.S. Probation Office.

Division of Historic Sites

The Richardson Foundation of Greensboro and New York has approved final grants totaling $10,000 from the $50,000 Challenge Grant which the

Foundation made to the Department two years ago to assist historic site and restoration projects. The $10,000 will be divided as follows: $7,500 to the President James K. Polk Birthplace near Charlotte; $2,000 to the Lenoir County Confederate Centennial Committee, Kinston, for the purchase of artifacts taken from the Confederate Ram "Neuse" which was raised from the Neuse River last year; and $500 to the Wake Forest College Birthplace (Calvin Jones House) restoration at Wake Forest. The Wake Forest project received last year an earlier Richardson grant of $6,000. On December 27 Mr. Alexander Schenck of Charlotte, Southeastern Representative of the Foundation, and Mr. Newton P. Hoey of Charlotte, Treasurer, visited the Department and conferred with Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Tarlton concerning the Foundation's interest in the Department's program.

Mr. Max F. Harris completed research and a full report on the controversial problem of Andrew Jackson's birthplace and in December joined the staff of the North Carolina Film Board on a temporary research assignment. He is gathering pictorial and descriptive information for a movie on the first century of North Carolina history after the Charter of 1663, which will be produced by the Film Board for the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

At Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site the new visitor center-museum is being outfitted with interpretive exhibits. Mr. Frank Walsh, Historic Site Specialist in charge of exhibits for the Division, is handling the project in collaboration with Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Specialist in charge of the Town Creek Site and Dr. Joffre L. Coe, Director of the Laboratories of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina and consultant to the Department on archeology and restoration at Town Creek. The new visitor center-museum will be in full use by the end of February. A special dedicatory program is being planned for the latter part of April.

Assisted by members of the staff, the Wake Forest College Birthplace restoration at Wake Forest is making rapid progress. Mr. N. B. Bragg is giving close supervision to the work of restoration and Mr. W. S. Tarlton is acting as restoration consultant. Mr. James H. Craig is doing research for the committee on furniture and other furnishings. The Wake Forest College Birthplace Society, Inc., of which Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department, is President, is administering the project. Exterior restoration is almost complete and plans are being made to restore the interior.

At the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site near Weaverville, Buncombe County, a site is now being acquired for the visitor center-museum soon to be constructed. Mr. Bert King of Asheville, Architect, has been engaged to draw plans and specifications for this building, which will be used as an orientation center for visitors and to house exhibits on the life and career of Governor Vance, North Carolina's Civil War Governor. It is expected that the plans will be ready for the letting of contracts by early summer.

Through the co-operation of the State Highway Department, the Federal Bureau of Public Roads has authorized the erection of two direc-

tional signs on Interstate 85 near Burlington pointing the way to the Alamance Battleground State Historic Site. These signs, soon to be erected, are expected to boost visitation at the Battleground appreciatively. Heretofore there was no way of calling attention to motorists on I-85 that this important historic site was located nearby. Mr. N. B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist in charge of the Bennett Place near Durham, site of the surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate Army to Union General William T. Sherman, 1865, has assisted in the organization of a special Bennett Place Improvement Citizen's Committee, whose objective is the general development of the Bennett Place project. The Committee will promote a campaign for funds to construct a visitor center-museum, critically needed as a means of interpreting the historic site. This Committee consists of Mr. Charles Pattishall, Chairman, Dr. Richard L. Pearse, Rev. Robert Watson, Professor Paul Bryun, Professor Albert Buehler, Professor I. B. Holley, Mr. Herbert Bradshaw, Mr. Charles Sullivan, and Mr. Ernie Greup, all of Durham. A cast aluminum historical marker has recently been erected on the highway at the Bennett Place calling the restoration to the attention of travelers.

The Hillsborough Historical Society, upon the invitation of representatives of the National Park Service's Historic American Buildings Survey, Philadelphia, is undertaking a project for surveying 10 or more historic buildings in Hillsboro. Mr. Tarlton, Historic Site Superintendent, has agreed to assist.

At the Governor Charles B. Aycock Birthplace, near Fremont, plans are being made to restore the Aycock stables and other features in the barnyard area. The project will include the construction of split rail and other appropriate types of fences. A flagpole is being acquired to be placed at the entrance. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist in charge, has written a new leaflet for distribution to visitors and the leaflet has been published by the Department. Mr. Sawyer reports that since the opening of the new visitor center-museum in November, visitation to the project has increased steadily. Cub Scout groups from Goldsboro and Wilson visited the site during January. A circular letter addressed to all the school principals in the eastern half of the State has been prepared and will shortly go into the mail, inviting school groups to visit the site.

At Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site plans are being perfected for a visitor center-museum building which is expected to be constructed during the summer. Mr. Alan Ingram of Charlotte, Architect, is the designer. The Smithfield Junior Chamber of Commerce is undertaking a fund drive to raise the $6,000 needed to finance the proposed $40,000 building. A total of $34,000 is already available. The Jaycees are sending letters to "history minded" people in North Carolina asking for contributions. The Johnston County Historical Society is currently working on furnishings for one of the bedrooms in the Harper House located on the battlefield. At Brunswick Town State Historic Site the Archeologist, Mr. Stanley A. South, is revising a number of archeological reports for publication. Interpretive drawings to be used as illustrations for the reports have been made by Mr. Don Mayhew, a member of the

Brunswick Town staff. As weather permits, archeological digging is continuing on one of the eighteenth-century town lots. Mr. South made a report on Brunswick Town at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities in Raleigh, December 6.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist at Fort Fisher State Historic Site, reports that visitation during the winter months has remained good, especially on Sunday afternoons. Much interest has been aroused by the recent exhibition on Battle Acre of 12 large timbers which were uncovered in the surf by the storm of March, 1962. These hand-hewed lightwood timbers, containing iron spikes and other fittings, possibly are from the bomb proofs of the Confederate fort. A bronze plaque from the United States Department of the Interior, designating Fort Fisher as a national historic landmark, has been erected in the museum pavilion. Mr. Honeycutt has met with the New Hanover County Confederate Centennial Committee, the Fort Fisher Restoration Committee, and has spoken to the Wilmington Junior Optimist Club, the Wilmington Lions Club, the Methodist Men's Fellowship, Winter Park Methodist Church, Wilmington, a woman's group of the Temple Baptist Church, and the Johnston Pettigrew Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Mr. Richard W. Iobst, Specialist for the Historical Highway Marker Program, represented the Department at the dedication of a marker for Huggins' Island Fort in Swansboro on January 19. On January 20 Mr. W. S. Tarlton presented a marker for Pleasant Grove Camp Ground at Mineral Springs, Union County.

Division of Museums

On November 1 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, and Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, visited the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site to make photographs to be used to publicize the opening of the Visitor Center-Museum. They were present also at the dedication ceremonies on November 18. Mrs. Jordan met in Winston-Salem on November 19 with officers of several organizations to discuss plans for the National Trust for Historic Preservation Seminar to be held later in co-ordination with the Winston-Salem group. Mrs. Futrell on November 26 visited the Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site to make photographs and on December 11 she returned to the Aycock Birthplace to photograph the new Visitor Center-Museum for a future brochure.

On November 30 Mr. Samuel Townsend, Administrative Assistant, gave a talk and slide program on the "Preservation of Artifacts from the 'Modern Greece' " at the Civil War Round Table meeting in High Point. Mrs. Jordan met with a group of interested persons in Elizabeth City on January 8 to make further plans for the proposed museum there, and on January 16 she attended the Mid-Winter Council meeting of the American Association of Museums in Washington, D. C. Members of the staff assisted in preparing exhibits for a small on-campus museum at the State

School for the Blind in Raleigh. Mr. Gene H. Anthony, faculty member, and other personnel helped co-ordinate this unusual project.

Division of Publications

Sales of publications increased with the opening of the school year, and the fourth quarter brought receipts totaling $7,320. Of this sum $4,860 was retained by the Department and $2,460 was turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 350 documentary volumes, 248 letter books of governors, 539 small books, 9,080 pamphlets, charts, and maps, 27,275 leaflets and brochures, and 1,214 copies of the list of available publications. The grand total was 38,706. In addition the last sets of *The North Carolina Historical Review* were sold, making a total of 127 sets and receipts of $3,452 from the special promotion of *The Review*. The backlog of remaining copies was sold to Mr. David Stick, Kitty Hawk. Persons interested in sets are being referred to Mr. Stick. There were 110 new subscriptions and 574 renewals to the quarterly during the fourth quarter. The three-month sale of documentary volumes resulted in receipts of $763.

Copy for Volume IX of the *Records of the Moravians* was taken to the printer near the end of January. The biographical sketch of Governor Zebulon B. Vance, written by Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, was sent to the Department in January. The front matter for Volume I of the Vance Papers was also sent to the printer in January. The documentary section of this volume is in type, so the volume should be available for sale before the end of the fiscal year. Copy for a history of Lenoir County, written by Mr. W. S. Powell for school children, was sent to the printer in January, and plans were made to issue this pamphlet early in the 1963 General Assembly's session. It is hoped that an appropriation will be granted to enable the Department to continue the series of county histories designed for school use.

The twenty-ninth biennial report of the Department, entitled *Selling Tarheel History,* was issued early in January. Covering the period July 1, 1960, through June 30, 1962, the publication summarizes the work of each division of the Department, the Tryon Palace Commission, and the Tercentenary and Confederate Centennial commissions. Statistical tables are included as well as lists of accessions in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and the Division of Museums. Over 1,800 copies were distributed during January.

The pamphlet on the State Seal was reprinted early in 1963, with 5,000 copies being delivered. Several historic sites brochures were rewritten and published in a simplified and inexpensive edition. Eventually pamphlets on each site will be available at a nominal cost; these will give more details and contain more illustrations than the previously-issued free leaflets.

A new list of North Carolina historical societies, officers, and other pertinent data was compiled in co-operation with the Historic Sites Division. Copies of this mimeographed list are available upon request to the Division of Publications.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, spoke to the Entre Nous Book Club in Raleigh on December 11, to the Ann Hathaway Book Club on January 8, and to the Rho Alpha Book Club on January 22.

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant, spoke in Raleigh on February 8 to the Bloomsbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, and on February 12 she attended the annual Book and Author's Luncheon of the Historical Book Club of North Carolina which was held in Greensboro.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. James Edward King, a Professor of History at the University of North Carolina since 1948, died on December 23, 1962. Dr. King was a specialist in French history, the author of several articles and a book released in 1950, and the recipient of the Tanner Award for outstanding undergraduate teaching in 1959. At the time of his death Dr. King was in Washington, D. C., on a Guggenheim Fellowship engaged in writing a projected volume, Origins of the Idea of Public Welfare. Dr. James R. Caldwell was the winner of the 1962 Freshman Class Teaching and Service Award at the University.

Dr. Ina W. Van Noppen of Appalachian State Teachers College spoke on "Yankee Raiders in the South" on December 13 in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Her address was a part of the centennial observance of the Battle of Fredericksburg, sponsored by the Woman's Club for the people of the city.

Funds are available for additional grants-in-aid, up to the limit of $1,000 for each grant given by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, Independence, Missouri. The Institute's committee on grants-in-aid will consider applications for projects involving the Truman administration and the history of the Presidency. It has adopted a policy of favoring grants to promising students and young scholars rather than to those who have already established a reputation in the various appropriate fields of research. Application forms are available from Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director of the Library, Independence, Missouri.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held its annual business meeting and subscription luncheon on December 4 at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh. Mrs. Fred W. Morrison of Washington, D. C., and Kill Devil Hills presided at the business session and announced the appointment of Mr. John Fox of Raleigh as Vice-Chairman and General Manager of "The Lost Colony," the outdoor drama sponsored by the Association. Reports were made by various committees and by Mr. F. Edgar Thomas of Chapel Hill, General Manager for the 1961-1962 season. Officers, including Mrs. Morrison, who were re-elected are Mrs. Burwell Evans of Manteo, Secretary, and Mr. Chauncey S. Meekins of Manteo, Treasurer. Mr. William L. Long, head of the Dramatic Arts Department at Winthrop College, will serve as Director of "The Lost Colony," and Miss Elizabeth Welch of Salem College will be Assistant Director.

Also on December 4 the North Carolina Federation of Music Clubs opened its sixth annual "Music Day" with a coffee hour followed by an afternoon session at which Mrs. Floyd D. Mehan of High Point presided. Persons appearing on the program were Miss Kay Franklin of Raleigh, violinist and 1962 winner of the Transylvania Music Camp Scholarship; Miss Yoko Nozaki of Durham, pianist; Miss Julia Ribet of Raleigh, who sang colonial folk songs and who is Administrative Assistant of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; and Mr. Arnold E. Hoffmann of Raleigh, who spoke on "North Carolina's Unique School Music Program." Following the program the Composition Awards for 1962 were presented to the winners of the Federation's Composition Contest. Mrs. Mehan presided at the dinner meeting, at which Dr. Benjamin F. Swalin, Director of the North Carolina Symphony Society, spoke on "This Is Your Music." Miss Eva Wiseman directed the Burlington Rotary Choir Boys in a musical program after which Miss Janice Elizabeth Barron, Miss North Carolina of 1963, played piano selections. Others appearing on the program were Mr. Carroll Stegall of Wake Forest College, baritone; Miss Beth Troy of Salem College, pianist; Mrs. John B. Russell of Greensboro, soprano, accompanied by Mr. Phillip Morgan of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; and Miss Emily Vinson of East Carolina College, pianist.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society was held in Raleigh on December 5 with the morning session devoted to reports and the election of directors. Officers were re-elected by the directors at an afternoon meeting of the board. They are Dr. Joseph Sloane of Chapel Hill, President; Mrs. George W. Paschal, Jr., Vice-President; Mr. Charles Lee Smith, Treasurer; and Mrs. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Jr., Executive Secretary. The last three officers are all of Raleigh. Five artists received awards in the 1962 North Carolina Artists' Exhibition—the awards of $100 each being provided by the Art Society through a grant from the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation. Recipients were Mr. Russell Arnold of Wilson, Mr. Robert Howard of Chapel Hill, Mr. James Bumgardner of Richmond, Virginia, Mr. Grant Joslin and Mr. W. Herbert Jackson, Jr., both of Raleigh. Citations for outstanding contributions to the visual arts were awarded by Dr. Sloane to Mrs. Ola Maie Foushee of Chapel Hill, Mrs. Lois B. Tracy of Asheville, Mrs. W. T. Thorpe, Jr., of Rocky Mount, Miss Jeta Pace of Greensboro, Mr. Peter B. Young of Raeford, Mrs. H. P. Bell, Jr., of Currie, Mrs. Ruth Faison Shaw of Chapel Hill, Mrs. Louis V. Sutton of Raleigh, and Mrs. J. A. Kellenberger of Greensboro. A posthumous citation was given for the work of the late Clemens Sommer of Chapel Hill. An address by Dr. McNeil Lowry of New York, Director of the Ford Foundation Program in the Humanities and the Arts, was the highlight of the evening meeting which was held in the Highway Building Auditorium. Later a reception and preview of the North Carolina Artists' Exhibition was held at the Museum of Art.

The Associated Artists of North Carolina held a dinner meeting on December 5 at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh. The Association sponsored

an invitational members' show at the Erdahl-Cloyd Union Building at North Carolina State College which was open throughout Culture Week. Officers of the Association are Mr. William C. Fields of Fayetteville, President; Mr. James E. Tucker of Greensboro, Vice-President; Mrs. Mackey Jeffries of Raleigh, Secretary; and Mr. Edward N. Wilson of Durham, Treasurer.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its thirty-second annual session in Raleigh on December 6. Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., of Fayetteville presided at the morning business meeting at which restoration reports were made by Mr. Edmund Harding on Bath, Mrs. A. G. Engstrom on Hillsboro, Mr. Tucker Littleton on Swansboro, Mr. Ralph P. Hanes on Old Salem, and Dr. E. Lawrence Lee on Old Brunswick Town. The Society approved a project to survey the historic houses and buildings of North Carolina. Mrs. Tally stated that the School of Design at North Carolina State College would co-operate in making the study which will eventually be recorded by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Officers re-elected at the business session are Mrs. Tally, President; Mr. Dan M. Paul of Raleigh, Vice-President; Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh, Secretary-Treasurer; and Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord and Mrs. Ernest L. Ives of Southern Pines, honorary presidents. Mr. Charles F. Peterson, Architect of Philadelphia, spoke at the luncheon on "An Architect Looks at Historic Preservation." The Raleigh Woman's Club entertained members of the Society with a historical tour followed by a tea. During the evening the Dramatic Arts Department of Wilmington College presented "The Prince of Parthia" by Thomas Godfrey, first play written in America. Mr. Douglas W. Swink directed the play. Cannon Awards were presented to Mr. J. H. Knox of Salisbury for his work in the Setzer School restoration project, to Mr. Donald Carrow of Bath for his work on the Palmer-Marsh and Bonner houses, and to Mr. Sam T. Snowdon of Laurinburg for his work in the restoration of the Old Temperance and Literary Society Hall and the John Charles McNeill Memorial Gardens both near Wagram in Scotland County. The Fayetteville Woman's Club received the award presented annually by the Society to the woman's club in the State which does the best work in historic preservation. A reception for members and guests concluded the meetings of the Society.

The sixty-second annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was held at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh on December 7. Mr. Henry J. MacMillan of Wilmington presided at the morning business session at which time Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro, Chairman of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, spoke on "A History Building for North Carolina." Mr. J. A. Chaney of Raleigh, Book Editor of *The News and Observer,* reviewed North Carolina fiction for 1961-1962. Dr. Robert N. Elliott of North Carolina State College presented the R. D. W. Connor Award given by the Historical Society of North Carolina to the author of the article (published in *The North Carolina Historical Review* in the four issues ending with that of July) in the field of North Carolina history or biography. Dr.

Otto H. Olsen, Professor of History at Old Dominion College, Norfolk, Virginia, received the 1962 Connor Award for his article, "The Ku Klux Klan: A Study in Reconstruction Politics and Propaganda." Mr. W. S. Tarlton, representing the American Association for State and Local History, presented Awards of Merit to Mr. Jonathan Daniels for his book, *The Devil's Backbone: The Story of the Natchez Trace*; State Department of Archives and History for the preservation of local records (accepted by Rear Adm. A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist, Local Records Section); Salisbury City Schools for the restoration of the Setzer School (accepted by Mr. Harold E. Isenberg, Principal of the J. H. Knox Junior High School, and Mr. Claude E. Pickett, history teacher); Historic Bath Commission for restorations in Bath (accepted by Mr. Edmund H. Harding, Chairman of the Commission); and the United States Navy for salvage work on the "Modern Greece" (accepted by Commander Victor M. Davis of the United States Naval Training Station in Wilmington). Mr. L. S. Blades, Jr., of Elizabeth City presided at the subscription luncheon when Dr. C. Hugh Holman of Chapel Hill gave a review of North Carolina nonfiction for 1961-1962. Mr. Henry W. Lewis of Chapel Hill presented the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mrs. Helen Bevington of Durham for *When Found, Make a Verse Of*. The American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award was won by Mr. Manly Wade Wellman of Chapel Hill for *Rifles at Ramsour's Mill: A Tale of the Revolutionary War*. Mrs. Cecil Gilliatt of Shelby made the presentation. Judge Johnson J. Hayes of Wilkesboro presided at the dinner meeting at which time Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson of Davidson College gave his presidential address. Dr. Davidson was in charge of the evening meeting at which the featured speaker was Dr. Clifford L. Lord, Dean of the School of General Studies of Columbia University. His topic was "Localized History in the Age of Explosions." Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of Chapel Hill, Governor of the North Carolina Colony of Mayflower Descendants, presented the Mayflower Society Award for nonfiction, 1961-1962, to Mr. William P. (Bill) Sharpe, Editor of *The State* magazine and the series, *A New Geography of North Carolina*. The award was made for Mr. Sharpe's contribution to the history of the State over a period of years rather than for a specific volume. Miss Clara Booth Byrd of Greensboro, President of the Historical Book Club of North Carolina, presented the Sir Walter Award for fiction, 1961-1962, to Mr. Reynolds Price, a member of the English faculty at Duke University, for *A Long and Happy Life*. A reception for members, guests, and recipients of the various awards was held immediately following the evening meeting.

The fifty-first annual session of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held on the afternoon of December 7 with President Richard Walser of Raleigh in charge of the meeting. Miss Jean Moser, teacher and band director at Brevard College, gave a slide lecture, "Norwegian Folk Musical Instruments"; Dr. Arthur Palmer Hudson of Chapel Hill spoke on *Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists, 1663-1763*, his book published recently by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. Dr. Dan Brock, guitarist, and Miss Guerry Matthews of the University of North Carolina

sang ballads of the colonial period. Madison County native Obray Ramsey, banjoist and singer, sang songs of the French Broad River, accompanied by Mr. Tom Hunter, guitarist. Oil paintings, depicting "North Carolina Folk Heroes" by Mr. Artus M. Moser of Swannanoa, were exhibited at the meeting. In a brief business session the following officers were elected to serve during the Golden Anniversary year of the Society: Dr. E. H. Hartsell of Chapel Hill, President; General John D. F. Phillips of Raleigh, First Vice-President; Miss Ruth Jewell of Raleigh, Second Vice-President; and Dr. Hudson, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Central Carolina Colony of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina held its annual breakfast meeting on December 8 in honor of Mr. William P. (Bill) Sharpe, winner of the 1962 Mayflower Award. Dr. Sturgis Leavitt of Chapel Hill is Governor of the North Carolina Society; Mrs. W. G. Allen of Raleigh, the Lieutenant-Governor, presided at the meeting.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians held their twenty-first annual meeting in Raleigh on December 8. Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson of Greensboro, who was re-elected President, presided. Mrs. S. R. Prince of Reidsville gave a report on the various historical tours held in the State during 1962. Mr. William S. Powell of Chapel Hill presented the Hodges High School Award to Miss Donna Graham of Hubert for her article on the history of Swansboro which was published in the *Jacksonville Daily Times*. Mr. F. C. Salisbury of Morehead City was presented the Smithwick Newspaper Award by Mr. Charles Dunn of Durham. Mr. Salisbury, who had previously won the Smithwick Award, had his article on Carteret County newspapers published in a special edition of the *Carteret News-Times* on February 23. Mr. T. H. Pearce of Franklinton won second place in the Smithwick competition; Mr. Perry Young of Asheville and Mr. Howard Jones of Warrenton tied for third place. Dr. D. J. Whitener of Boone gave an address, "The Teaching of Local History—A Report." Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, and Mrs. Frances Ashford, Education Curator, both of the Department of Archives and History, spoke briefly on the Junior Historian program. Other officers re-elected at the business session were Mr. S. T. Peace, Henderson; Mrs. Musella W. Wagner, Chapel Hill; and Mr. John H. McPhaul, Jr., all Vice-Presidents, and Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett of Greensboro, Secretary-Treasurer. The luncheon meeting featured the Mockingbird Combo of Henderson, led by Mr. S. T. Peace. Miss Iris Beckham performed a Spanish dance accompanied by Mr. Jerry Oberton, guitarist. Others on the program were Miss Margaret Brown and Mrs. Gaither Greenway.

On November 25 the Person County Historical Society unveiled a Historical Highway Marker in honor of William Robert (Sawney) Webb, native of the County and a famous schoolmaster for whom the Webb School in Bell Buckle, Tennessee, is named. Mr. Byrd I. Satterfield, President of the Society, was in charge of the program. Other participants

were the Rev. George Webb, Mrs. C. W. Stanford, Dr. William C. Friday, Mr. W. E. Webb, Sr., Daniel Clary Webb III, and Rev. L. P. Martin.

The Alexander County Historical Society met on January 19 in the County Courthouse.

Mrs. J. M. Ballard, President, presided at the January 19 meeting of the Catawba County Historical Association. Dr. Kenneth B. Lee of Lenoir Rhyne College was the guest speaker.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin, December, 1962, has an article, "History of Lowell Methodist Church," by Kate Hovis; an article on the genealogy of the Hand family by Mrs. Lottie Hand Mussman, and some old cemetery records of Gaston County compiled by the late Mrs. M. B. Wales. The feature story on the Rev. Mr. Dubbert was continued from the July issue.

The *Rowan Museum News Letter* for January, 1963, contains an article on the presentation to the Museum of the flag which flew over the Confederate Prison at Salisbury during the Civil War. The flag was presented by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator of the Department of Archives and History, on an indefinite loan. It was returned to the State last summer by the Governor of Indiana for the first time since it was captured by the Ninety-First Regiment, Indiana Infantry, at the end of the Civil War. The *News Letter* also contains a report on the Antiques Show, recent acquisitions, and several letters. Mrs. Edward T. Taylor, on November 15, was named Assistant to the Director, Mrs. Gettys Guille.

On January 21 the Wilkes County Historical Society met with President T. E. Story presiding. A report on the sales of the history of the County by Judge Johnson J. Hayes was made and Mrs. Gaylord Hancock and Mrs. Edd Gardner gave a program on the tercentenary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663.

On January 26 the Western North Carolina Historical Association met in Asheville with Admiral Ligon Ard presiding. Mr. James A. Duffy read a paper, Miss Myra Champion presented an exhibit of North Caroliniana, and plans for the November meeting of the Southern Historical Association to be held in Asheville were discussed.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met on January 28 with President Silas Whedbee presiding. Plans were discussed for the celebration in the County of the tercentenary of the signing of the Carolina Charter. Every church in the County was asked to plan commemorative services for March 24. Mrs. C. R. Holmes, Mrs. Mildred Whitley, and Mrs. S. P. Jessup were in charge of the program. Mr. David Cox exhibited a collection of Confederate money.

Mr. Voit Gilmore of Southern Pines and Washington, D. C., spoke to members of the Hillsborough Historical Society on January 28. Mr. Gilmore is head of the federal agency formed by Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges to promote travel abroad and in the United States. The Hillsborough Society has a long-range program to preserve and promote Hillsboro as a historic shrine. "News-Letter," No. 6, official publication of the Hillsborough Society, notes that the present membership of the group is 234. Other items in the bulletin include a report on the request to the General Assembly that a Historic Hillsboro Commission be appointed; a list of grants and gifts; a short note on the success of charter member Richard McKenna's book, *The Sand Pebbles*; plans for the spring pilgrimage and odds-and-ends sale to be held April 27-28; and a report on the House on Lot 45 recently purchased by the Society. *Historic Hillsborough,* compiled by the Society, was released in February. The publication contains a large map to be used for a walking tour which lists 65 points of interest as well as tourist accommodations. A history of Hillsboro, seat of Orange County, and excellent sketches of sites, houses, and gardens complete the brochure which is available from the Hillsborough Historical Society, Inc., c/o Dr. Charles H. Blake, President, Box 613, Hillsboro.

The Durham-Orange Historical Society met on January 31 to hear a progress report on the history of Durham County. Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., of Duke University, one of the authors, spoke briefly as did Mr. H. C. Bradshaw of Durham, who is writing the chapters on the social life of the County. Others collaborating in preparing the history of Durham are Dr. W. B. Hamilton, co-editor, Dr. Richard Leach, Dr. Charles E. Landon, and Dr. Edgar Thompson, all of Duke University; Dr. Warner Wells of the University of North Carolina; Hon. R. O. Everett of Durham; and Dr. Stuart Noblin of North Carolina State College. Mr. Wyatt T. Dixon, newspaperman and Secretary of the Society, received a citation for his outstanding contribution in stimulating interest in the history of Durham. The Hon. A. H. "Sandy" Graham, Vice-Chairman of the Society, served as master of ceremonies; the Hon. R. O. Everett is Chairman.

The Lincoln County Chamber of Commerce, Lincolnton, has issued an illustrated 18-page booklet, *Many Interesting Places to See in Lincoln County.* The Historical Highway Markers located in the county are explained and points of interest to visit are noted. The First National Bank, the First Citizens Bank and Trust Company, *The Lincoln Times,* the Lincolnton Savings and Loan Association, and the Clark Corporation united to sponsor publication of the pamphlet.

The Chatham County Historical Society met on January 9 for the first time in more than a year. Mrs. Harry Horton, Vice-President, presided, and Mr. Jason B. Deyton, Superintendent of Chatham County Schools, was guest speaker. On February 5 Mrs. Edward Holmes of Pittsboro was elected President of the Society. Other officers for the coming year are

Mrs. W. B. Carroll, Siler City, Vice-President; and the following, all of Pittsboro: Miss Eliza Bynum, Secretary; Mr. John London, Treasurer; and Mr. William B. Morgan, Historian. The Society made plans to inventory family and public cemeteries; a committee was appointed to direct this project for which Mr. Lemuel Johnson will prepare a map.

The *Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Inc. Bulletin* for February contains the message of President Randolph L. Gregory, an article, "Cape Fear River Boats," by Mr. Henry J. MacMillan, a notice of the recently issued brochure on the Wilmington Historic Area, a brief article on the Louis T. Moore Memorial Fund, and a report on the development of Fort Fisher.

The Burke County Historical Society met on February 12 with Mr. Stanley Moore, President, in charge of the meeting. Dr. Edward W. Phifer of Morganton, former president of the Society, spoke on "Broadening Concepts of Local History"; a panel discussion followed the talk.

A meeting of the Pitt County Historical Society was held on February 13 with Miss Elizabeth Copeland, President, in charge of the meeting. Plans for Pitt County's participation in the tercentenary celebration of the Carolina Charter of 1663 were revealed. Miss Copeland, Mrs. W. I. Wooten, Judge Dink James, Dr. Charles Price, Dr. Herbert Paschal, and Dr. James Butler served on the planning committee.

The Swansboro Historical Association was recently presented two new collections for its museum. The first, mostly relics, was given by Mr. W. D. Norris of Swansboro and Mr. J. A. Norris of Washington, N. C. The second, more than 200 documents, was collected by Mr. Francis K. Williams, also of Swansboro. When space becomes available, these items will be displayed.

A campaign to increase the membership of the Greensboro Historical Museum to 2,000 and to raise $100,000 in cash and pledges was begun on January 31. The first 600 new members each received a free copy of Ethel Stephens Arnett's history of Greensboro, which originally sold for $6.00. The books were donated by the Chamber of Commerce to assist in the fund raising-membership drive. Mrs. John K. Brewer, Chairman of the membership committee, was in charge of the project. When the campaign began there were fewer than 300 members. Mr. Carl F. Cannon, Jr., Director of the Museum, stated that most of the funds raised would be spent on exhibits to be placed in what is now the Greensboro Public Library after the Library moves into its new building, which is under construction at Greene and Gaston Streets.

The Pasquotank County Historical Society met on February 26 at Christ Episcopal Church in Elizabeth City.

The North Carolina Historical Review is printed on Permalife, a text paper developed through the combined efforts of William J. Barrow of the Virginia State Library, the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company. Tests indicate that the paper theoretically has a useful life of at least 300 years.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review,* but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, the style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook,* which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review.* Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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The North Carolina Historical Review



Summer 1963

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is $3.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are $5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for $.75 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors providing full credit is given to The North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.

COVER—The bust of Jared Sparks, eminent nineteenth-century historian, was done by Hiram Powers, an American sculptor. The photograph of the bust is from the frontispiece of Volume II of *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks,* by Herbert B. Adams. For an article, "Jared Sparks in North Carolina," see pages 285-294.

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JARED SPARKS IN NORTH CAROLINA

By John H. Moore*

Jared Sparks—hailed today as the man who inaugurated serious research into the documents of American history—first came to this State, not as a historian, but as a zealous apostle of Unitarianism.[1] In the fall of 1819, while en route to attend the ordination of a new minister in Charleston, South Carolina, Sparks (himself recently appointed rector of a Baltimore church) stopped in Raleigh and Fayetteville. Arriving in the capital on November 18, he immediately called upon the Reverend Anthony Forster who was convalescing at the home of his father-in-law, Joseph Gales.[2] Forster, a native of

* Dr. Moore is an Assistant Professor of History, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

[1] Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928-1958), XVII, 430-434, hereinafter cited as *Dictionary of American Biography*. Jared Sparks (1789-1866), who was a graduate of Harvard in 1815, became a leading historian in his day. His works include 12 volumes on the writings of George Washington, a life of Gouverneur Morris, 10 volumes on the works of Benjamin Franklin, the Library of American Biography, and 12 volumes on the diplomatic correspondence of the American Revolution. In 1839 his alma mater appointed him to the first chair of non-ecclesiastical history in any American college or university. Sparks is saluted as the man who began authoritative inquiry into the documents of American history. G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians of the 19th Century* (New York: P. Smith, 1949), 402.

[2] Kemp P. Battle, *The Early History of Raleigh, the Capital City of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Privately printed, 1893), 52-53, hereinafter cited as Battle, *History of Raleigh*. Forster was married to Altona Holstein Gales (1794-1827), a daughter of Joseph Gales, who was born in Altona, Schleswig-Holstein, near Hamburg, Germany. Another child, born in Raleigh, bore the name Weston Raleigh Gales. William S. Powell (ed.), "The Diary of Joseph Gales, 1794-1795," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1949), 336, 337*n*; Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain, "Two Wake County Editors Whose Work Has Influenced the World." *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, Raleigh, December 7-8, 1922* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], Bulletin No. 30, 1923), 47; *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 99-100. Gales, an English journalist and reformer, had to flee his homeland in 1794. After staying two years on the Continent, where he was joined by his family, he reached Philadelphia in 1795. He eventually settled in Raleigh in 1799 and founded the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Weekly Advertiser*. Pro-Jefferson, he was mayor of Raleigh for 19 years and was the State printer until ousted by Jackson forces. In the 1830's he lived in Washington, D. C., where he was Secretary of the American Peace Society and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Colonization Society. Gales was one of three agents for *The North American Review* in this State. The others were Salmon Hall of New Bern and John McRae of Fayetteville. For an interesting insight into Gales' early life see W. H. G. Armytage, "The Editorial Experience of Joseph Gales, 1786-1794," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (July, 1951), 332-361.

Brunswick, North Carolina, had been forced to resign the Charleston pulpit because of ill health. He died a few weeks later of consumption.

The following day, having obtained the permission of the legislature to use its chambers, Sparks addressed the townspeople concerning the glorious new faith sweeping out of New England.

> I entered the hall at early candle light, and as soon as I was seated in the Speaker's chair found the house full to over-flowing. There was an almost universal attendance of the members of the Senate and House and as many other persons as could get into the room. I never preached to a more attentive audience. I was not prepared to find so much liberality of feeling among a people who have known nothing of the Unitarian principles, except from the misrepresentations of persons who have been industrious to hold them up in as odious a light as possible. The notice of preaching was very short, and the engines of orthodoxy were immediately set to work to prevent a general attendance, and yet a crowded audience collected.[3]

The next day Sparks proceeded to Fayetteville where he spent the Sabbath, taking note of that community's success in matters both theological and mercantile.

> Fayetteville at present is the most flourishing place in the State, though by no means so pleasantly situated as Raleigh. Two handsome churches, one Presbyterian and the other Episcopal, have lately been erected . . . with spires and bells. They are well attended; and I have seldom in New England seen the Sabbath passed in a more orderly manner than in this place. Merchandise is brought up Cape Fear River to this place, but the river is now too low. Newbern and Wilmington, which were formerly the depots of merchandise, are rapidly declining, and Fayetteville is taking precedence of them. The merchants here purchase their goods primarily in New York.[4]

Some three weeks later, having visited in both Charleston and Savannah, Sparks was back in Raleigh. This time he stayed at the Gales' household; and on Sunday, December 19, preached three times at the Capitol. The legislative halls, he writes, were full all day. Those present included Governor John Branch, his family, and numerous lawmakers. These folk, according to Sparks, gave him "a close and serious attention" as he dwelt upon the necessity of free inquiry, the importance of thinking and acting rightly, and the simplicity of the Unitarian faith.

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[3] Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 2 volumes, 1893), I, 157-158, hereinafter cited as Adams, *Jared Sparks*.

[4] Adams, *Jared Sparks*, I, 158.

After his return to Baltimore, Jared Sparks resumed his theological duties and served briefly as chaplain in the House of Representatives. In 1823, however, he resigned his pastorate to become Editor of *The North American Review.* In this new role he became increasingly aware of the need to preserve the records of America's past. In the early spring of 1826 Sparks began a tour which took him throughout the South in search of manuscripts, letters, and documents. This undertaking was perhaps inspired by Edward Everett, a close friend of Sparks serving his first term in the House of Representatives. In the latest issue of *The Review,* while commenting upon Richard Henry Lee's *Memoir* of his grandfather, Everett had said:

> The history of our Revolution and constitutional organization is yet to be written. Nothing but materials have been published on this unparalleled theme. And many more materials must yet be given to the world, and perhaps another generation elapse, before the history can be written. The archives in Washington must be explored; those of the several states thoroughly searched; and the treasures, which are scattered about in the families of the revolutionary worthies, must be given to the world. The latter is quite as important a preliminary as either of the others. The history of the Revolution is in the letters of the great men who shone in it. It is from them alone that characters can be graduated, majorities sifted, parties unraveled, opinions historically deduced under changing names.[5]

On May 2, 1826, after pleasant, if not always rewarding inquiries in Charleston, Milledgeville, Columbia, and Camden, Jared Sparks was on a stage bound for North Carolina. Ahead lay still more dusty records, treasured manuscripts, and yellowed letters.[6]

2d May, Tuesday—By stage to Fayetteville;—the two last days' ride through an exceedingly poor country, consisting of sands & pine barrens. From Augusta to Fayetteville the country is extremely barren, & very thinly inhabited, except on the borders of rivers and creeks.

3d May, Wednesday.—Stage to Raleigh, 60 miles. Free blacks & mulattoes in North Carolina and Tennessee have the privilege of voting, the same as white persons.—Country improves as you advance inland.—Called in the evening on Mr. & Mrs. Gales, who have just returned from Washington.

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[5] Edward Everett, "Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee . . . by his Grandson, Richard Henry Lee, of Leesburg, Virginia," *The North American Review,* XXII (April, 1826), 399.

[6] The following excerpts are from "Journal of a Southern Tour, 1826," Papers of Jared Sparks, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

4th May, Thursday.—Mr. Gales called in the morning, and went with me to the state house and the public offices—introduced me to the secretary of State & treasurer. Mr. Hill, secretary of State, very politely offered me every facility in his power in examining the public documents.[7]—Mr. Gales introduced me to the different apartments of the State house. It is a beautiful structure, fitted up for the purpose of receiving Canova's statue of Washington.[8] The arched room in which the statue is placed is exceedingly handsome, and shows this great specimen of art to advantage. The Assembly room, & the senate room, particularly the latter, are finished with taste and elegance. I have seen no statehouse in the Union which can be compared with this, especially in its interior arrangements & beauty.—Passed the whole day in the secretary's office reading the original journals of the colonial Assembly, marking such passages as indicated the spirit of the Revolution.—Dined with Mr. Gales.

5th May, Friday.—Perusing the Journals all day—find much to my purpose, & am surprised to see at how early a period, & with how much resolution, the people of North Carolina manifested their disapprobation of the English government—complained of oppression, and talked of resistance. In the strong feeling of independence, which brought about the final crisis, this state was not behind any in the Union. If circumstances called this feeling later into action, it was not the less ready to act. On all proper occasions it was exhibited without reserve; and several of the colonial governors found the Assembly a very untractable body, frequently opposing their views, and calling in question the legality of acts of Parliament, & the justice of royal instructions.

The old Journals of Assembly & Council are well preserved in this state, at least from 1750 onward, which is as far back as I have looked. During the revolution they are full & complete. The Journals seem to have been printed every year after 1776, beginning with the first provincial congress, held at Hillsborough.[9] It is a little remarkable, that not a single copy of the early printed Journals is in any of the state offices, or the Library. I have seen only a few broken numbers, and fear a set cannot be obtained.

Passed the evening at Mr. Gales's, where I met Genl Jones.[10] He has been among the Creek Indians,—says they have a regular form of Government, with king, council, & legislature—pass laws which are printed

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[7] Known as "Old Sec," William Hill held this post from 1811 until his death in 1857. See Battle, *History of Raleigh*, 52.

[8] Antonio Canova (1757-1822), an Italian sculptor, played an important role in the classic revival. Because legislators failed to act on proposals to put this statue on rollers, it was lost when the Capitol burned in 1831. Samuel A'Court Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 2 volumes, 1925), II, 334-338.

[9] New Bern actually continued as the capital until 1778. Prior to the selection of Raleigh, the General Assembly met at numerous places—Hillsboro, Halifax, Smithfield, Fayetteville, New Bern, Wake Court House, and Tarboro. Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 243-245.

[10] Edmund Jones lived near Wilkesboro. From 1802 to 1839 he frequently represented Wilkes County in the State legislature. Henry Thomas Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), I, 386*n*.

& circulated—have courts of justice & juries & several schools supported by themselves.

Genl Jones told me, that Harman [*sic*] Husbands wrote an account of the Regulators in North Carolina.[11] This must be a curious work, as Husbands was himself a ringleader, & shut out by name from the general pardon. He removed to Pennsylvania, & headed the Whiskey insurrection in that state.

Judge Murphy [*sic*] is now engaged in writing a history of the state of north [*sic*] Carolina. Much is expected from his undertaking.[12] It is supposed he will have access to the papers which Francis X. Martin has been for many years collecting with a view to prepare a history of the State.[13] The original materials in the public offices are also abundant. Thirty years ago Mr. Martin was publisher of the North Carolina Gazette, & has enjoyed peculiar facilities for collecting historical materials. Mr. Murphy has also devoted himself much to the interests & progress of the state. His pamphlets on the internal improvements of North Carolina, altho perhaps a little too sanguine, are nevertheless creditable to him as a writer & a man of liberal views & research.

6th May, Saturday.—Employed all day in the office of the Secretary of State examining files of letters. I have looked through the files for the years 1777 and 1778.—They were written chiefly to Gov. Caswell, the first governor of N. C. under the new Constitution.[14] The principal writers are, the president of Congress, the delegates in Congress from N. C., governor [John] Rutledge[15] of S. C., governor [Patrick] Henry

[11] Husbands (1724-1795) was condemned to death for his role in the Whiskey Rebellion, but was pardoned. *Dictionary of American Biography,* IX, 427-428. In 1770 Husbands presumably wrote *An Impartial Relation of the First Rise and Cause of the Recent Differences in Publick Affairs, In the Province of North Carolina. . . .* This work and *A Fan for Fanning and A Touch-Stone to Tryon* (1771) are reproduced in William K. Boyd (ed.), "Some North Carolina Tracts of the 18th Century: VIII & IX," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* III (April, 1926), 223-362.

[12] Archibald D. Murphey (1777-1832) had just received considerable encouragement from the State legislature. He had been granted complete freedom to consult all State records, and a lottery had been authorized to assist Murphey in his work. William Henry Hoyt (ed.), *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1914), I, 332-365. Murphey's history was never completed.

[13] In 1829 A. T. Penniman of New Orleans published Francis X. Martin's *History of North Carolina, From the Earliest Period.* W. B. Yearns, "Francois X. Martin and His *History of North Carolina,*" *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXVI (January, 1959), 17-27.

[14] Richard Caswell (1729-1789), born in Maryland. He was Governor of North Carolina from 1776 to 1780 and again from 1785 to 1787. *Dictionary of American Biography,* III, 571.

[15] John Rutledge (1739-1800), American statesman, who was born in Charleston, South Carolina. A lawyer, Rutledge was a member of the Continental Congress (1774-1776), President of South Carolina (1776-1778), and Governor (1779-1782). He was an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court and was appointed for one term as Chief Justice (1795), but was not confirmed by the Senate. *Webster's Biographical Dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Company [First edition], 1943), 1,296, hereinafter cited as *Webster's Biographical Dictionary.*

of Va, General [Benjamin] Lincoln,[16] and the officers of the N. C. army and militia;—and also copies of governor Caswell's answers. All these are safely preserved, though not well arranged.

The most curious and valuable letters for these two years are those from Mr Thos Burke, a delegate in Congress from N. C., to Gov. Caswell.[17] It was Mr. Burke's custom to take sketches of the debates in the Old Congress. The most important of these he sent to Gov. Caswell, and also wrote him very frequently and fully respecting the proceedings of Congress, and views of its members. These letters & sketches I have read with great interest, and directed copies to be taken of parts. Mr Burke was a spectator at the battle of Brandywine, & one letter gives a very minute account of the action. He very freely censures Genl [John] Sullivan,[18] and considers his ill judged movements the chief cause of the failure. He charges him with culpable negligence in not having acquainted himself with the roads & ground, & thereby making irretrievable blunders in not meeting the enemy at proper points.—From Mr Burke's letters, it seems that the controversy about state rights and powers of Congress began very early, even before the Confederation. He says distinctly, that in his opinion Congress should have no power, except, such as was expressly delegated by the states. His letters on this subject were written in 1777.

There is a curious letter from Henry Laurens[19] to Gov. Caswell, written I think in 1778. Laurens was at that time president of Congress, and it seems the North Carolina delegates were highly displeased at some of his measures in that capacity. These delegates drew up a paper on the subject, which they proposed to send to Gov. Caswell, and which they first submitted to the inspection of Laurens. He was much offended with the language used by the delegates, and the letter in question was written privately to Gov. Caswell, charging the delegates with undue warmth, and of having been betrayed into misrepresentations. He speaks with much displeasure, and a little violence.—Among other things Laurens says, that he would tell it as a secret to Gov. Caswell, that there was a party in Congress determined to "hunt him down," as he expressed it, and evidently considers himself ill treated without a cause. I have not been able to find the letter of the delegates to which he refers. Burke was

[16] Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810), American Revolutionary officer, born in Hingham, Massachusetts. He was in command of the Southern Department in September, 1778, and was captured with his army in Charleston in May, 1779. He later served as Lieutenant-Governor of his State and was Collector of the Port of Boston after 1789. *Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 901.

[17] An outspoken Irishman, Burke (1747-1783) served as Governor of North Carolina in 1781-1782. While in office he was captured by the Tories. *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 282-283.

[18] John Sullivan (1740-1795), a New Hampshire lawyer, led the unsuccessful expedition against the British on Staten Island (1777), participated in the seige of Boston, and was captured at the Battle of Long Island. He resigned his commission as major general in 1779 and later held many State offices in New Hampshire. *Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 1,430.

[19] Henry Laurens (1724-1792), American Revolutionary statesman. He was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and was a planter and export merchant. He was President of the first Provincial Congress in South Carolina (1775), a member of the Continental Congress (1777-1779), of which he was President from November 1, 1777, to December 9, 1778. *Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 866.

evidently an excitable man, as may be seen from his letters, apt to form hasty opinions, & indulge in conjectures.

Among the files are many letters from Gov. Rutledge, and Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia. Rutledge's letters are short, and contain nothing but the simple matter at hand, appearing to be written by a man under a heavy pressure of business. As records of history they are not of much value. They relate mostly to the army, and are commonly written to urge on the North Carolina troops in the defense of Charleston.

Patrick Henry's letters are also short, and contain little matter. They are of a very different character, however, from Rutledge's, not indicating so much a man of incessant and oppressive occupation as of indolence & aversion to writing. Rutledge writes like one, who has not time to say more; but Henry like one, who struggles against nature to put on paper the little that comes from him.

7th May, Sunday.—In the morning, attended service at the Presbyterian Church, and heard Dr. M'Pheeters; in the afternoon at the Episcopal Church, and heard Bishop Ravenscroft.[20] Thin congregations at both places. The Methodists said to be the most numerous sect here.—

Looked over a work entitled "The Civil & Political History of the State of Tennessee, from the Earliest Settlement, up to the Year 1796, including the Boundaries of the State. By John Haywood.[21] Printed, Knoxville, 1823."—8 vo. pp. 504.—The details of the work are too minute to be of general interest, but the author seems to have thoroughly possessed himself of his subject. The accounts of Indian treaties, wars, the first sales & settlements of land, boundaries, and particulars in the history of North Carolina, are full. As a local history it is a work of value, but too diffuse on local topics for general reading.

8th May, Monday.—The morning passed in reading the original letters on revolutionary matters in the office of the secretary of state. The files stop in the middle of the year 1780. In the Governor's office I found letters of 1782, and onward, but for 1781, the most interesting year of the war in the southern states, no letters were found in any of the offices; and after that date the originals are missing, the contents being registered

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[20] Samuel McPheeters and John Ravenscroft were both from Virginia. McPheeters, a Presbyterian, came to Raleigh in 1810 to become principal of the Raleigh Academy and "Pastor to the City." A pioneer in education, he headed that Academy until 1833. Battle, *History of Raleigh*, 64-71. Ravenscroft, who flirted with both law and Methodism, was the first Episcopal bishop of this State. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 397-398.

[21] "Judge John Haywood," not to be confused with his first cousin, "Treasurer John Haywood," who served from 1787 to 1827 as Treasurer of North Carolina. "Judge John" was born in Halifax County in 1762. He was judge of Superior Court, first Solicitor General (1790-1791) of the State, and was Attorney General (1791-1794). He moved to Tennessee about 1807-1808, settling on his plantation "Tusculum," near Nashville. He served on the Bench of the Tennessee Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals from 1816 until his death in 1827. He is best known for his *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee*, which was also published in 1823. Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1907), VI, 274-281.

in books prepared for the purpose. For the years 1782 & 1783, 1784, the letters from Hugh Williamson, author of the "History of North Carolina," are numerous. He was then in Congress, & made very full reports to the governor. Some of them I read, but they are verbose and heavy. Perhaps I began with no elated hopes. Twice have I tried to read his history; it is dull & meagre beyond description. It would seem impossible, that the man who should write such a book, could write anything, that would interest or instruct; & yet he was called a sensible man, and a learned; & when Everett spoke of him in his proper character, in a review as a literary man, Dr. Hosack of New York took a mortal offense that such freedom should be used in speaking of so much dignity & wisdom. Again I repeat, his history is the most inane of all human compositions.[22]

By the politeness of Mr. Secretary Hill I have been permitted to take copies of several of the letters, which have been deposited in the files, & the originals he has given to me. Some of them are curious, as being the autographs of distinguished men, such as Gov. Rutledge, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Jay,[23] Henry Laurens, Gov. Caswell, Genl Lincoln, and others. I have the letter of introduction, which Gov. Rutledge gave to Lafayette & Baron de Kalb[24] for Gov. Caswell, when they first left Charleston to go to Philadelphia, and join the army under Washington. These original letters will assist in completing a collection for the purpose of a volume of the *fac simile* autographs of the revolutionary heroes & statesmen, which I may one day publish with suitable notices.

Spent an hour or two in the state library. The greatest wonder there is "Lawson's History of Carolina," a small thin quarto volume, printed in London, 1718. Three or four years ago it was purchased at the sale of a deceased person's property, for the State Library, at the price of *sixty dollars!* There were several competitors, & by the competition it was run up to that price; the most remarkable instance of the bibliomania, probably, which has occurred in this country.

Three versions have been made of the laws of North Carolina: first, "Iredell's Laws of North Carolina," in one volume folio, published in 1790;—secondly, Francis Xavier Martin's "Laws of North Carolina," in one quarto volume, published in 1804, and another thin volume afterwards;—& thirdly, a revision with notes by Judges Taylor, Potter, and Mr Yancey, published by Gales in 1825, in two volumes octavo. This last

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[22] Delbert Harold Gilpatrick, "Contemporary Opinion of Hugh Williamson," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (January, 1940), 26-36. Sparks refers here to David Hosack (1769-1835), physician and professor of botany and materia medica at Columbia (1797-1811). Hosack was the author of the *Biographical Memoirs of Hugh Williamson* (New York, 1821).

[23] John Jay (1745-1829), American jurist and statesman, who served in numerous governmental positions. He was minister to Spain (1779) and assisted Benjamin Franklin in Paris in negotiations for peace with Great Britain (1782), which were finally concluded in 1783. He was also Governor of New York. *Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 776.

[24] Marquis Marie Joseph Paul Ives Roch Gilbert du Motier Lafayette (1757-1834), and Johann Kalb (1721-1780), known as Baron de Kalb. Kalb was born in Hüttendorf, Germany, commissioned a major general in the Continental Army in 1777, served in the Revolution, and was mortally wounded in action on August 16, 1780. *Webster's Biographical Dictionary*, 801.

is much the best. Iredell's is valuable in a historical point of view, as it gives more of the old laws.

I have agreed with Mr Hill to copy all the papers, which I selected for the purpose in his office, & requested Mr Gales to send me the manuscripts; and also to procure for me the old printed journals.

Passed the evening at Mr Gales's. From this amiable family in all its branches I have received many tokens of kindness, & never more, than during my present visit to Raleigh. I leave them with reluctance.

9th May, Tuesday.—Set off at 3 oclock [*sic*] in the morning in the stage coach for Richmond. This upper road is much more agreeable to the traveller, than the lower one, which I passed from Norfolk to the south—more marks of industry & comfortable living—some pleasant country residences and well cultivated plantations.—The *scuppernong* grape is abundant on this road. The North Carolina wine of that name, however, is chiefly made in the low country near Plymouth [and] Washington. It is much used in North Carolina, and a demand is increasing in other quarters. A ready market is obtained for all that is made. I saw one vineyard near Warrenton, where the owner is preparing to make wine. The grape runs into wide spreading vines, which are supported by frames; so that a vineyard makes one continued canopy. The vine will not grow if cut short in the European mode—The bark of the vine is smooth, & resembles the bark of a small hickory bush; the leaf is much smaller than with other grapes. The branches are extremely numerous, and intertwine themselves very closely.

I have not yet said anything about the edables [*sic*] of the South. One word on the subject.

At this season I have found very little but ham, corn bread, rice, and eggs, in their various modifications and combinations. Corn is cooked with much more skill than at the north, and is made a palatable, as well as most wholesome food.

Large hominy is prepared by taking the hull of the corn, cracking up the kernels,—and is cooked by boiling—sometimes mixed with beans. It is an excellent dish for dinner.

Small hominy is prepared from very coarse Indian meal—with the flour sifted out—the hull removed—& then boiled, something like New England hasty pudding. It is commonly set on for breakfast, and eat [*sic*] with butter.

Corn bread & corn cakes, are of various kinds, but all good. A coarse corn bread is made, which is set on warm at every meal. In some places I have found it the best thing on the table, & have made a meal of this, and ham & eggs. There is an excellent kind of corn cakes, almost always seen at breakfast, made of the finest flour, & baked very thin, and of different dimensions, from three to six inches diameter. I was told, that meal, eggs, & milk composed their constituent parts. They are light and well flavored. It is a rare thing to see in the south country cold bread of any sort.—Corn bread, in fact, becomes heavy & clogging, when cold.

Rice cakes are made in various ways in South Carolina. One way is to boil the rice soft, & then bake it into cakes;—another is to make these

cakes of rice flour. In this state they resemble the corn cakes. In both forms they are excellent.

Buckwheat cakes in their best estate are almost peculiar to Maryland & Virginia. I have ate none in any other place, which were anything better than humble imitations of those in the above states.

The best *oysters* in America are to be had in Norfolk, from the streams that run into the Chesapeake, particularly York River.

Canvas Back Ducks are found in perfection only in one place, which is the Chesapeake Bay, at Havre de Grace, where the Susquehanna emties [*sic*] into the bay.

So much for my knowledge of culinary matters.

In Richmond people eat sturgeon.

10th May, Wednesday.—Rode all night, and arrived in Richmond at sunset to day [*sic*].—Met Judge [John] Marshall last evening at the town of Munroe [*sic*], on the Roanoke River. He was on his way to hold his circuit court in Raleigh, & travelling in a sulkey. He said he much preferred the stage for its expedition, but could not travel nights. Passed half an hour very agreeably with him. He spoke of Canova's statue of Washington at Raleigh—said he was no judge of the art, but was bound to suppose it chief d'oeuvres—he was glad the country had a specimen of art of so high an order,—but said it gave no impression of Washington—it was not like him in any respect whatsoever.—Houdon's statue in the state house of Virginia, he observed, is a very exact representation of Washington,—particully [*sic*] if you view it in a position so as to look at the figure between the front and left side.—A case of libel is to come on at Raleigh, which the Judge seemed to dread exceedingly. It is a case between two clergymen, Mr. Whitaker, & Dr. McPheeters. A good deal of excitement exists on the subject, and the decision must involve principles, which present legal difficulties and perplexities.[25]

Petersburgh [*sic*] has the appearance of more thrift and business, than almost any town I have seen at the south. It is a market for cotton, tobacco, & flour.

Talked politics with a man, who had many words, but few ideas; much prejudice, but little knowledge.

[25] McPheeters' adversary was apparently Jonathan Whitaker, a Congregational minister. There is no published record indicating Marshall heard this case; however, in the fall term he heard a libel suit, *Jonathan Whitaker v. Frederick Freeman,* 12 N. C. 271 (1826). Whitaker claimed Freeman defamed him by telling others he stole wood, beat his wife, and was a *Unitarian!* At the next session of the circuit court (May, 1827) Marshall set a lower court decision aside and handed down a verdict of nonsuit.

ABOLITIONIST MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Clifton H. Johnson*

As the abolition movement gained momentum in the United States after 1830, the slavery issue naturally became a divisive factor in the Protestant churches of the nation. The persistent demands of Christian abolitionists that the churches adopt unqualified antislavery principles and the uncompromising attitude of the vast majority of southern church members, who insisted that the scriptures condoned the institution of slavery and that it should be defended by the churches, made inevitable a division of some of the churches along sectional lines. Those larger denominations whose memberships were most evenly distributed throughout the nation North and South, particularly the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, were naturally most affected by the slavery controversy, and they divided into essentially northern and southern branches long before the political breakup of the Union.[1] These sectional schisms, however, did not end the slavery controversy within the churches; there followed a period of increasing bitterness between the northern and southern churches as well as factional strife and schisms within the denominational groups of each section.[2] The strife within the ranks of both northern and southern Methodism was significant in producing a situation in North Carolina that reveals the aims and methods of the Christian abolitionists[3] and also the extremes to which proslavery

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[1] William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Brothers [Revised], 1950), 285-311, hereinafter cited as Sweet, *Story of Religion.*

[2] Clifton H. Johnson, "The American Missionary Association, 1846-1861; A Study of Christian Abolitionism" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1958), 14-26, hereinafter cited as Johnson, "American Missionary Association."

[3] The author has made a distinction between "Christian abolitionists" and "antislavery Christians." The former were members of Protestant churches who, after 1830, began to demand that their churches must be freed from all connection with slavery by excommunicating all slaveholding members and their apologists. They did not stop with a general condemnation of slavery as an immoral institution, but insisted that the act of slaveholding, *per se*, was always and everywhere a sin, regardless of the circumstances which had brought the relationship into being and the conditions under which it had continued. Thus "no fellowship with slaveholders" became the basic principle of Christian abolitionism, and its advocates demanded that

southerners were willing to go in denying freedom of speech and thought in an effort to protect the institution of slavery.

The story of the North-South schism of American Methodists is well known and may be briefly told. In the Methodist Episcopal Church of the 1830's and early 1840's, the moderates were in control, and they—under the leadership of the bishops, general secretaries, and editors of the official journals—not only prevented the church from adopting abolitionism but also attempted to prevent the discussion of the slavery issue within church councils. Beginning in 1832 one Methodist conference after another condemned the extreme position of the abolitionists and warned of disaster for the church and nation if abolition agitation continued.[4] Finally, discouraged with their unsuccessful efforts to reform their church, a group of radical abolitionists gathered in Albany, New York, in early 1843, and decided to withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church. At a later meeting in May, 1843, at Utica, the secessionists organized the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America, which grew to a membership of more than 15,000 by 1845. The Wesleyans adopted abolitionist principles—refusing to fellowship slaveholders and condemning slaveholding as a sin—and repudiated the aristocratic government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, adopting instead a modified form of congregational government.[5]

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the churches rigorously execute discipline on this principle. Not only would such action served to purify the churches, said the Christian abolitionists, but it was also the only means by which slavery might be peacefully abolished.

The antislavery Christians were mostly moderate northern Protestants. They were embarrassed by the positions that many of their churches occupied on the slavery issue, but they strongly disagreed with the principles of Christian abolitionism. While they recognized that the institution of slavery was an evil, and even sinful as practiced by some slaveholders, and that the churches had a responsibility for promoting emancipation, the antislavery Christians did not recognize the act of slaveholding to be a sin within itself. Slaveholding was regarded as a sin only when the relationship was sustained voluntarily, with evil purpose, or with immoral treatment of the slave. Most of the antislavery Christians admitted that slaveholding was a matter for church discipline, but they would leave the application of discipline to the individual churches, who should be governed by the circumstances in each case. Some of these moderates, however, were opposed to the excommunication of slaveholders by the churches on the grounds that the removal of the evils of the institution, as well as the propagation of antislavery principles, especially among those by whom they were most needed, could be best accomplished with the slaveholders in the churches. The vast majority of northern church members were antislavery Christians after 1845, and they determined the policy of most northern churches, including the Methodist Episcopal Church, up to the outbreak of the Civil War. See Johnson, "American Missionary Association," 5-14.

[4] Sweet, *Story of Religion*, 301-303; Dwight W. Culver, *Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, Yale Studies in Religious Education, Number 22, 1853), 47-48, hereinafter cited as Culver, *Methodist Segregation.*

[5] Culver, *Methodist Segregation*, 48; Luther Lee, *Wesleyan Manual: A Defense of the Organization of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection* (Syracuse, New York: Samuel Lee, Publisher, 1862), 34, 157-160, hereinafter cited as Lee, *Wesleyan Manual.*

In numbers the Wesleyan secession appeared insignificant and was ridiculed by conservatives, but it served to awaken latent antislavery sentiments among many other northern Methodists. During the year following the secession, antislavery views were repeatedly expressed in official church journals and several Methodist conventions were held in which antislavery resolutions were adopted. The crisis within the parent church came in the General Conference of 1844. After a vigorous five-day debate the delegates voted to sustain the action of the Baltimore Annual Conference which had suspended a minister for refusing to free slaves that he had acquired through marriage. This action was followed by a more prolonged and heated fight over the case of Bishop James O. Andrew of Georgia. Through two bequests and by marriage Bishop Andrew had acquired the ownership of slaves who could not be freed under the provisions of State law. In a discussion that lasted three weeks, all efforts of the moderates to effect a compromise failed, and the Conference voted to suspend the Bishop. The certainty of a sectional split was now evident, and the day following the adjournment of the General Conference, the southern delegates convened in New York and issued a call for a convention of the southern conferences. This convention, with representatives from thirteen slave States, met in Louisville, Kentucky, in May, 1845, and formed the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.[6]

The Wesleyans refused to reaffiliate with the northern branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church after the sectional division of 1845. They, along with other Christian abolitionists, maintained that the split had only served to confuse the public mind and divert attention from the real proslavery character of the northern church that continued to exist. First, they pointed out that the southern secession was not brought about because of any action by the General Conference against slaveholding by church members, but only against slaveholding by the episcopacy. Second, they observed that the secession had been by southerners, rather than by northerners, who had done all they could to prevent it, and afterwards considered it as an unjustifiable act, and that many prominent churchmen continued to strive for unity and the undoing of the act of separation. Third, it was alleged that the position taken by the General Conference in 1844 was not taken on the principle of the moral issue of slavery, but was taken only for reasons of expediency. Fourth, they showed that the Methodist Episcopal Church still fellowshiped slaveholders and

[6] Sweet, *Story of Religion*, 303-305; Culver, *Methodist Segregation*, 48-50.

ordained slaveholding ministers.[7] According to one critic, there were, in 1853, within churches affiliated with the northern conference, "not less than four thousand slaveholders, and twenty seven thousand slaves." [8] And such testimony regarding the connection of the northern Methodist Church with slavery did not come only from Wesleyans and non-Methodist critics. As late as 1858, a Methodist abolitionist said, "We now have from ten to twenty thousand slaveholders in our Church, among whom are hundreds of leaders, stewards, trustees, exhorters and local preachers, deacons, and elders, who sell slaves, as suits their convenience and interests, and with utter impunity." [9]

While the Wesleyans condemned the position of the northern Methodists on slavery, there emerged a group of North Carolina Methodists who condemned the southern Methodists and refused to affiliate with that body. Immediately following the Louisville convention in 1845, some forty or fifty Methodist residents of Guilford County and vicinity met at Jamestown, North Carolina, and formed themselves into an independent church. They announced that they felt "so conscientiously scrupulous on the subject of slavery" that they could not hold fellowship with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Neither were they willing to affiliate with the northern Methodists, who had acquiesced, without the consent of the individual congregations, in a transfer of their rights in membership and property to the southern organization.[10]

The Jamestown congregation maintained its independence until 1847, when, under the leadership of one of its members, Daniel Wilson, it was reorganized and applied for admission to the Alleghany Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America. The conference accepted the application, established the Guilford Circuit, and appointed the Reverend Adam Crooks as missionary preacher for the circuit. Crooks arrived in Guilford County on Octo-

[7] Lee, *Wesleyan Manual*, 118-126; *The American Missionary Magazine*, III (January, 1859), 8; William Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery; A History of the Great Struggle in Both Hemispheres; with a View of the Slavery Question in the United States* (New York: Privately printed, 1853), 149-150, hereinafter cited as Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery;* Daniel De Vinne, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and Slavery; A Historical Survey of the Relations of the Early Methodists to Slavery* (New York: Francis Hart, 1857), vii-viii; H. Mattison, *The Impending Crisis of 1860: Or the Present Connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church With Slavery and Our Duty in Regard to It* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1858), 22-86, hereinafter cited as Mattison, *Impending Crisis of 1860.*

[8] Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 150.

[9] Mattison, *Impending Crisis of 1860*, 84.

[10] Lucius C. Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism, from 1780 to 1849: and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America* (New York: n.p., 1849), 361, hereinafter cited as Matlack, *American Slavery and Methodism.*

ber 23, 1847. He found a congregation of some forty members, which had no meetinghouse but held worship services regularly in homes or under brush arbors. Crooks prosecuted the missionary work with vigor, and soon after his arrival the Alleghany Conference sent the Reverend Jarvis C. Bacon to assist him in conducting a revival. The revival lasted for thirteen days and resulted in the formation of new Wesleyan congregations in Guilford and surrounding counties. By the close of 1848 the Guilford Circuit was composed of eight churches with total memberships of approximately 275. The first Wesleyan Methodist church building in the South was constructed between October, 1847, and March, 1848, at a place called Freedom's Hill, then in Chatham County but now in Alamance.[11]

The preaching appointments had now grown too numerous to be met by one man, and Crooks requested that another minister be commissioned for the circuit. The Reverend Jesse McBride arrived to assist in the work in 1849.[12] By October 5, 1850, the two men had regular preaching appointments in Guilford, Randolph, Forsyth, Davidson, Alamance, and Chatham counties.[13]

Many North Carolina residents, including some southern Methodists and especially the Quakers, had favorably received Crooks and McBride on their arrival in the State. Both men were uncompromising and outspoken in attacking the institution of slavery, however, and opposition against them soon appeared and mounted as their abolitionist sentiments became widely known. The crisis came in the fall of 1850. A "Mr. Montgomery," presumably a minister, whom the *Greensborough Patriot* described as "occupying a position of respectability" and "possessing remarkably shrewd intelligent faculties of mind," attended a meeting conducted by McBride in the Friends meetinghouse in Jamestown in September.[14] Montgomery reported that before a congregation which included some "twenty or thirty DARKIES . . . [which] heightened greatly the criminality of his discourse," the missionary came out fully on the doctrine of abolition and "in one sentence sent the whole SOUTHERN CHURCH to hell—declaring it impossible for them to be saved." Apparently, however, McBride hoped for the salvation of the slaveholders; Montgomery also reported that he closed the service with a prayer in which the

[11] Jesse McBride to George Whipple, April 16, 1852. American Missionary Association Archives, Fisk University Library, Nashville, Tennessee, hereinafter cited as American Missionary Archives; Roy S. Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South* (Syracuse, New York: The Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1933), 28-40, hereinafter cited as Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South.*

[12] Jesse McBride to George Whipple, April 16, 1852, American Missionary Archives.

[13] *Greensborough Patriot,* October 5, 1850.

[14] *Greensborough Patriot,* October 5, 1850.

"wicked, sinful, and oppressive slave holders were largely remembered" and he petitioned:

> Lord have mercy upon such as are oppressing their fellowmen, such as are separating man and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, such as are tearing children from their mother's [*sic*] breasts, and holding them in iron bondage, and depriving them of their liberties.[15]

Montgomery complained that the *"fanatical, misguided* and *incendiary zealots—ignorant, coarse, fool-hardy* and *presumptuous"* missionaries were not only destroying the domestic peace but also suspected of aiding runaway slaves while the people of Guilford County sat with "folded hands." After warning the public that even if they should die for their abolitionist beliefs, Crooks and McBride would before long have created a band of followers, "who would keep the abolition ball in motion," Montgomery appealed:

> I call upon men of intelligence, upon sober-minded men, men in authority—our Judges, our Magistrates, our Lawyers, our Grand Juries—to exercise their vigilence, their authority. . . . I ask, with such public teaching, if men can feel that they are safe from the assassin's knife, from the incendiaries' torch?[16]

A spirit of "common justice" required the editors of the *Greensborough Patriot,* who had published Montgomery's report, to give McBride the opportunity to reply. The missionary accused Montgomery of exaggeration. He maintained that it was not his purpose to incite slave rebellion, and he added that he was not in favor of amalgamation of the races.[17] He did not, however, repudiate his antislavery views. Furthermore, Montgomery publicly repeated his charges and insisted that his report had been accurate.[18] Consequently, the public hostility against the missionaries was not quieted. A few days later, Crooks and McBride were arrested on the charge of circulating incendiary literature, specifically an antislavery pamphlet, *The Ten Commandments.* McBride was found guilty and sentenced to twenty lashes, the pillory for one hour, and imprisonment for one year. The only evidence presented against Crooks was association with McBride so he was acquitted. McBride appealed to the Supreme Court of North Carolina and secured a release on $1,000 bond.[19]

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[15] *Greensborough Patriot,* September 28, 1850.
[16] *Greensborough Patriot,* September 28, 1850.
[17] *Greensborough Patriot,* September 28, 1850.
[18] *Greensborough Patriot,* October 12, 1850.
[19] *Greensborough Patriot,* October 19, 1850.

The trial had further excited the public, and as the opposition grew, it became impossible for McBride to carry on his work. He therefore negotiated with the authorities for a release from the claims against him and his bondsmen, in return for a promise to leave the State. In May, 1851, he returned to Ohio. The public mind was not relieved, however, and the persecution continued against Crooks in the form of threats on his life and attacks by mobs. Finally, in August, 1851, he also deserted the field.

Many Wesleyans followed their leaders into free territory, while some returned to their former church connections, but a few of courage and conviction continued to hold their meetings, with Daniel Wilson serving as their preacher. After Crooks left the State, Jesse McBride appealed to the American Missionary Association of New York City to contribute $50 annually to Wilson's support. McBride wrote:

> [When] . . . we were expelled . . . we left near 600 members with a sheapard [*sic*], with a host of sympathizing friends. These brethren concluded they could not do without a minister. And as Daniel Wilson was raised in Guilford Co. N. C.—as there was not so much prejudice *vs.* him as there would be against a Northern man, and as he was a good preacher, and devoted christian [*sic*], the afflicted flock, secured his services to serve them as their pastor. The persecution &c. discouraged a number of our members and friends, so that they sold out, and have come to the *semi* free [*sic*] States. One correspondent informs me that at least 600 families had left, 400 of whom were from Guilford Co. But there are a few precious souls remaining who want the *pure* word of life proclaimed, but they are *not able* to pay Bro. Wilson more than one hundred dollars per year, and as he has a large family, and is a poor man, he cannot possibly labor for that amount. . . . Taking everything into the account the field in the State of North Carolina, is still somewhat promising, and ought *not to be abandoned*—There are hundreds of ears still open to hear the truth and it certainly ought not to be taken from them. If there was any other Anti-Slavery preacher, of any other denomination, that these dear brethren could go to hear, I should not feel so anxious. But there is none, *no not one!!* [20]

The appeal to the American Missionary Association fell on sympathetic ears. The Association had been organized at Albany, New York, on September 2, 1846, by a convention of evangelical abolitionists, who had become discouraged after long and fruitless efforts to influence the Protestant churches and missionary societies of the United States to adopt abolitionist principles. With offices in New York City,

[20] Jesse McBride to George Whipple, April 16, 1852, American Missionary Archives.

and operating under a charter granted by the State in 1849, the A.M.A. was an independent, nonsectarian and nonecclesiastical body, whose membership was open to any contributor to its treasury who was a professing Christian of evangelical and abolitionist sentiments. Its leadership was supplied largely from the ranks of the American and Foreign Antislavery Society, and it was an ally of that organization in the antislavery crusade. Its financial support came chiefly from New England, the Middle West, and New York, and largely from Congregationalists, Free Presbyterians, and Wesleyan Methodists, although there was some support from other regions and from members of other evangelical denominations.

The A.M.A. refused to accept gifts from slaveholders or churches with slaveholding members and endeavored to propagate the doctrines of a "pure and free" Christianity by gathering and sustaining mission churches in the United States and in heathen lands that excluded the practices of caste, polygamy, slaveholding, and "all other public, as well as private, sins." Prior to the Civil War, the Association established and sustained missions in West Africa, Jamaica, Siam, Hawaii, and Egypt, and among the Ojibway Indians in Minnesota and the fugitive slaves in Canada, and supported 263 home missionaries located in the Northeast, the West, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia. Although it was aggressive in its efforts to promote abolitionism, the Association maintained a fundamental evangelical character, endeavoring to bring about the elimination of slavery by winning converts to a religious fellowship that condemned the institution as unchristian.[21] The Association's motives for supporting missionaries in the slave States were defined as follows:

> The work proposed is to give a pure Gospel, freedom, all the blessings of salvation, and a true civilization to nearly one half of the States of this Union, who are groaning under the burdens and guilt of slavery. It is to open the prison doors, to save the oppressed and the oppressor, and the vast population of non-slaveholders. It is to regenerate the people, to save them from untold miseries, prevent the effusion of rivers of blood—and unite in one brotherhood the people of the North and South. We seek also to bring all to repentance of the sin of upholding oppression, and of trampling down the entire colored population, and to save our guilty nation the fierceness of God's anger, by its timely repentance, and to make it the messenger of mercy to the world.[22]

[21] See Johnson, "American Missionary Association."

[22] *Annual Report of the American Missionary Association,* XIII (New York, 1859), 56, hereinafter this series of documents will be cited as *Annual Report* with the appropriate volume number and date.

At the time McBride's request reached the A.M.A., Daniel Wilson was serving six churches in North Carolina with approximately 150 members.[23] The Association's commission, which was made retroactive to March 1, 1852, was received with gratitude by Wilson, but he requested that he should be paid with paper money rather than by draft and that his name should not be printed in the Association's publications. He felt that he would be driven from the country if his connection with the A.M.A. became known, but added that by acting in a "private way" he could do much to advance the antislavery cause and glorify God in North Carolina.[24] He later explained that he could not solicit the collection for the A.M.A. that was required of all home mission churches without revealing his affiliation and endangering his life.[25]

As an anonymous missionary, Wilson served under the Association's patronage until 1856. In 1853 he was preaching to nine different churches and in some places where no churches had yet been formed. There had been about 20 conversions during the year, and the church members numbered approximately 350.[26] In 1856 he reported that westward migrations had reduced the numbers of churches to eight, and their memberships to 213.[27]

Wilson was apparently very discreet in carrying on his antislavery missionary work. While other missionaries of the American Missionary Association in the South were aggressive abolition leaders, speaking publicly against slavery and circulating antislavery tracts, there is no evidence that Wilson engaged in any antislavery activities other than his ministerial duties. This perhaps explains why he was allowed to work unmolested by the proslavery interests. In his reports to New York, his description of conditions in the State were expressed with moderation and supplied the abolitionists with little additional propaganda material. On one occasion, he wrote:

> The state of society is better than might be anticipated. Most of our laws are excellent for the protection of the people and of property. Good order usually prevails at our meetings, and disorderly persons would as a general thing, be put down, and the laws executed.[28]

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[23] Jesse McBride to George Whipple, May 4, 1852, American Missionary Archives.
[24] Daniel Wilson to George Whipple, June 22, 1852, American Missionary Archives.
[25] Daniel Wilson to George Whipple, July 22, 1852, American Missionary Archives.
[26] *Annual Report*, VII (1853), 58.
[27] *Annual Report*, X (1856), 50, 75.
[28] *Annual Report*, VIII (1854), 77.

Wilson, who was a poorly educated man,[29] considered the provisions for education in the State to be "tolerably good," with the free school system in operation for whites; and although Negroes were prohibited by law from "even reading the word of God," some masters did teach their slaves to read.[30] The greatest opposition encountered in the work, he found, came not from the "world" but from the proslavery churches. He was not completely without friends there, however, as some of their members occasionally attended his meetings.[31] Again and again, he saw antislavery sentiment gaining ground, and the conversions to his churches were considered as large as any of the proslavery bodies had.[32] He felt that his position was so securely established by 1854 that he could receive *The American Missionary*, a monthly paper published by the A.M.A., without danger, and he received his first copy of the publication on May 23 of that year.[33]

There were also discouraging factors. In 1854 Wilson found the "curse of intemperance" more strongly prevailing among the people on his circuit than ever.[34] The frequent migrations of church members to free territory worked against the cause, especially the large migrations to Iowa and Kansas in 1854 and 1855.[35] He could do little in the way of promoting Sabbath schools because of the prohibition against teaching Negroes to read, and the fact that there were on hand few books of interest to children.[36] Furthermore, the work was too heavy for one man, requiring travel of about 300 miles to meet the appointments at the eight churches in 1856.[37]

The importance of the missionary work in North Carolina was summarized by the home secretary of the A.M.A. in 1854 as follows:

> The relations of North-Carolina to the other slave States gives it a singular interest. Connecting with Tennessee on the West, they, together, form the line of division between the northern and southern slave States, and with Kentucky have more elements favorable to freedom and progress

[29] Wilson's letters clearly reveal his deficiencies in education. In recommending his appointment, Jesse McBride said that while he was "a man of sound mind," he was "not well versed in science." Jesse McBride to George Whipple, May 4, 1852, American Missionary Archives.

[30] *Annual Report*, VIII (1854), 77.

[31] *Annual Report*, VIII (1854), 77.

[32] *Annual Report*, VIII (1854), 76; *Annual Report*, X (1856), 75; *The American Missionary*, IX (January, 1855), 19; Daniel Wilson to George Whipple, November 1, 1853, American Missionary Archives.

[33] Daniel Wilson to Simeon S. Jocelyn, April 25, May 23, 1854, American Missionary Archives.

[34] *Annual Report*, VIII (1854), 77.

[35] *Annual Report*, X (1856), 75.

[36] Daniel Wilson to Simeon S. Jocelyn, May 28, November 1, 1854, American Missionary Archives.

[37] *Annual Report*, VIII (1854), 77; Daniel Wilson to Simeon S. Jocelyn, April 25, 1854, American Missionary Archives.

than the States south, and more than the larger sections of the slave States north of them, so devoted to the breeding system and the sale of their own people.[38]

In spite of this declaration, and the fact that Wilson was remarkably successful in winning converts and establishing new churches, the A.M.A. made no apparent effort to provide reinforcements or enlarge the field in North Carolina before 1857. Wilson was not as effective as a propagandist for the abolition cause as some other missionaries of the Association in the South—for example, John Gregg Fee of Kentucky—and consequently he failed to excite tremendous interest in his work among the New York officers. Then, through some medium, the executive committee of the A.M.A. received reports that the North Carolina churches were dissatisfied with Wilson as circuit pastor. The exact nature of the complaint made by the churches is not known, but the available evidence indicates that he was charged with engaging in secular work and with failing to meet his preaching appointments regularly. The Association had increased its annual grant to Wilson from $50 to $100 in 1853, but this was hardly sufficient income for a family man who had the additional expense of meeting preaching appointments at eight churches over a large area. There were perhaps good grounds for his seeking more remunerative employment and consequently neglecting his missionary responsibilities. This explanation was the opinion of James Scott Davis, who was sent by the A.M.A. to investigate the charges in 1857. Davis believed that Wilson was a devout Christian and a real abolitionist, and "not a lazy man."[39] Soon after this report, however, additional charges, including that of immoral character, were brought against Wilson and he was summarily dismissed by the A.M.A.[40] Meanwhile, the Association had commissioned Daniel Worth to labor among the Wesleyan churches of North Carolina.

Daniel Worth, the son of Quaker parents, was a native of Guilford County, where he had served as justice of the peace before migrating to the Middle West as a young man. Many of his relatives still lived in North Carolina in 1857, some of whom occupied positions of prominence and the family was generaly well known and respected. One of his cousins was Jonathan Worth, a member of the State legislature and later governor. Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin of the State

[38] *Annual Report*, VIII (1854), 76.

[39] James S. Davis to Simeon S. Jocelyn, September 1, 1857, American Missionary Archives.

[40] Daniel Worth to Simeon S. Jocelyn, February 9, 1858; Robert McCune to Simeon S. Jocelyn, September 18, 1857, American Missionary Archives.

Supreme Court had been one of his boyhood friends. In Indiana Worth had served in the lower house of the legislature for four years and in the State senate for one term. Long active in antislavery work, he was chosen president of the Indiana Abolition Society in 1840, played a prominent part in the founding of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection in 1843, and became president of its General Conference in 1848. During the next five years, he devoted his time and energy to establishing Wesleyan churches. In 1853 he was commissioned by the A.M.A. as an itinerant preacher for Kentucky. John Gregg Fee, the leader of the Kentucky missionaries and a strong opponent of denominationalism, found Worth to be "straight out anti Slavery," but too interested in carrying the Kentucky churches over to Wesleyanism, and decided after one year that he would "let him stay on the other side of the [Ohio] River."[41] From Kentucky Worth went to Ripley, Ohio, as pastor of a church composed of seventy ex-slaves.[42]

Even his enemies recognized Worth as a man of talent, but, perhaps, "an enthusiastic monomaniac" on the slavery question.[43] There can be no doubt that he was endowed with great physical courage, and his moral character was beyond reproach.[44] When he came into North Carolina, he was a handsome man of sixty-two years of age, well over six feet and weighing about 275 pounds. He was a fluent speaker and possessed of a manner that won for him respect and friendship from many of the very men he attacked. Daniel Worth was not the man to follow the course of moderation laid out by his predecessors.[45]

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[41] John G. Fee to George Whipple, n.d., American Missionary Archives.

[42] For biographical sketches of Daniel Worth, see Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 77-80; John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, The Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XVI, No. 6, 1898), 24-25; Robert McCune to Simeon S. Jocelyn, September 18, 1857, American Missionary Archives.

[43] Jonathan Worth to George McNeill, March 10, 1860, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), I, 111, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence.*

[44] *Greensborough Patriot*, April 6, 1860.

[45] Worth and Daniel Wilson were antagonistic towards each other from their first meeting. Soon after his arrival in North Carolina, Worth wrote: "You are aware of a difficulty long existing in the churches here between Rev. D. Wilson and others. . . . My brethren of the Zaneville Con.[ference] adjured me, cost what it might, to see that this difficulty was was [*sic*] settled. . . . Both parties promised to submit to my administration of the case. . . . I was convinced that Wilson's administration made a case of the grossest ecclesiastical tyranny I ever heard of either Pope or Bishop. . . . When I inquired 'by what authority he did these things' he answered evasively . . . denied our jurisdiction in the case . . . said he was not to be trampled upon by any northern men, and . . . immediately withdrew. . . . Wilson is now engaged in telling the people that he has dissolved all connection with the north, because they will steal the property (negroes) of southerners; he saw a Wesleyan preacher in Ohio feed a runaway slave at his own table (!), and permit him to depart for Canada on the underground railroad; and further, he saw colored persons in Wesleyan churches in

On arrival in North Carolina, Worth established residence at New Salem, and preached his first sermon on November 8, 1857. In the congregation, he found, in addition to the "ordinary classification of assemblies, saints and sinners," a few slaves, who acted with "as much reverence and decorum, as though they really supposed themselves human beings."[46] Also present was a slave trader, one of Worth's old acquaintances, from whom he accepted an invitation to visit his home after the service.[47]

Within a year Worth had brought ten churches in Randolph and surrounding counties under his care, and reported that the congregations had grown too large for the buildings at about half the preaching points, and they had resorted to "God's first temples," the groves.[48] Several revivals brought in many converts, and Worth maintained that his conversions had "doubled that of any pro-slavery denomination" around him.[49] By March, 1859, he had made 140 conversions, including one man who had participated in mob action against Crooks and McBride.[50] Like his predecessor, he believed that antislavery sentiments were rapidly gaining ground in North Carolina, and that his congregations were larger than those in the proslavery churches of the vicinity.[51]

Worth was also discouraged by the continual migrations, reporting in 1858 that almost all antislavery men who could afford it—about half his church members—had fled to "more congenial climes."[52] He considered moral conditions among North Carolinians to be more deplorable than in any field in which he had previously labored, and reported that the people were

Ohio sitting in as good seats as the whites, and that was too much like negro-equality to suit his taste." Daniel Worth to Simeon S. Jocelyn, April 19, 1858, American Missionary Archives. Wilson's opinion of Worth was no more favorable. He wrote: ". . . owing to the unreasonable position taken here by D. Worth, the writer & some three or four churches have been under the necessity of organiseing [*sic*] a separate church from the Wesleyan connexion. . . . Worth acting from the Instruction [*sic*] of the conference or from some base motive disregarded every attempt to settle the matter . . . and has been ever since Ingaged to establish the most unprincipled opposition to those of us, who would not bow to his Popery. I wish to Inform you that the substantial portion of the church her[e] does not, nor will not, submit to his tyrany [*sic*] . . . worth [*sic*] writes as though he was a strong Antislavery Man but he has one Slave Holder In his church here, two who not long since sold one at public auction one Polligamist [*sic*] & almost anything else that wishes to join whether saints or sinners, for about one third according to his showing whom he received last year made no profession of Religion [*sic*]. I had just as soon belong to an [*sic*] Proslavery church here as to his as to moral principle." Daniel Wilson to Simeon S. Jocelyn, November 26, 1858, American Missionary Archives.

[46] *Annual Report,* XII (1858), 69.
[47] *Annual Report,* XII (1858), 69.
[48] *The American Missionary Magazine,* II (July, 1858), 162.
[49] *Annual Report,* XIII (1859), 61.
[50] *The American Missionary Magazine,* II (December, 1858), 304.
[51] *The American Missionary Magazine,* II (February, 1858), 40.
[52] *The American Missionary Magazine,* II (October, 1858), 257.

. . . much addicted to the use of strong drink and the use of the filthy narcotic tobacco. Men and women seem to vie in the use of the last. They do not seem to think the command "Keep thyself pure," could by any possibility apply to the use of the weed.[53]

Some understanding of Worth's methods in fighting slavery in North Carolina may be gained from his own description in a letter he wrote to the Washington D.C. *National Era* in 1859. It is also indicative of the language and arguments he used in his sermons and discussions. He wrote:

Never was the prospect of ultimate success in the Old North State so gratifying as now. Near two years elapsed since coming to the South. yet all is peace and quiet. I think I have fully declared the whole counsel of God on the great sins of war, Slavery and intemperance. Neither have I spared that filthy narcotic, tobacco, the sin and shame of Southern habits. But above all the unparalleled wickedness and stupendous blasphemy of man-stealing-religion—one that converts Paul into slave-catcher—that professes to rely on inspiration for its authority, and on the Bible for its slave code—that makes long prayers on Sunday, and robs cradles and trundle-beds on Monday—which professes to love Jesus Christ with the whole heart, yet sells him for a good price into the cotton-field or rice-swamp—the religion which sustains this "huge infernal system for the destruction of men, soul and body," I have denounced with whatever of zeal or ability, or emphasis, I have been able to bring to the encounter.[54]

One should not be surprised if the writer of this letter was later cited by North Carolinians for using incendiary language in his sermons. Moreover, Worth did not confine his crusade to the pulpit. He openly and widely circulated antislavery literature, particularly tracts published by the American Reform Tract and Book Society of Cincinnati and the "inflammatory" writings of another son of North Carolina, Hinton Rowan Helper. Worth first began the circulation of the literature secretively, but boasted that he later "did it as publicly as a Yankee peddler would sell a tin hair-comb."[55] The *Semi-Weekly Standard* also credited him with selling subscriptions to the *New York Daily Tribune*.[56] In 1859 Worth maintained that his

[53] *Annual Report*, XII (1858), 70.
[54] *National Era* (Washington, D. C.), August 4, 1859, hereinafter cited as *National Era*.
[55] Hinton Rowan Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It* (New York: A. B. Burdick, Enlarged Edition, 1860), 397, hereinafter cited as Helper, *The Impending Crisis*.
[56] *Semi-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), December 31, 1859, hereinafter cited as *Semi-Weekly Standard*.

abolitionist literature was "doing a work little inferior to a living preacher."[57] In addition to his ministerial and colportage activities, he also argued the slavery issue in public and private whenever the opportunity occurred. In 1858 he wrote:

> I am in constant and daily intercourse with slaveholders: sometimes I tarry a night with one, and then I always call in the slaves and pray with them and their masters; and it is worthy of remark, that in many conversations on the slavery subject, several of which have been with slaveholders, not a man has seemed to take any offense; and yet I have maintained the principles of an ultra school, for I am an abolitionist of the Gerrit Smith type.[58]

Except in the presence of their masters or in church, however, Worth avoided direct communication with the slaves. He not only realized that such action would make him liable for prosecution under State law, but he also believed that the end he desired could be accomplished only through converting the whites, not through exciting the Negroes to revolt.[59] It is significant in evaluating Worth's work that there is no evidence that he ever served in North Carolina as an agent of the underground railroad or ever encouraged or aided runaway slaves.

The old missionary did enter into the political arena, and he actively campaigned against John Adams Gilmer, American Party candidate for the House of Representatives in 1859. After the election, and Gilmer's victory, he wrote Nathan Hill, a Guilford County Quaker, of his surprise that Hill had voted for Gilmer, after they had "conversed on the subject" and agreed "that slavery was an enormous sin" and on the impropriety of voting for slaveholders.[60]

Two reinforcements were commissioned by the A.M.A. for North Carolina before the Civil War, both of whom were residents of the State. On the recommendation of Worth and the Wesleyan Quarterly Conference of the Guilford Circuit, Alfred W. Vestal was appointed to serve as itinerant preacher on October 15, 1858.[61] Jesse Osborn was to begin work on January 1, 1860,[62] but before he entered upon

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[57] *National Era*, August 4, 1859.
[58] *Annual Report*, XII (1858), 69.
[59] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1860.
[60] Daniel Worth to Nathan Hill, August 17, 1859, printed in the *Greensborough Patriot*, January 20, 1860.
[61] Ms. Resolution of the Wesleyan Methodist Quarterly Conference of the Guilford Circuit, October 9, 1858; Daniel Worth to Simeon S. Jocelyn, October 15, 1858, American Missionary Archives; *Annual Report*, XIII (1859), 41.
[62] Daniel Worth to Simeon S. Jocelyn, December 21, 1859, American Missionary Archives.

his duties development in the State made it expedient for the Association to withdraw its support.

Both Worth and the officers of the American Missionary Association had expected some violent opposition when the old missionary began his work in North Carolina, but he was allowed to pursue his activities for many months without harm or arrest. Worth explained the quiet manner in which he was received and tolerated as resulting from several factors. He stated that several of the men who had participated in mob actions against Crooks and McBride had met untimely deaths, and that the opposition saw in this the "visitation of God."[63] Also, the fact that both he and his wife had many relatives in Randolph and Guilford counties, along with his age and southern birth, probably worked in his favor.[64]

Worth encountered occasional opposition from the beginning, however, and as time passed, its intensity increased. His activities did not receive support from his relatives.[65] The first printed attack against him came a few weeks after his arrival in the State from George McNeill, editor of the *North Carolina Presbyterian.* In an article headed "An Abolition Emissary," McNeill called Worth "The Reverend Blood Sucker," sent into the State by the American Missionary Association, "a misnomer for an association composed of a band of incendiary abolitionists, leagued together to spread their infamous doctrines throughout the South."[66] McNeill also sent a copy of *The American Missionary,* which contained Worth's first report to the New York officers, to the solicitor of the fourth district, expressing the wish that a prosecution begin at once. At the same time, he wrote Worth, telling him what he had done and enclosed a copy of the article from the *Presbyterian,* hoping that he would take heed and leave the State.[67] Worth was not frightened, and he wrote Simeon S. Jocelyn, Home Secretary of the A.M.A., that McNeill's efforts had

[63] *The American Missionary Magazine,* II (February, 1858).

[64] Daniel Worth to Simeon S. Jocelyn, February 9, 1858, American Missionary Archives; Helper, *The Impending Crisis,* 396; *Annual Report,* XII (1858), 70.

[65] Jonathan Worth to George McNeill, March 10, 1860; Jonathan Worth to G. W. Bainum, March 31, 1860; Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence,* I, 110-123.

[66] Ms. copy of the article from the *North Carolina Presbyterian* (Fayetteville) in a letter from Daniel Worth to Simeon S. Jocelyn, January 21, American Missionary Archives. See also *New York Daily Tribune,* May 8, 1860; *The American Missionary Magazine,* IV (June, 1860), 125; Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South,* 84; George McNeill to Thomas Ruffin, March 12, 1860, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 4 volumes, 1918-1920), III, 73, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers.*

[67] Daniel Worth to Simeon S. Jocelyn, January 21, 1858, American Missionary Archives.

met no response among the people or officials of North Carolina as far as he could learn while other circumstances in the State were wonderfully encouraging.[68]

The North Carolina missionaries were extremely optimistic in 1859. In a joint report made on July 15, Worth and Alfred Vestal expressed gratitude for having been allowed to lead such "quiet and peaceable lives," and declared: "A glorious free gospel shall yet reverberate from hill top to hill top over the old North State."[69] Later in the year Vestal expressed the belief that the prospects for preaching an antislavery gospel in the State were better than ever before.[70]

Encouraged by the reports from the missionaries, Jocelyn informed the delegates at the annual meeting of the A.M.A. on October 19, 1859, that one of the "prominent aims" of the Association henceforth would be "to give the largest increase possible" to its operations in the slave States in a concentrated effort "to bring its principles and influence to bear upon slavery for its extinction."[71] The day before this announcement was made, John Brown was taken prisoner at Harpers Ferry. Neither the Association nor its missionaries endorsed John Brown's raid, but the missionaries were to suffer mob persecution and legal prosecution as results of the furor it created in the South.[72]

The storm of opposition against the A.M.A. missionaries broke first in Kentucky, but it was not long delayed in North Carolina. Some while after the John Brown raid, a North Carolina correspondent for the *New York Daily Tribune* described what the local reaction had been at the time. He observed that the emotions of North Carolinians were not easily aroused, but that after the Harpers Ferry incident the State's "fifty thousand square miles of stagnation" struggled into action, with determined efforts to exterminate the "abolition vipers"

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[68] Daniel Worth to Simeon S. Jocelyn, February 9, 1858, American Missionary Archives.

[69] Daniel Worth and Alfred Vestal to Simeon S. Jocelyn, July 16, 1859, American Missionary Archives.

[70] Alfred Vestal to Simeon S. Jocelyn, October 19, 1859, American Missionary Archives.

[71] *Annual Report*, XIII (1859), 56.

[72] In commenting on John Brown's raid, the executive committee of the American Missionary Association reported: "We approve no act that is contrary to the principles of the Gospel. The Gospel has power to overthrow slavery, and properly applied, will do it. The sentiments adopted by the convention that met December 1833, to form the American Anti-Slavery Society, are the sentiments of all true Christian abolitionists. Our principles lead us to reject the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage: relying solely upon those which are spiritual! . . ." *The American Missionary Magazine*, III (December, 1859), 280. For similar expressions from the North Carolina missionaries see *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (February, 1860), 37; *National Era*, January 12, 1860.

in its midst.[73] On December 21, 1859, Worth wrote to the A.M.A. as follows:

> The prospect is that we shall have times of trial here before long. Since the unfortunate affair at Harper's [*sic*] Ferry, the county is in a tremendous ferment. Threatenings reach me from various quarters. . . . I do not expect to leave my work except compelled by brute force. I know arrangements are making to meet me with a mob at my next appointment—Sabbath the 25. I am calm, peaceful, confiding in my God.[74]

Worth was not to fill his Christmas Day appointment or any other engagements in North Carolina. The day after writing the above letter, he heard that there were warrants out for his arrest in Guilford County; he drove to the home of one of his relatives in Greensboro and sent the sheriff word that he was ready to surrender.[75] Besides the warrant in Guilford, Judge Romulus Mitchell Saunders of Raleigh had issued warrants for Worth's arrest in Alamance, Chatham, and Randolph counties.[76] The surrender to the Guilford County authorities, therefore, was not prompted by a desire for martyrdom, but by Worth's belief that he would fare better by a trial in Greensboro, among friends and relatives, than in Raleigh.[77]

The minister was charged with the circulation of *The Impending Crisis of the South* and speaking in such a manner as to excite Negroes to insurrection and rebellion. The first offense was in violation of a North Carolina law which made it a crime to bring into the State and circulate, or with the intention of circulating, any "pamphlet or paper . . . the evident tendency whereof is to cause slaves to become discontented with their bondage . . . and free negroes to be dissatisfied with their social condition."[78] The second count violated a statute against speaking in such a way as to excite Negroes to "a spirit of insurrection, conspiracy, or rebellion."[79] Penalty on conviction in the first case was imprisonment for not less than one year, the pillory, and a whipping, at the discretion of the court. In the second case the penalty on conviction was thirty-nine lashes and imprisonment for one year.

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[73] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1860.
[74] *Annual Report*, XIV (1860), 126.
[75] *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (June, 1860), 126.
[76] *Semi-Weekly Standard*, December 28, 1859.
[77] *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (June, 1860), 126.
[78] Bartholomew F. Moore and Asa Biggs (revisers), *Revised Code of North Carolina, 1854* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1855), c. 34, s. 16, hereinafter cited as *Revised Code of 1854*.
[79] *Revised Code of North Carolina*, c. 34, s. 17.

The preliminary hearing was held on Christmas Eve in a justices' court in Greensboro. Three lawyers appeared for the State and Worth conducted his own defense. Over a dozen witnesses testified, and it was proved that he had been guilty of violating both statutes. One witness also stated that Worth had declared that he had "no respect for the laws of North-Carolina," which were "enacted by adulterers, drunkards and gamblers."[80]

The *New York Herald* correspondent said that Worth, in conducting his own defense, "did not appear to be at all embarrassed or frightened at his position, but on the contrary expressed his ideas with boldness and fearlessness."[81] He did not deny the charges, but attempted to justify his actions by reading from Helper's book and quoting Jefferson, William Gaston, and other sons of the South. He maintained that his motives had not been to stir up insurrection. During his speech, the crowd that jammed the courtroom became extremely excited, and it was feared that the prisoner would be attacked. Finally, his speech was halted with the warning that he must confine his remarks to his defense against the charges and that the court could not hear an oration on the morality of slavery. The court appealed to the crowd to restrain itself and allow justice in a court of law to take its course.[82]

The justices bound Worth over for trial in the spring court term, and set his bonds at $5,000 for appearance and $5,000 for good behavior. The first bond was posted by two local residents, George W. Bowman and David Hodgins. Bondsmen for the second were found, but Worth decided not to exchange the security of the jail for the threatening mob violence, feeling also that he could not keep good behavior if it called for refusing to speak out against the sin of slavery.[83] Furthermore, he realized that three sheriffs were waiting for his release so that they might arrest him. Although the time limit on the three warrants issued by Judge Saunders expired before they were served, another warrant, from Randolph County, was served on Worth in the Greensboro jail. He was taken into Randolph for an examination on January 12. The charges here were identical with those in Guilford County, and he was placed under another $5,000 bond and returned to the Greensboro jail.[84]

[80] *Semi-Weekly Standard*, December 28, 1859; *New York Herald*, December 30, 1859; *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, January 4, 1860.
[81] *New York Herald*, December 30, 1859.
[82] *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (June, 1860), 126.
[83] *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (June, 1860), 126.
[84] *Greensborough Patriot*, January 20, 1860.

At the time of these hearings, Worth maintained that he had violated no just law, and had not consciously violated any North Carolina law.[85] But he was clearly conscious of the provisions of the laws under which he was arrested; in fact, he had long anticipated their application to him.[86] As early as 1858 he outlined to Hinton Rowan Helper the plans for the exact defense he followed at the preliminary hearings.[87]

Worth's arrest and the hearings served to fan the flames of the fiery proslavery resentment created by John Brown. The *New York Herald* correspondent reported that the people of Guilford County seemed determined to rid themselves of abolitionists, and the reporter for the *New York Daily Tribune* described similar conditions in Davidson, Randolph, and other adjoining counties. Throughout the region threats were made against "Hickory Quakers," as those believed to hold abolition sentiments were called. Copies of Helper's book were confiscated and publicly burned.[88] Even the slaves are supposed to have shown their hostility to Worth. Following the preliminary hearing in Guilford County, the reporter for the *New York Herald* wrote:

> After Worth was convicted [*sic*] the slaves of this place gave a grand banquet in honor of the event, to which the court and bar and many of our prominent citizens were invited. It was truly a magnificant affair, and the table would have done credit to a Fifth avenue palace. To show you the feeling of the negroes, a slave belonging to Colonel E. P. Jones, a large tobacco manufacturer of this place, remarked that he could read his Bible as well as Worth, and he prayed to the Lord to let all abolitionists be hung, because if it were not for them the master would not be half so strict with the slave; and that he loved the Lord the best and his master next, and hated an abolitionist worst and the devil next.[89]

One may have reservations about accepting the banquet and the speech as spontaneous expressions of the slaves, but there is no doubt that the public was enraged. Nevertheless, the *Greensborough Patriot* reported that there had been no acts of violence and the "law abiding" people of Guilford County had restrained themselves with the assurance "that the majesty of the law will be asserted." At the same time, the editor emphasized that abolitionist sentiments were not widespread in Guilford County and denied the charge of the Winston

[85] *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (June, 1860), 126.
[86] *Annual Report*, XII (1858), 70.
[87] Helper, *The Impending Crisis*, 396-397.
[88] *New York Herald*, January 14, 1860; *New York Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1860.
[89] *New York Herald*, January 14, 1860.

Western Sentinel that the Greensboro jail was filled with abolitionists.[90] However, at least three other arrests of persons charged with abolitionist activities were made in the vicinity.

George W. Vestal, a son of the A.M.A. missionary, was removed from his teaching position by the Alamance County school board, arrested on a warrant of Judge Saunders, and taken to Raleigh for a hearing. No proof was submitted that he had circulated *The Impending Crisis* or advised insurrection. In fact, it was brought out that he had condemned the use of violence and the course of John Brown. Evidence was given, however, that he had proclaimed himself an abolitionist, corresponded with abolitionists in the North, and circulated, for signatures, antislavery petitions to Congress. This was sufficient to hold him for trial under a $2,000 bond.[91] Jesse Wheeler, whose commission from the American Missionary Association never became active, was arrested on the charge of circulating sixty copies of Helper's book.[92] An elderly man named Turner had a preliminary hearing in Greensboro and it was proved he had circulated the book. He was placed under a $5,000 bond.[93] The warrant for another old man, Jesse Pope, an illiterate invalid, was not served after it became clear that he had innocently been the tool of Worth in receiving shipments of *The Impending Crisis.* Meanwhile, the last shipment of the book had been confiscated and publicly burned.[94]

While the radical proslavery element of the State encouraged additional arrests, threats of violence, and book-burnings, there was a tendency among the more moderate men, especially those of strong union sentiments, to approach Worth's case with less heat and emotion. Before either of the scheduled trials for Worth came up, Jonathan Worth wrote a letter to George McNeill of the *North Carolina Presbyterian,* suggesting that he take up with Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin the expediency of applying less than the full punishment to the missionary. While he did not sympathize with his relative's views, and admitted that he was a fit case for the execution of the law, he felt that Worth would accept the punishment with the feeling of a martyr. Worth's arrest, he said, had already served the desired purpose in that persons of like sentiments would be hesitant to violate the law in the future, while further punishment would only give the abolitionists the opportunity to make capital out of his good moral character,

[90] *Greensborough Patriot,* January 6, 1860.
[91] *National Era,* January 5, 1860; *Semi-Weekly Standard,* December 31, 1859; *The American Missionary Magazine,* IV (February, 1860), 36.
[92] *New York Daily Tribune,* January 23, 1860.
[93] *Semi-Weekly Standard,* December 31, 1859.
[94] *Greensborough Patriot,* March 15, 1860.

age, profession, and martyrdom. The missionary's cousin believed that it would be extremely unwise to whip the old man, and that it would be very desirable after conviction for the whole sentence to be suspended in exchange for Worth's promise to leave the State. Jonathan Worth believed that if McNeill could influence Judge Ruffin to accept his views, and if the Judge in turn would prevail upon other men of influence in the State to accept them, the court would act with leniency.[95] McNeill sent Worth's letter on to Judge Ruffin with the comment that if the missionary was convicted, the *North Carolina Presbyterian* would "publish an appeal to the Governor to pardon him, or remit the whipping—on condition that he leave the State forever."[96] McNeill had wanted Worth out of the State since he entered it in 1857, and he was willing to let him go without a beating. There is no evidence, however, that Judge Ruffin tried to influence the courts of Guilford and Randolph counties, even though they did act with restraint against Worth.

Meanwhile, Worth was confined in the Greensboro jail, which was reported to be filled with a "filth and stench" that caused him to lose fifty pounds during his confinement of more than five months.[97] The jail was heavily guarded, especially at night. The purpose of the guard seems to have been to prevent him from communicating with his followers or managing an escape, rather than as a protection for him against the angry public. The editor of the *Semi-Weekly Standard* regarded Worth as a man of "sense and shrewdness . . . calculated to do great mischief," and believed that were the jail not well guarded his followers might attempt a rescue.[98] Another observer, a Greensboro woman and a member of one of Worth's congregations, viewed the heavy guard as simply a form of censorship and another denial of liberty by the slaveocracy. She wrote:

> His keepers observe the strictest vigilance, not allowing even his wife to speak a word to him without witnesses being present; nor do they suffer him to write a word to any person, only what passes under their inspection. They made an attempt yesterday [at the preliminary hearing in Randolph County] . . . to deprive him of the means of writing at all; but finally concluded to let him have two or three sheets of paper at a time, by his giving an account to the Sherrif what disposition he made

[95] Jonathan Worth to George McNeill, March 10, 1860, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, I, 110-113.
[96] George McNeill to Thomas Ruffin, March 12, 1860, Hamilton, *Ruffin Papers*, III, 73.
[97] *New York Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1860.
[98] *Semi-Weekly Standard*, December 31, 1859.

of it. One object seems to be to cut off all correspondence with friends, and indeed all friends of liberty here must suffer likewise.[99]

Worth himself commented that his mail was closely scrutinized and that "all inflammatory matter" would greatly prejudice his case. He therefore requested all his correspondents to "abstain from allusions to Slavery, and all else which can excite the South, already in a fearful state of excitement."[100]

The missionary was tried first in Randolph County, the trial beginning on March 26, 1860, with Judge John L. Bailey presiding. He was tried only on the first count in the indictment, that is for circulating Helper's book. Friends of Worth had employed Ralph Gorrell and James Turner Morehead at a fee of $500 to conduct his defense.[101] Over two hours were occupied in selecting the jury. More than fifty men were examined; the defendant challenged most of them for cause, many having already expressed the opinion that he was guilty. Of the twelve men finally selected, only four were slaveholders.[102]

The indictment covered about twenty pages, including long excerpts from Helper's Book, which led the *New York Daily Tribune* reporter to remark with irony that the indictment should have been cited as "an incendiary document" by the court.[103] The reading of it, and the speeches by the prosecuting attorneys, moved the spectators to demonstrations against the prisoner. But once order was restored and the taking of evidence got under way, the trial moved rapidly. It was easily proved that Worth had circulated the book. Several of the witnesses testified to having received it from him and four of them produced copies for the court. The defendant did not testify, and his attorneys made no attempt to deny the charge. Instead they based their defense on legal technicalities, arguing that the book was not an incendiary publication, but one of statistical information, that there was no evidence it had been read by anyone, that to come within the meaning of the statute the book must have been delivered to a Negro, and that the statute covered only pamphlets and papers, not books.[104] Both Gorrell and Morehead realized they had a difficult case; they were arguing more for civil liberties than to prove Worth innocent of violating the law on the books, which they severely

[99] *New York Daily Tribune*, January 26, 1860.
[100] *New York Daily Tribune*, January 25, 1860.
[101] *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (May, 1860), 109.
[102] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1860; *Greensborough Patriot*, April 6, 1860.
[103] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1860.
[104] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1860; *Greensborough Patriot*, April 6, 1860; *Semi-Weekly Standard*, April 7, 1860.

criticised as a violation of fundamental American rights. Worth and his friends had only praise for the way the lawyers handled the case.[105]

In his charge to the jury Judge Bailey overruled most of the arguments made by the defense. He ruled that a book was within the meaning, even though it did not meet the letter, of the law. He also ruled that it was not necessary to prove the book had been circulated among Negroes or read by anyone who received it, if the jury decided its tendency was such as forbidden by the statute, and Worth had circulated it with the desire to promote discontent among the slaves.[106]

The jury retired about midnight on March 30, and returned a verdict of guilty after four hours of deliberation. Judge Bailey exercised his discretionary power, omitted the pillory and flogging, and sentenced Worth to one year in prison. A motion for a new trial was denied so an appeal was made to the State Supreme Court.[107] The minister was placed under a bond of $400, signed by Dr. C. C. Woolen, Worth's son-in-law, and William Osborne. There still remained the second count of speaking to incite discontent and rebellion for which Worth had not been tried. Five local citizens posted a bond of $1,000 for his appearance in court on this count.[108]

Worth was then returned to the Greensboro jail to await trial in Guilford County. His case, again on only one count—the circulation of Helper's book—was heard the last week in April. Judge Bailey presided over the trial, and he must have felt that he was observing a repeat performance. The case for the State was as easily established as before, and Morehead and Gorrell used a similar defense. After the verdict of guilty was returned, Bailey again passed the minimum sentence and denied the motion for a new trial, which led to an appeal to the Supreme Court. The bond in the case at issue was placed at $400, and the bond in the case not tried at $1,000. Both bonds were posted and Worth was released from jail.[109]

The missionary now had two appeals to the Supreme Court and two cases pending in local courts. Neither he nor his friends had any hopes that he could win any of the cases, and he later stated that the

[105] Daniel Worth to Lewis Tappan, April 3, 1860, American Missionary Archives; *New York Daily Tribune*, April 12, May 8, 1860.

[106] *New York Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1860.

[107] *Greensborough Patriot*, April 6, 1860; *State v. Worth*, 52 N. C. 488 (1860).

[108] After the trial, Worth wrote to the treasurer of the American Missionary Association: "If I pass through the hands of what these men call law I shall expect to suffer all that humanity can endure and then sink under it and die in a southern dungeon. The conflict of spirit is fast breaking me. Do something for me if possible." Daniel Worth to Lewis Tappan, April 3, 1860, American Missionary Archives.

[109] *State v. Daniel Worth*, 52 N. C. 488 (1860).

appeals had been made, not in anticipation of a victory, but to give him an opportunity to leave the State. He had no intention of betraying the trust placed in him by his bondsmen, as some of his enemies alleged, but he was determined to raise the funds for their reimbursement.[110]

On May 7 he was in New York City and spoke in the City Assembly Rooms at a meeting arranged by the *New York Daily Tribune*. Before a large audience, he described his work in North Carolina, his arrest and treatment while in jail, and the court trials. After praising his defense attorneys and the fairness of Judge Bailey, he launched into a strong denunciation of the "fire eating Democrats" who were trying to make political capital of his activities and trials. A collection of $150, including $50 from Hinton Rowan Helper, was taken up after the speech.[111] A later speech in New York at George Cheever's Church of the Puritan brought donations totaling $120. Thence he went into New England, into Ohio, and into other western States. He announced on June 19, 1860, that the $1,000 mark had been passed.[112] Meanwhile, the American Missionary Association and Wesleyan Methodists had appealed for funds and received contributions.[113] The necessary amount ($2,800) to reimburse the bondsmen was reached on August 6, almost three months after Worth began the fund-raising campaign.[114]

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court of North Carolina had heard Worth's appeal from Guilford County. Judge Matthias Evans Manly wrote the decision upholding the lower court. The judges ruled that a bound volume met the term "paper" as it was used in the North Carolina statute in the comprehensive sense to include all written matter; and that it was not necessary to prove the book was delivered to a Negro, as a book, which denounced slavery as worse than theft and proclaimed it must be abolished even at the cost of blood, certainly had a tendency to excite slaves to insurrection.[115]

Worth paid off his bondsmen and returned to Richmond, Indiana, where his second wife, with a group of his North Carolina followers, joined him. In 1862 he was elected president of the Indiana Wesleyan Conference and the following year he died at the age of sixty-eight.[116]

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[110] *New York Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1860.
[111] *New York Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1860; *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (June, 1860), 128.
[112] *The American Missionary Magazine*, IV (October, 1860), 226.
[113] C. Prindle to George Whipple, July 19, 1860, American Missionary Archives.
[114] Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 104.
[115] *State v. Daniel Worth*, 52 N. C. 488 (1860).
[116] The age of Worth is in dispute. See Noble J. Tolbert, "Daniel Worth: Tar Heel Abolitionist," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIX (Summer, 1962), 303, hereinafter cited as Tolbert, "Daniel Worth."

His had been a long life, despite the abuse and exposure he had suffered in his work. A man of his talents, who had made a notable beginning in the field of politics, could have chosen what many would judge an easier and more successful career. But through abuse and frustrations, he exhibited the courage of a moral conviction that would not allow him to spare his talent, health, and energy in the abolition crusade. Although his methods may not always have been wise or expedient, he did what he believed to be right. He had hoped the end could be achieved without war, yet had a part in creating the aroused emotions that helped to bring on the War. Nonetheless, it must have cheered his last days to know that President Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation. He could, perhaps, feel that his work had not been in vain.[117]

One student of the Worth case has concluded that "'due process of law' never gave way to mob violence; rather, the people of North Carolina chose the law as a means of defense against Daniel Worth."[118] It is true that procedural due process of law was strictly observed in the Worth case, but substantive due process of law was just as clearly denied in that a fundamental liberty, freedom of speech, was violated. Clement Eaton in his excellent study on the subject has concluded that laws restricting freedom of speech were generally enacted throughout the Old South, but these laws were not rigidly enforced except in times of crisis.[119] The North Carolina case would support Eaton's thesis. For eight years, the missionaries worked almost unrestricted; and during the last two years Daniel Worth openly violated State laws. It was not until after the John Brown raid that the laws were enforced. Then Worth was prosecuted for his secular activities, not his religious work. Furthermore, even in this time of excitement, the full penalty of the law was not applied. But this does not disguise the fact that there were restrictions on freedom of speech. If this freedom does not exist in times of crisis, when there is division of opinion and established institutions are challenged, it has no meaning! The protection of freedom of speech is not needed when harmony and unity of opinion prevail.

[117] This writer has made an intensive but unsuccessful search of the newspapers and public records of North Carolina of this period, as well as of the extensive manuscript materials and published reports in the American Missionary Association Archives, in an effort to determine the fate of Vestal and Wheeler. It is known only that they did not continue the missionary work in North Carolina after Worth's arrest and that the Wesleyan Methodists were left without a minister. Mary Short to Simeon S. Jocelyn, February 17, 1860, American Missionary Archives.

[118] Tolbert, "Daniel Worth," 303.

[119] Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940).

ENTERTAINMENT IN RALEIGH IN 1890

By Sarah McCulloh Lemmon*

In social histories of the United States, the decade of the 1890's has been variously described as "mauve," "gay," "the watershed," "the confident years"; and looked back upon with nostalgia by many. Whatever the adjectives may be, the reconstruction of social life in that decade is a fascinating task; among the many aspects which might be considered are church life, education, clubs, the theater, family life, crime, city conveniences, housekeeping practices, and class structure. One of the lighter aspects of social history is that of entertainment; and, without intending to imply that social life consists only of entertainment, it will be of interest to attempt to revive the flavor and savor of the leisure hours of Raleigh's residents in the year 1890. The variety of enjoyable activities is well indicated by this typical social note in the *Daily State Chronicle* for March 27, 1890: "There are a number of big things booked for next month. Among them are the Chamber of Commerce banquet, a brilliant ball by the Monogram Club, a grand fair and festival by the Governors Guard, also one by the Capital Hose Co., two or three grand Easter pic-nics, a couple of marriages (rumored) and several other interesting and entertaining features."[1]

The enjoyment of music by the citizen, both as listener and as performer, was exceedingly popular in Raleigh. Every type and variety of musical activity was available. A Professor Baumann, at Peace College, gave an important recital in December for which a piano tuner was imported from Richmond. A certain Professor Wilhelm also gave a recital, this one being held in the city auditorium known as Metropolitan Hall.[2] Perhaps the newly organized Negro quartet might have come by and serenaded the family in the summer evenings as they sat on the porch.[3] A local orchestra called the Euterpean Society was

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[1] *Daily State Chronicle* (Raleigh), March 27, 1890, hereinafter cited as *Daily State Chronicle.*

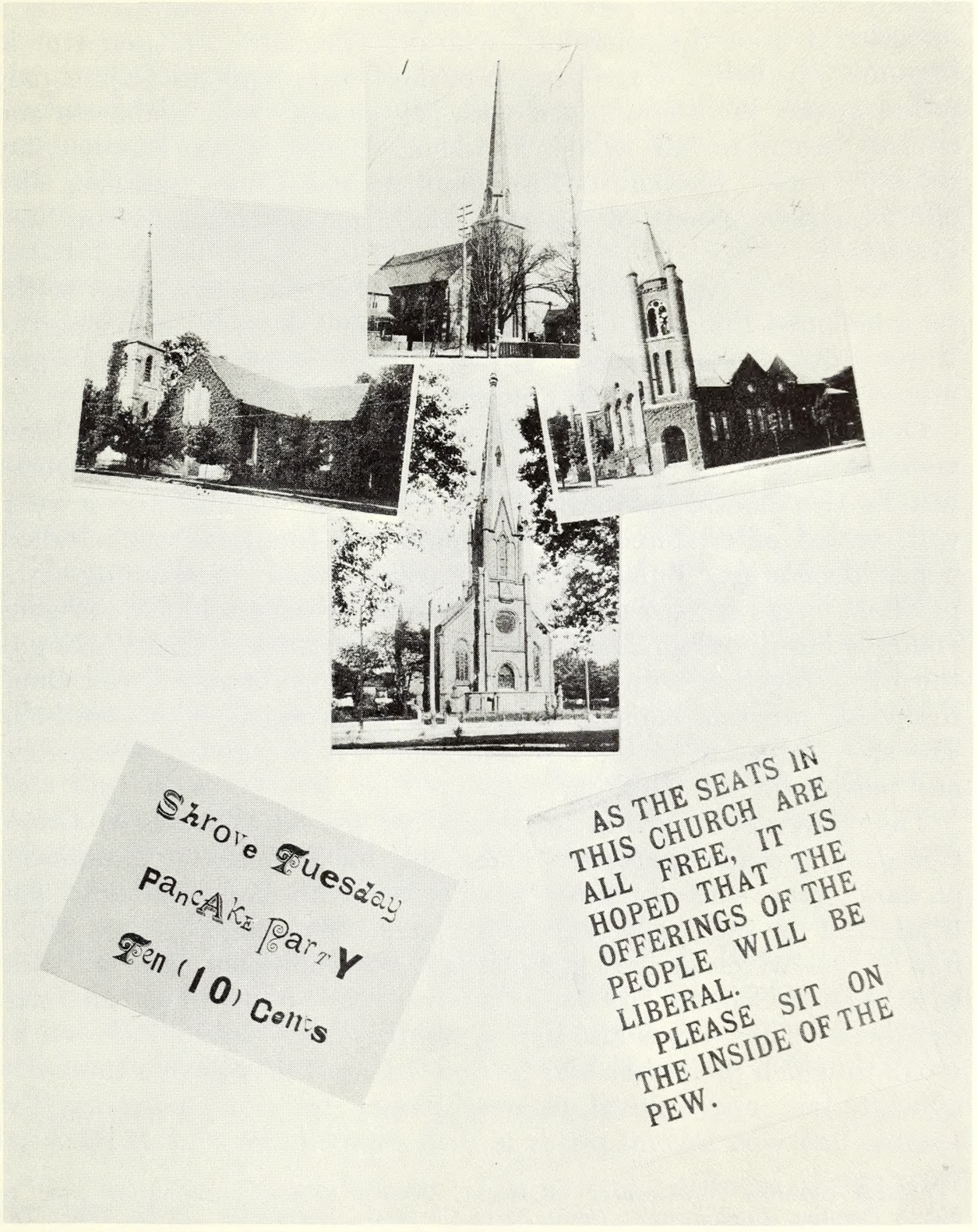
[2] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), February 19, December 5, 1890, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer.*

[3] *The New and Observer,* August 8, 1890.

organized and performed in Wake Forest, at Metropolitan Hall, and at the Insane Asylum. There was also a Raleigh Cornet Band which played at the fireman's fair.[4] Undoubtedly the musical event of the season, however, was the concert given by the King's Daughters of Christ Church after Easter, at which a Miss Southgate of Durham and a man named Cunningham of Richmond were the featured soloists. The Richmond and Danville Railroad gave special rates to those who wished to visit Raleigh for the occasion. Miss Southgate gave a recitation from *Hiawatha* both "thrillingly and impressively." The most unusual number at this concert was probably "A Merry Sleigh Ride" by Chevatal, which featured such instruments as the "Bigotphone," "Nightingale," sleigh wheels, sleigh bells, whip, popgun, and whistle.[5] Even the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the New York Thirteenth Regimental Band included Raleigh on their winter tours.[6] Most of the public, however, probably was less familiar with Beethoven and Tchaikovsky than with "Throw Him Down, McCloskey," and "Slide, Kelly, Slide," or the heart-rending ballad, "Father Was Killed By the Pinkerton Man."[7] Other popular titles, stocked by the North State Music Company at 113 Fayetteville Street, were "Kathleen," "My Marguerite of Long Ago," and "Thou Art All to Me."[8] The really popular songs, though, were hymns, sung alone while at work, on parties, hayrides, or around the family piano. Among the most loved ones were "Bringing in the Sheaves," "Beulah Land," "The Ninety and Nine," and "Rescue the Perishing."[9]

Much of the entertainment centered around fund-raising activities for the various churches, both white and Negro. The Reverend Thomas Dixon, Jr., gave his famous lecture, "Playing the Fool," for the benefit of Tabernacle Baptist Church's parsonage. The King's Daughters gave an ice cream lawn party at the post office, serving neapolitan, banana, and chocolate ice cream; while the Blount Street Presbyterian ladies dignified a similar affair by the title of an ice cream and strawberry "symposium," complete with music. At a Fête Champêtre, Brooklyn Church served ice cream and "other delicacies." A donkey

[4] *The News and Observer,* February 20, 21, April 3, 1890.
[5] *Daily State Chronicle,* April 12, 1890; *The News and Observer,* March 7, 9, April 12, 1890.
[6] *Daily State Chronicle,* October 25, 1890; *The News and Observer,* December 9, 1890.
[7] Mark Sullivan, *Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 6 volumes, 1926-1935), III, 351, hereinafter cited as Sullivan, *Our Times;* Henry Collins Brown, *In the Golden Nineties* (Hastings-on-Hudson, New York: Valentine's Manual, Inc., 1928), 176-177, hereinafter cited as Brown, *In the Nineties.*
[8] *Daily State Chronicle,* September 2, 1890.
[9] Sullivan, *Our Times,* III, 346*n.*



Raleigh churches during the 1890's were not only places of worship but were also recreational centers. Pictured above are (1) Edenton Street Methodist Church, (2) Christ Episcopal Church, (3) First Baptist Church, and (4) First Presbyterian Church. The photographs were taken from *Illustrated Raleigh*, a brochure of the period. The ticket and the notice were photographed from originals.

party in the afternoon and a gypsy tea at night raised money for the King's Daughters in September, while the Bright Jewels of Edenton Street Methodist gave two performances of the "Missionary Ship." Money was raised for the Negro hospital with a performance by a "wonderful colored elocutionist" who did Cleopatra and Ben Hur in costume. The ladies of the Church of the Good Shepherd (Episcopal) raised money for a new organ with "an exceptionally elaborate and choice" organ recital, while Brooklyn, Davie Street Presbyterian, Edenton Street Methodist, First Baptist, and Christ churches also offered entertainment of assorted kinds to secure funds for their projects.[10]

Some curious types of parties mentioned in the newspapers of the time included the as yet unidentified "bonnet party," "lemon party," "Progressive Peanut party," "Topic Party," "guess musicale," "progressive word party," and a "Snipping Party."[11]

One of the interesting spring events was the fair given by the Independent Hose Reel Company, held in the armory. Plans were under way for two months before the fair was held. It continued for a week, with varied entertainment each evening. A fountain was installed, paper decorations hung from the ceiling, and "enchanting little pavilions" were erected at which refreshments were sold. One evening young ladies in costume performed a tableau entitled "The Waking of the Lily," together with a solo called "Waiting for the Loved One," the whole program being climaxed with the ringing of the fire bells. The special feature of the last afternoon was a showing of monkeys and parrots for the children.[12]

The Governor's Guards, the name of the local National Guard Company, provided pageantry and gaiety for the citizens. In uniforms of dark green single-breasted frock coats with buff trimmings and trousers of the same color, they must have been a dashing sight in the new shakos which arrived in February, first shown off at a drill held at St. Mary's School. The young ladies were "highly entertained and delighted." The Guards also held a monthly dress parade followed by a ball to which the public was invited. In April they gave a three-day concert, fair, and festival to raise money for new uniforms. The Guards had won several prizes in drill competitions and as the local

[10] *North Carolina Intelligencer* (Raleigh), October 8, 1890, hereinafter cited as *North Carolina Intelligencer; Daily State Chronicle*, September 11, 12, 1890; *The News and Observer*, January 8, 12, 17, May 7, June 1, 10, September 11, 12, 18, October 1, 2, 23, 1890.

[11] *Daily State Chronicle*, September 17, 1890; *The News and Observer*, February 7, March 7, 8, May 10, August 26, December 28, 1890.

[12] *The News and Observer*, February 20, April 8, 9, 11, 1890.

paper said, "Raleigh is much indebted to the company for the many honors it has reflected on the City and State." [13]

Barnum and Bailey's Circus came to town in November, then as ever welcomed by the populace. Although some of the ushers were reported as rude to the ladies, using profanity in their presence, the parade and show were a big success. The performing horses and elephants were excellent, as were the forty supernatural illusions. The two featured spectaculars were "Nero, or The Destruction of Rome," and "The Siege of Vera Cruz." [14] "Nero" had been performed just the year before in London. According to the posters advertising it, "Nero" included a triumphal procession, bacchanalian orgies, gladiatorial contests, and even a chariot race. The performing horses, decorated with red pompons, reared on their hind legs, as did the ten great elephants all in a row with the ringmaster and assorted clowns lending color to the spectacle.[15] London could not outdo Raleigh! "The Dawn of Christianity" was also performed in the North Carolina city, including "marriage ceremonies of the Ancient Romans, religious fetes, Bacchanalian Orgies, Barbarians, Spies, Embassadors," all for 75 cents for adults and 50 cents for children under nine.[16]

The greatest fall event, even more than the circus, was the State Fair. In addition to the usual exhibits and prizes, there was a featured speaker every afternoon and evening, horse races, an entire Japanese village filled with 100,000 objects of interest, a balloon ascension with a parachutist leaping from its basket, and a spelling match. The visitor could reach the fair either by being one of 29,000 to take the train from the Hargett Street Station or by engaging a hack. One rainy night during which "Ladies gaily attired in silks and velvets went splashing through the mud," there were accusations that the hackmen took advantage of the weather to overcharge.[17]

The picnic season opened on Easter Sunday, when "Raleigh went teetotally wild." People drove to Milburnie, Falls of Neuse, the Water Works, the penitentiary woods, and other places. As evening approached and families returned to town, "Every wagon was literally covered with blossoms of spring. It is not dangerous to say that there is not a

[13] *Daily State Chronicle*, April 29, 1890; *The News and Observer*, February 14, March 28, April 17, 1890.

[14] *The News and Observer*, October 28, November 7, 1890.

[15] Eric Larrabee, "The Old Showman's Last Triumph," *American Heritage*, XIII (December, 1961), 22-29.

[16] *Daily Evening Visitor* (Raleigh), October 28, 1890, hereinafter cited as *Daily Evening Visitor*.

[17] *Daily Evening Visitor*, October 17, 21, 1890; *North Carolina Intelligencer*, October 15, 1890; *The News and Observer*, August 29, October 11, 14, 16, 17, 22, 1890.





The scene at the top of the page is a view of the State Fairgrounds in Raleigh around the turn of the century. Pictured below is a lake at Pullen Park in Raleigh. Both pictures were taken from *Illustrated Raleigh.*

whole dogwood tree in five miles of town."[18] Picnics continued during the summer, as did carriage drives in Pullen Park where one could admire the fifty goldfish in the pond or watch the leaping waters of the fountain near the railroad.[19] Young people might be invited in "bevies" to spend the day—chaperoned, of course—at Major Tucker's farm, or possibly to attend a barbecue at William Gulley's.[20] Really popular during the summer, though, were the train excursions. In June an all-day excursion to Tarboro was so crowded that all who wished to go could not board the train. Upon reaching Tarboro at 11:30 A.M. the fortunate travelers went sight-seeing, then picnicked in "the goodly grove," beat Tarboro at baseball, and returned home safely. Plenty of ice water was provided on the train for thirsty passengers and a special servant waited on the guests—all for a total cost of $1.50. Twice during 1890 a three-day excursion train puffed its way to Asheville, for $3.50 round trip. These trains provided special cars for ladies and children, and by making the trip in the daytime provided excellent views of the "superb Blue Ridge scenery." When a Negro excursion arrived once in Raleigh from Portsmouth, the Virginians paraded up Fayetteville Street "with a brass band at the head of the procession and a long and strong company of coons in the rear."[21] On another occasion, "the promenading of a large number of colored excursionists from Wilmington was a feature of the streets yesterday."[22]

If Raleigh became too hot, one could always go to the seashore or the mountains. In June, 1890, the Atlantic Hotel at Morehead had 900 guests, who were offered seafood, western beef and mutton, fresh milk and butter, and it gave special rates to families.[23] Tucker's department store offered exactly what one needed for travel to the beach for a lengthy stay: trunks, valises, traveling bags, telescopes, shawls, and bathing suits for ladies and gentlemen, including appropriate bathing shoes and hats.[24] Should one prefer the mountains, one might choose White Sulphur Springs at Mt. Airy; Buffalo Lithia Springs and Orkney Springs in Virginia where the climate was salubrious and free from fogs, the latter springs also providing a billiard room, bowling alley, tennis courts, swimming pool, horses, and an orchestra. Perhaps one would prefer to take the Western North Carolina Railroad to Connelly

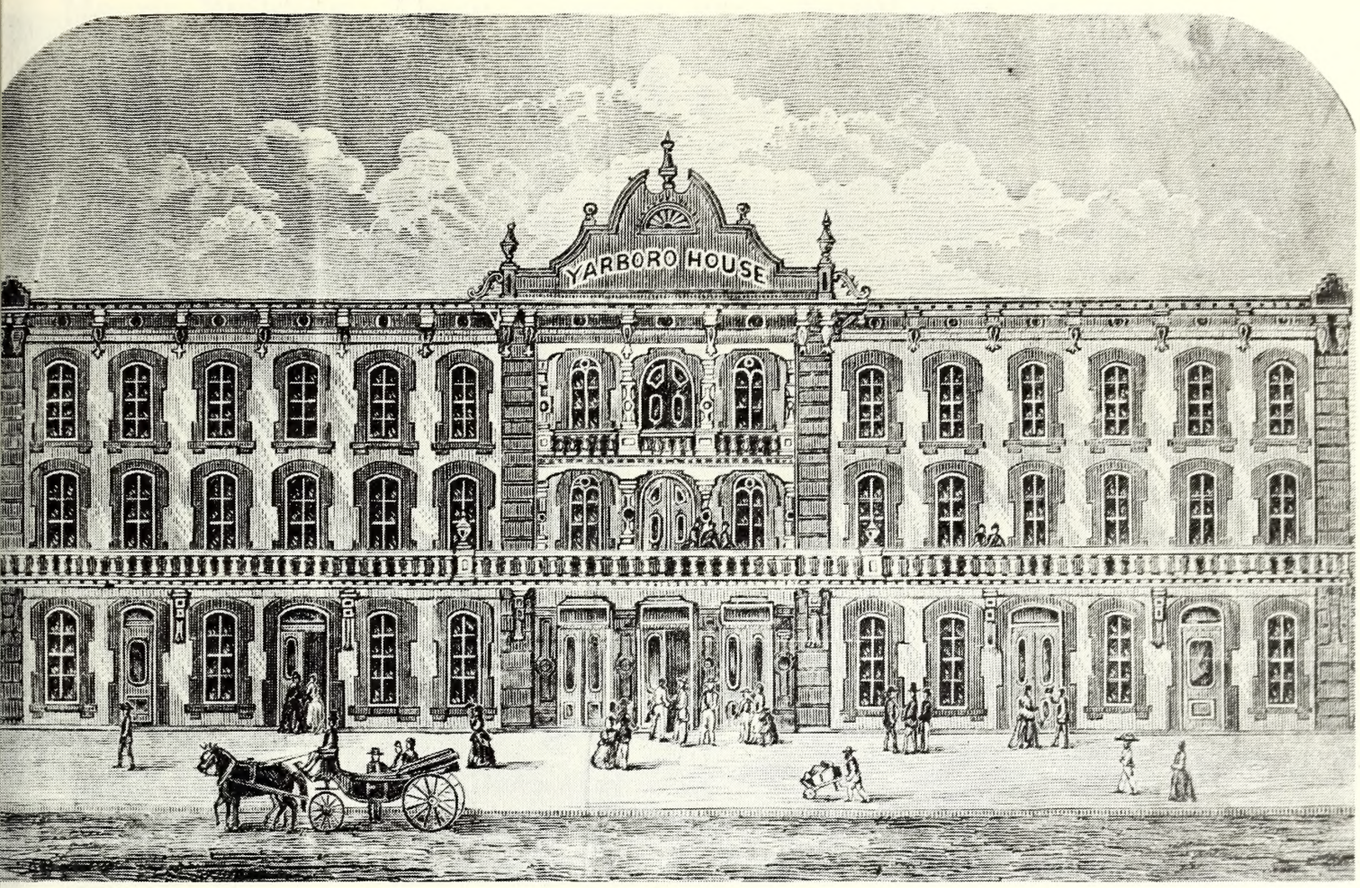
[18] *Daily State Chronicle,* April 8, 1890.
[19] *The News and Observer,* April 16, May 17, 1890.
[20] *The News and Observer,* July 24, August 16, 1890.
[21] *The News and Observer,* June 1, 4, August 9, 20, 28, 1890.
[22] *Daily State Chronicle,* September 3, 1890.
[23] *The News and Observer,* June 1, 25, 1890.
[24] *The News and Observer,* June 1, 1890.

Springs and enjoy its billiard and pool tables and tenpin alley; or Cleveland Springs; or the Bon Air Hotel at Littleton, the Blowing Rock Hotel, the Battery Park in Asheville, or the Isothermal Hotel at Rutherfordton where horesback and vehicle riding were specialties.[25] It is interesting to note that only a few of these remain as contemporary summer resorts; many have vanished in the growth of industry, the shifting of population, and changing fashions in summer holidays.

Entertainment was also provided to Raleighites by the neighboring schools and their societies. A special train was scheduled in February for those wishing to attend the anniversary exercises of the two literary societies at Wake Forest College—round trip fare, $1.00. In the same month Washington's Birthday was celebrated in Phi Hall at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill with two orators and the Metropolitan Band. The "young gentlemen" at the Agricultural and Mechanical College (now North Carolina State College) on the western edge of the city of Raleigh held a public debate in April and a number of ladies and gentlemen from the city "went out to attend the exercises." Also in April, Class Day at the University drew young ladies from Raleigh to Chapel Hill to attend its two dances and to observe its athletic competition. Special trains were provided in June for those wishing to be present for the commencement exercises at the University and also at Davidson College near Charlotte.[26]

And, of course, dancing was extremely popular. If one were unacquainted with the terpsichorean art, he or she could attend Professor Balizza's dancing classes and learn the Saratoga lancers, Centennial lancers, polka quadrilles, lawn tennis (with a ball?), Newport waltzes, military schottische, glide polkas, Columbia (how patriotic!), gavotte, rock schottische, Yorke, North Carolina polkas, and the German.[27] The Monogram Club entertained monthly with a German, and it was customary for young men to compliment visiting belles by giving Germans.[28] Although Raleigh had no Delmonico's, Sherry's, or Waldorf-Astoria[29] for its balls and cotillions, it managed very well by using the Yarborough House and the Capital Club. On Valentine's Day, for example, a *Bal Poudre* or costume ball was given at the Yarborough House. At one end of the ballroom was a solid bank of

[25] *The News and Observer*, June 3, 6, 12, 13, July 5, 6, 25, August 21, 1890.
[26] *The News and Observer*, February 12, 20, April 5, 16, June 3, 1890.
[27] *The News and Observer*, April 12, 1890.
[28] *The News and Observer*, January 1, February 20, April 6, 22, 25, May 9, September 18, 1890.
[29] Fairfax Downey, *Portrait of an Era as Drawn by C. D. Gibson* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 136.



The Yarborough House was Raleigh's leading hotel from 1851 until it burned in 1928. The artist's drawing of the remodeled and enlarged structure was taken from the files of the State Department of Archives and History. Notice the misspelling of the name of the hotel in the drawing itself.

holly. "Lunch" was served at midnight, a choice and dainty collation, with hot chocolate as the beverage. The gowns of the ladies were fabulous: ivory satin broche entrain with rose point lace, and pearls for milady's jewels; black satin entrain worn with diamonds; pink *mousseline de soie* demitrain with diamonds; green brocade velvet entrain; pink front with Japanese golden embroidery—to cite a few. The men wore kneepants, and lace decorated the tips of their claw-hammer coats. Some unfortunate young lady lost her fan of white gauze painted with pink roses, its ivory handle inlaid with gold and silver, for which she offered a reward.[30] The next large ball of the season was in April following the King's Daughters concert described earlier. Invitations were extended to 300 persons and the event was at the Yarborough House. A "splendid collation" was served. Among those present was Mrs. Josephus Daniels, wife of the later Secretary of the Navy, who wore a heliotrope cashmere gown with violet trimming.[31] Practically every woman present was described as wear-

[30] *The News and Observer*, February 7, 15, 20, 1890.
[31] *The News and Observer*, April 12, 1890.



Second from the left is the Capital Club Building, on Martin Street in Raleigh. The photograph was taken by Wharton around 1900 and is from the files of the State Department of Archives and History.

ing diamonds, which had undoubtedly been salvaged at the cost of other property from the War and Reconstruction.

During the summer, balls were not given. There was, however, resumption of dancing in the fall, and on Thanksgiving night a charity ball was held for the benefit of St. John's Hospital. Only calico dresses were allowed, just for contrast. Admission was $2.00 per gentleman; he might bring a lady if he wished. Profits of $174 were realized from this affair.[32] The Marshall's Ball during State Fair Week was another important and "elegant affair," climaxing the social whirl of that festival.[33]

Undoubtedly the outstanding social affair of the 1890-1891 season was the opening of the new Capital Club quarters, celebrated with a ball. With a membership of about one hundred, this club seems to have been the equivalent of a social register for the men of Raleigh and something like the exclusive New York City clubs. In November, 1890, it moved from the old Haywood mansion at the corner of Fayetteville and Morgan Streets into the second and third floors of the

[32] *The News and Observer*, November 11, 29, 1890.
[33] *Daily State Chronicle*, October 7, 1890.

Henry Building. These quarters were beautifully decorated with "costliest frescoing and painting," carpeted with Brussels carpets, and elegantly equipped. There was a parlor for receiving ladies, reading rooms for members, a billiard parlor, a smoking room, cafe, lavatory and bath on the lower floor. Upstairs was the ballroom. The whole was furnished with steam heat, electric bells, water works, gas jets, and an elevator. The opening ball was held December 11, and was indeed a "brilliant scene" with crimson electric lights glowing on the decorative evergreens. The New Year's Eve ball for the social set was also held there.[34]

The Negro population as well had its social affairs. The Broad Street Club, composed of the waiters at the Yarborough House (such employment being apparently a mark of distinction), gave a "full dress ball" at Briggs Hall on January 1, 1890, in celebration of Emancipation Day, the affair being described by the editor of *The News and Observer* as "brilliant." [35]

From September until spring, the theatrical season was in full swing. The theater used was Metropolitan Hall, which seated 500 persons plus other seats in the galleries. The price of admission was 10, 20, and 30 cents for the cheaper shows, and 25, 50, and 75 cents for the better. Prices of $1.00 or more were considered exhorbitant.[36]

Some Shakespearean drama was performed. The theatrical company of McLean and Prescott had, of course, an excellent reputation. In January, 1890, McLean was scheduled to appear in *Richard III* but at the last minute played *As You Like It* instead. The preceding year *The Merchant of Venice* had been presented. In the season of 1890-1891 a dramatization of *Spartacus* was the offering and McLean reportedly gave a wonderful performance.[37] The general public of the 1890's, however, preferred melodrama. "A really good villain could get himself hissed whenever he appeared." [38] Such a play appears to have been one entitled "A Legal Wrong," performed in November of 1890 and made memorable by a spectacular shipwreck scene. "The Galley Slave," "The Two Orphans," and "Satan" starring Rose Osborne also seem to have been melodramas. "From Sire to Son" was the narrative of a reformed gambler. Its locale ranged from Venice to a gold mine in California, and contained one scene in which

[34] *North Carolina Intelligencer*, December 10, 1890; *Daily State Chronicle*, October 1, 1890; *The News and Observer*, October 5, December 7, 12, 1890, January 1, 1891.
[35] *The News and Observer*, January 1, 1890.
[36] *The News and Observer*, April 5, August 30, 1890.
[37] *The News and Observer*, January 1, 2, 3, 4, December 20, 24, 1890.
[38] Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in America* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, Inc., 2 volumes, 1950-1952), II, 286-287, hereinafter cited as Wish, *Society and Thought.*

the hero climbed a clinging vine up a high tower to rescue his daughter from a fate worse than death. This was evaluated locally as a very fine play. There was some comedy too: "Bootle's Baby," in which a bachelor English army officer attempted to rear a child; "The Little Coquette"; and a "charming little comedy" entitled "Sis." During a week's run in December the New York Theater Company gave an old favorite, "Jack's Sweetheart," "The Pearl of Savoy" in costume, and "The Mountain Pink."[39]

Throughout the nation minstrel companies were declining in popularity.[40] Only one such company appeared in Raleigh during the entire year—a group known as Hi Henry's Minstrels, complete with "magnificent costumes" and jokes that were "chaste and good."[41] But vaudeville and variety shows were increasing in popularity.[42] These shows were scrupulously "clean" and excluded any songs of *double entendre*. Immoral relations between men and women could be mentioned only with a moral, as in "She Loved Not Wisely But Too Well," a current hit in 1894.[43] Many road shows of this type appeared in Raleigh, some for a one-night stand and others for a week's repertoire engagement. In January the Ada Henry Folly and Burlesque Company appeared although the word "burlesque" must have carried a different connotation from that of today. The Mortimer Comedy Company also appeared, four ladies being included in the cast; they rendered such numbers as "Down Went McGinty" in a show called "Larking." Raleigh liked this show, labeling it "a lively, sprightly, sparkling extravaganza."[44]

Royce and Lansing's Spectacular Extravaganza initiated February. The editor of *The News and Observer* expressed the fervent hope that their show would not include "that old chestnut The Last Rose of Summer," which he further categorized with the "frizzled antiquities," and much to his delight his hopes were realized. This show had "an air of refinement" which would "satisfy the most fastidious." Also in February the Boston Star Musical Combination played a return engagement in which it presented a cornetist, a humorist, a "sweet warbler," and a pianist. The American Hebrew Vocal Quartette sounds

[39] *Daily State Chronicle*, October 12, 1890; *The News and Observer*, January 14, March 5, October 5, 9, 28, 31, November 23, December 2, 3, 4, 1890.
[40] Wish, *Society and Thought*, II, 288.
[41] *Daily Evening Visitor*, November 8, 1890; *The News and Observer*, November 1, 1890.
[42] Wish, *Society and Thought*, II, 289.
[43] Sullivan, *Our Times*, III, 341.
[44] *The News and Observer*, January 5, 17, 18, 23, 26, 30, February 4, 1890.

more serious until one reads of the "great comedian" who was one of their number, a man billed as "The Smart Man from Germany."[45]

A little less fortunate was the experience of the Bowser Veau de Ville Company which appeared April 21. The members seem to have left Henderson without paying the hotel bill, and their luggage was attached by the Wake County sheriff in Raleigh. At this critical point, Bowser and the manager absconded with the available funds, leaving the hapless players to pawn their luggage and depart for Norfolk as best they could.[46]

The fall season of 1890 opened with a jolly, sprightly show, "Three Fast Men," called "thoroughly refined" by one viewer but not the type to be "patronized by audiences of culture and refinement" in the opinion of another.[47] This was followed by "Uncle's Darling," billed as a real-life play about Alaska interspersed with songs and dances. The "Tennyson and Dawson Grand gift carnival and refined Specialty Company" followed hard on their heels. Not trusting to the excellence of their clog dancing, singing of "Little Nellie," or even reducing a living person to ashes, they also gave away door prizes every night during the week's run.[48] They played to Standing Room Only. Some of the gifts were a chamber set, a parlor lamp, a half-barrel of flour, and a cooking stove, at least one prize being won by a Negro woman.[49]

It is very apparent that, even without the motion picture industry, Raleigh did not lack for professional entertainment.

Another type of amusement and recreation was that provided by sports and sporting events. In the fall there was football—not quite as it is known today—but still football. The typical player's costume of the times consisted of thickly-padded knickerbockers, a jersey pullover, canvas jacket, very heavy boots and very thick stockings. For protection the player wore shin guards, shoulder caps, ankle and knee supporters, wristbands, a rubber mouthpiece, a nose mask, padded ear guards, and a helmet.[50] The nucleus of the 1962 Big Four rivalry existed even in 1890. Wake Forest College, Trinity College (now Duke University but then still near High Point), and the University had a league. Each played the other in a triangular contest and the winner was declared champion. Trinity had the best team in the 1889-

[45] *The News and Observer*, February 9, 12, 1890.
[46] *Daily State Chronicle*, April 23, 1890; *The News and Observer*, April 16, 23, 1890.
[47] *Daily State Chronicle*, September 20, 1890; *The News and Observer*, September 18, 1890.
[48] *The News and Observer*, September 21, 27, October 2, 1890.
[49] *Daily State Chronicle*, October 1, 4, 1890.
[50] James Fullarton Muirhead (Baedeker, comp.), *The Land of Contrasts: A Briton's View of His American Kin* (Boston, Massachusetts: Lamson, Wolffe, and Company, 1898), 114, hereinafter cited as Muirhead, *Land of Contrasts*.

1890 season, including two stars who sometimes were able to run with the ball in spite of crowds which often blocked the field. The season lasted into the winter, Trinity and the University playing a "great match game" in February in Chapel Hill. There was a tremendous dispute over counting this game in the Intercollegiate Football Association series, however, for it was a trifle late even for their lengthy season.[51] The trustees of the University thereupon resolved that "the practice of the students of the University in engaging in competitive games with those of other colleges or other persons, be discontinued, and that the faculty are directed and instructed by the board of trustees to adopt such measures as shall entirely prevent its recurrence in the future." [52] Trinity, however, claimed the championship and in November, 1890, traveled north to play the University of Pennsylvania in a game at Philadelphia and also a college at Richmond, Virginia, on the return trip.[53]

Baseball began in April and continued sporadically through August. There were no regular schedules and no professional teams in North Carolina, although "Big League" games were reported in the papers. The chief national teams of the time were Cleveland, Cincinnati, Wilmington, New Haven, Syracuse, St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Worcester, and the undesignated Athletics.[54] Even the fact that Tom Dunn, a Raleigh boy, was offered a position as fielder by the Philadelphia Baseball League merited only a sentence in the news.[55]

The National Baseball Club in Raleigh, a Negro team, was the most active in accepting and offering challenges to other teams and was popular with spectators of both races.[56] Of games played by white teams, Wake Forest defeated Raleigh by a score of 35 to 5; the Sluggers and the Starlights played a close one ending with a margin of 59 to 57 in favor of the former; A. and M. was defeated twice by Shanghai team; and the custom of Ladies' Day was already known.[57]

Lawn tennis was becoming popular and several courts were laid off in Raleigh in April. A tournament held in June drew entrants from Chapel Hill, Durham, Bingham's School, and Raleigh. The North Carolina Lawn Tennis Association was organized in July at a meeting

[51] *The News and Observer*, December 29, 1889, January 13, February 15, 1890.
[52] *The News and Observer*, February 21, 1890.
[53] *The News and Observer*, November 2, 27, 1890.
[54] *The News and Observer*, May 1, 1890.
[55] *The News and Observer*, April 5, 1890.
[56] *The News and Observer*, April 15, 1890, and following.
[57] *Daily State Chronicle*, September 2, 1890; *The News and Observer*, April 17, May 3, 31, June 10, 22, August 9, 1890.

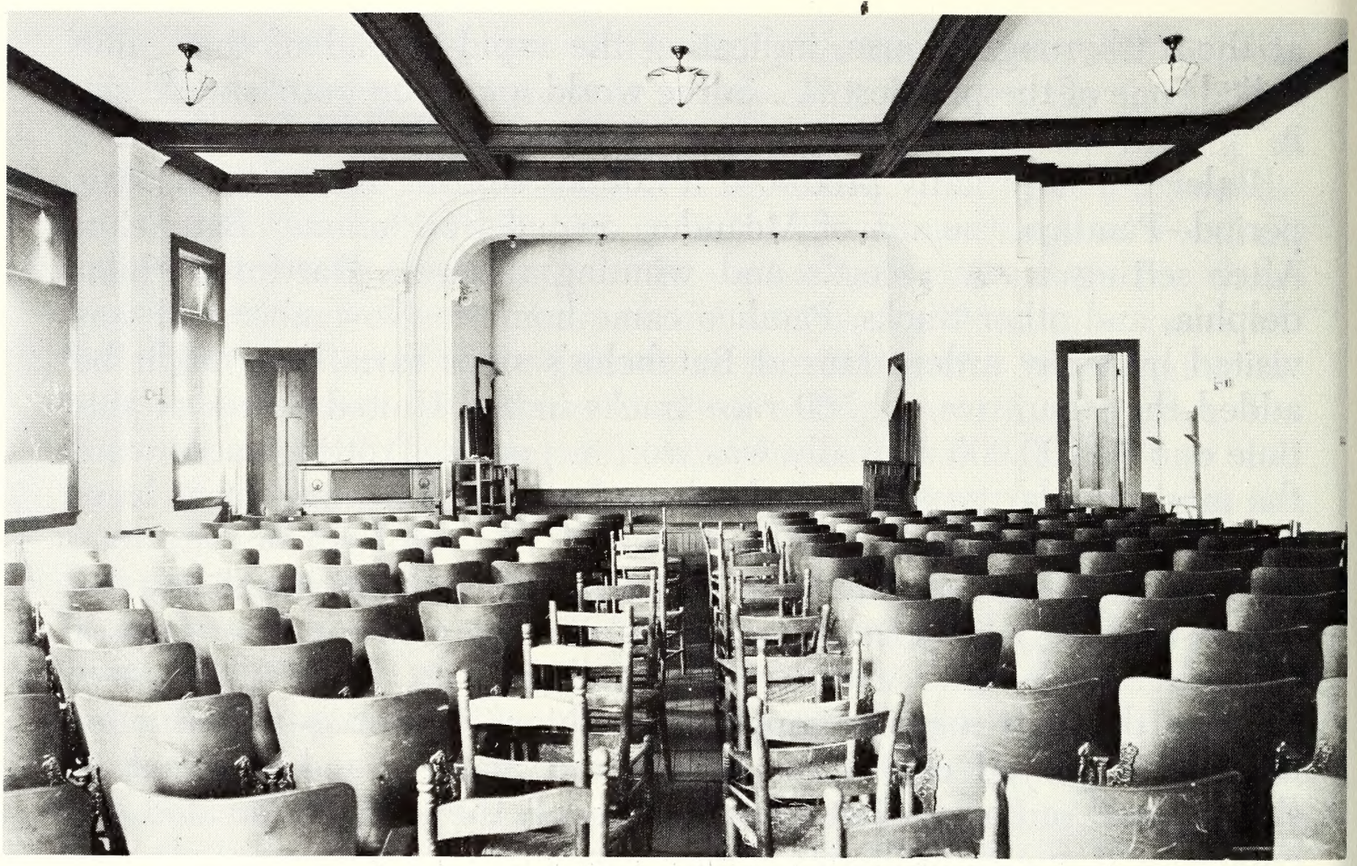
at the Yarborough House, indicating the rapid spread of this game called "one of the prettiest . . . in the world and everybody should see it." [58]

Raleigh also proudly produced a famous trotting horse during this period—Pamlico, the son of Meander, owned by Plummer Batchelor. After setting many records and winning races at Hartford, Philadelphia, and other tracks, Pamlico came home in November and was visited by many ardent fans at Batchelor's stock farm. [59] It might be added that there were 1,500 race tracks in the United States at this time and $3,000,000 annually was won in purses. Trotting races were the most popular type. [60] In Raleigh two weeks of trotting races were provided, from October 4 to October 17. [61]

Probably one never thinks of the Nineties without visualizing bicycles; and truly bicycles were the craze of the century. There was a Raleigh Bicycle Club with twenty members who, like Will Wynne, were on the alert for new improved machines. [62] Prior to the Nineties ladies had played only some tennis and croquet and engaged in skating and archery. But the advent of the bicycle created an enormous vogue for athletics among women. [63] The lady's bicycle was invented in the United States and there were more "lady riders" here, proportionately, than in any other country. [64] Not only the St. Mary's student body, for instance, but even the faculty was hit by the craze, and the girls were much amused to see dignified faculty members practicing on the path between the kitchen and the infirmary. [65] It has even been alleged that the bicycle caused streets to be paved with asphalt rather than cobblestones or wooden blocks, [66] thus benefiting the total population.

One of the world-wide pastimes or recreations is the consumption of food and drink. A Thanksgiving Day dinner menu from the Yarborough House will give an idea of a holiday meal of 1890: Lynnhaven Bay oysters, Bisque of lobsters, Consomme of chicken Imperial, Boiled sheepshead with Hollandaise, potatoes a la maitre d'hotel, smoked beef tongue au Madere, filet of beef, pique a la Jardiniere, Salmi of quail au champignons, patties of chicken livers, orange fritters glace au rhum, roast sirloin of beef, lamb with mint sauce, stuffed turkey

[58] *The News and Observer*, April 16, June 29, July 2, 1890.
[59] *The News and Observer*, June 27, July 6, 13, August 17, November 11, 1890.
[60] Muirhead, *Land of Contrasts*, 121.
[61] *Daily State Chronicle*, September 12, 1890.
[62] *The News and Observer*, May 14, June 17, 1890.
[63] Brown, *In the Nineties*, 48.
[64] Muirhead, *Land of Contrasts*, 127.
[65] *St. Mary's Muse* (Raleigh), October, 1896, 52.
[66] Brown, *In the Nineties*, 54.



The auditorium of the Olivia Raney Library was the scene of many outstanding events in Raleigh for the years around 1900. The picture was taken from the files of the State Department of Archives and History.

with cranberry sauce, fresh green peas, mashed potatoes, asparagus, succotash, sweet potatoes, roast canvasback duck with currant jelly, mayonnaise of crab, galantine of turkey, celery, Spanish olives, lettuce, sweet pickles, chow-chow, plum pudding with brandy sauce, mince and apple pies, Jelly a la Russe, nesselrode pudding, nuts, fruits, raisins, cheese, crackers, sweet milk, and coffee.[67]

Beverages were as elaborate, ranging from mild to dangerous. In the mild category one might find Russian tea, poured on crushed ice and served with delicate egg salad sandwiches. Van Houten's cocoa, Tetley tea, Co-li-ma coffee, Arbuckle's coffee, limeades at the drug store and Hires' root beer were also mild.[68] Stronger were the mixed drinks, some familiar and some strange: gin fizz, eggnog, shandygaff, alabazam, brain duster, catawba punch, Hannibal Hamlin, and Sitting Bull fizz.[69] Even more potent, so one may imagine, was Old Nick brand of rye and corn from Panther Creek in Yadkin County.[70] Positively dangerous, however, was this punch served at the wedding

[67] *The News and Observer*, November 27, 1890.
[68] *The News and Observer*, May 6, 8, 13, June 14, September 5, 1890.
[69] Brown, *In the Nineties*, 324.
[70] *The News and Observer*, May 10, 1890.

of Robert Winston's daughter, for which the recipe follows: A peck of apples cooked thoroughly done and unpeeled. placed in a cut glass bowl and filled with brandy and whiskey and spices, and left to sit for weeks until the apples disappeared. As Mr. Winston himself said, it was as "deadly as Uncle Remus' deceitful jug!"[71]

[71] Robert W. Winston, *It's a Far Cry* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), 263.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1872 IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Douglass C. Dailey*

When the Civil War ended in April, 1865, a provisional government was set up in North Carolina and was continued until December of the same year. At that time a civil government was organized and installed. The final restoration of North Carolina to the Union, however, was still far in the future.

Late in 1866 the legislature rejected the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, and soon the State felt the wrath of the now powerful Radical Republicans. Military government was imposed on the State the following spring, and North Carolina was not fully restored to the Union until July of 1868.

The new civil governor was William Woods Holden. Holden, before becoming a Republican, was first a Whig and then a Democrat. As the editor of the Raleigh *Standard,* he had had tremendous political power.[1] Although Holden had endorsed the secession ordinance, he had opposed secession before the War. His peace policy during the conflict led to his appointment and short term as the provisional governor in 1865. Now he had again become chief executive as the Republicans overwhelmed the opposition in the election of 1868.

The North Carolina Ku Klux Klan, organized in 1867, was a continuing threat to Republican supremacy. In 1870 Holden decided to use force against this group, and there resulted the so-called "Kirk-Holden War." Under the direction of the Governor, George W. Kirk recruited a force of several hundred men from North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and South Carolina.[2] These troops were used to put down disorder, particularly in Alamance and Caswell counties.

Meanwhile the opposition had secured control of the legislature and brought impeachment proceedings against Holden. He was convicted and removed from office in March, 1871. Lieutenant-Governor Tod R. Caldwell served as governor for the remainder of Holden's term.

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[1] Joseph G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University, 1914), 6, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Reconstruction.*

[2] Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 504.

As the important election year of 1872 approached, a look at the political picture showed that there were three parties in the State. The Conservative Party, which first appeared in 1866, was a combination of Whigs and Democrats.[3] These two groups had been bitter political enemies before the War, but now they were willing to join forces in order to present a united front in opposition to the Radical program of reconstruction.

Although the members of this new party generally called themselves Conservatives locally, they used the term Conservative-Democrats with reference to the presidential election. Henceforth this term will be used to designate this political alignment.

The Republican Party in the State had been organized in 1867, just sixteen days after Congressional Reconstruction became operative.[4] It was fortunate in that it had the resources of the federal government to sustain it; but as time went on the national administration became less and less inclined to interfere in the internal affairs of the State, and party influence diminished accordingly.

For several years a faction in the Republican ranks had been threatening to move out and form still a third party. D. R. Goodloe said that he had set about forming a "healthy, honest, liberal, decent Republican Party in the State" as early as 1865.[5] Professor B. S. Hedrick, Hardie Hogan Helper, and Goodloe made a determined effort to form such a party in 1868 but failed for want of co-operation from "Old Whigs" and "inflexible Democrats."[6] In 1872 the call again went out for county, district, and State conventions to meet and organize a local Liberal Republican Party.

The Negro element was naturally important in State politics. Because the Negroes represented only a little better than 36 per cent of the population,[7] there was never any possibility of their controlling the State even though nearly all of them voted the Republican ticket. In sixteen eastern counties, however, Negroes constituted a majority and were capable of controlling indefinitely the election of local officials. Because of Negro loyalty to the Republican Party, there was a strong tendency among the whites to vote the Conservative-Demo-

[3] Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), VIII, 338, hereinafter cited as Ashe, *Biographical History.*

[4] R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), II, 289.

[5] Ashe, *Biographical History,* III, 198.

[6] Undated broadside, William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Graham Papers.

[7] Everett Chamberlin, *The Struggle of '72* (Chicago: Union Publishing Company, 1872), 561, hereinafter cited as Chamberlin, *Struggle of '72.*

cratic ticket in order to secure and maintain white supremacy. As a result, after 1870 Democratic rule was continuous for a quarter of a century.[8]

Neither party had absolute control of the State government, but the Conservative-Democrats had a decided advantage. The governor was a Republican, but the Conservative-Democrats outnumbered the Republicans two to one in the Senate and almost as substantially in the House.[9]

The North Carolina congressional delegation consisted of a Republican and a Democrat in the Senate and two Republicans, four Democrats, and one Conservative in the House. As the result of the latest reapportionment, North Carolina was to get an additional representative beginning March 4, 1873. Another point in favor of the Conservative-Democrats was the fact that the State Constitution did not provide the governor with a veto over legislation.

All in all, the Conservative-Democratic Party was in a dominant position and had been since the election of 1870. The Republicans looked forward with great anticipation to the elections of 1872 and the chance to regain lost ground.

The prospects of a relatively free and fair election were improved by the fact that both the Ku Klux Klan and federal troops were less active than in former years. In regard to the Klan, there were two factors which accounted for its limited and diminishing operations. The most important was recent strong federal legislation; and the other was the fact that the need for the Klan was on the wane.[10]

Interference by federal forces was also diminishing. Although there were 1,000 federal troops in South Carolina during the period 1870-1871, there were only 200 soldiers stationed in North Carolina at that time.[11] There was almost no mention of troops during the North Carolina campaigns of 1872; and it is presumed that, at most, their number was not greater than the figure for the previous year.

This was the political situation in North Carolina at the beginning of the year 1872. The coming twelve months were to be especially important to the State because there were to be two elections, one for State officials and one for President. The election for governor and

[8] William Alexander Mabry, "Negro Suffrage and Fusion Rule in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (April, 1935), 81.
[9] Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 534.
[10] Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, The Old North State and the New* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 5 volumes, 1941), II, 335.
[11] Edwin C. Woolley, "Grant's Southern Policy," *Studies in Southern History and Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 215.

available Congressional seats was to be held in August, and the campaign began early in the year.

The Conservative-Democrats began to hold their county and Congressional district meetings in late February. In the fourth district Josiah Turner, Jr., the fiery editor of the *Daily Sentinel,* was unanimously tendered the nomination for Congress. He declined, however, because he hoped to be the party nominee for the United States Senate.

Although he was disappointed in this project, he still exerted a strong influence during the campaign with his bitter editorial attacks, a sample of which is here quoted.

> Gen'l Willie D. Jones, the homestead saver, Col. Wm. F. Henderson, the mule saver, Col. Thos. B. Long, the money saver, and Col. Isaac Young, the tobacco and revenue saver, opened the campaign on the part of the radicals at Pullet Station, Chicken Gunter's home, in Chatham county, on Thursday.
>
> The campaign was opened with whiskey and slander, and closed at night with a big drunk on the part of the negroes.[12]

The Republican meetings, largely controlled by federal officeholders,[13] were held in March. In the fourth district W. A. Smith, a Republican, furnished a good illustration of the ways of the politician. In a letter to Governor Caldwell he at first stated that he cared nothing about going to Congress. Gradually, he came around to repeating what his friends had been saying about his chances of carrying his district. Finally, he said emphatically that he was the only candidate who could win and that this was no boast but a simple fact.[14] In truth it should be added that his self-confidence was justified by a victory at the polls.

It was not until late in March that the Liberal Republicans, led by Daniel R. Goodloe and Hardie Hogan Helper, issued their call for county and district meetings.[15] Goodloe was a native of North Carolina who had early espoused the antislavery cause. Helper was one of the brothers of the famous Hinton Rowan Helper and had been editor of an anti-Holden newspaper in 1868.[16]

The press was full of reports of these meetings. The editors seemed to have a standard formula for their remarks, the following being an example of unfavorable comment.

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[12] *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), March 9, 1872, hereinafter cited as *Sentinel.*

[13] J. G. de R. Hamilton, "The Elections of 1872 in North Carolina," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* XI (April, 1912), 143, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, "Elections of 1872."

[14] W. A. Smith to Tod R. Caldwell, March 22, 1872, Tod R. Caldwell Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[15] Hamilton, "Elections of 1872," 143.

[16] Ashe, *Biographical History,* VIII, 214.

We expected nothing else than a stormy session. It would have been entirely out of the Radical style of doing business had it resulted otherwise; but we must confess that we were not prepared for such scenes of wrangling and confusion as prevailed, and which disgusted all decent members of the party.[17]

The Republicans held their State convention in Raleigh on April 17. A Negro, James H. Harris, was made temporary chairman. Sometimes called "Jeems" by his opponents, he called for complete social equality "on your cars, on your steamboats, and at the tables and in the parlors of your hotels."[18] Samuel F. Phillips, the "most distinguished of the deserters" from the ranks of the Democrats,[19] became the convention's permanent president.

The leading candidates for the gubernatorial nomination were Governor Caldwell, Judge Thomas Settle, Oliver Dockery, and George W. Logan. The first two had the best chance of winning the nomination.

Caldwell was a native of Burke County. Originally a Whig, he was a Unionist during the War, and then became Holden's running mate in the campaign of 1868.[20]

Thomas Settle was a former associate justice of the State Supreme Court and had been minister to Peru from March of 1871 until the fall of that year. His candidacy was strengthened by the fact that he had the support of the Holden wing of the Party and of highly placed friends in Washington.[21]

When the voting began, Caldwell won on the first ballot. With 55 votes necessary for a decision, the result was Caldwell, 58; Settle, 28; Dockery, 14; and Logan, 7.[22]

The nomination of Caldwell instead of Settle was thought to have offended the Washington administration. It was supposed to have been engineered by Phillips and Federal Marshal Samuel Carrow.[23]

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[17] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), April 9, 1872, hereinafter cited as *Morning Star.*

[18] Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1929), 386, hereinafter cited as Bowers, *Tragic Era.*

[19] Peter Mitchel Wilson, *Southern Exposure* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1927), 83.

[20] *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century . . .* (Madison, Wisconsin: Brant and Fuller, 2 volumes, 1892), II, 614.

[21] J. G. de R. Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860.* Volume III of *History of North Carolina,* by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 179, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860.*

[22] *Tri-Weekly Carolina Era* (Raleigh), April 20, 1872, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Era.*

[23] A. H. Beach to Governor Marshall Jewel, James A. Padgett (ed.), "Reconstruction Letters from North Carolina: Letters to William E. Chandler," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XIX (January, 1942), 89, hereinafter cited as Padgett, "Reconstruction Letters."

Curtis Hooks Brogden was nominated for lieutenant-governor. In view of Caldwell's western origin it is not surprising to find that Brogden was from Wayne County in the eastern part of the State.

The last item on the agenda was the platform. Its main planks dealt with protection of civil liberties, legislation against the Ku Klux Klan, and the granting of a general amnesty.[24]

As might be expected, the Conservative-Democrats immediately attacked the Republican candidate. "Caldwell is the easiest to beat of any man in their party in the State. . . . To the rash spirit of Holden, he adds the sourness of a cynic and the inflexibility of a steel bar."[25]

Greensboro, with its central location, good railroad connections, and excellent hotels, was chosen as the site of the Conservative-Democratic State convention. The first of May was set as the opening day. The delegates, who received special rates on the railroads, were met on arrival with words of praise. "Largest, most intelligent, noblest, earnest," and other similar expressions were used by the press in describing the crowds which poured into the city.[26]

The convention was held in the Wigwam which was located in a "beautiful grove" near the depot. For the occasion it was decorated with flowers and evergreens. At twelve o'clock two thousand people crowded inside, and the first session began. Thomas C. Fuller was made temporary chairman and was succeeded by John Kerr as permanent president.

When nominations began, three names were submitted. They were A. S. Merrimon, James M. Leach, and Daniel Moreau Barringer. Zebulon B. Vance, the famous war governor, would not allow his name to be submitted.[27] Augustus S. Merrimon had been a lawyer, legislator, army officer, and judge. He was a former Whig who was known as a "Union man."[28]

The second strongest candidate was James M. Leach. Like Merrimon, he was a lawyer, a former Whig, and had served in the State legislature.[29]

As in the case of Caldwell, Merrimon was elected on the first ballot. The outcome was Merrimon, 70; Leach, 22; and Barringer,

[24] *Carolina Era*, June 13, 1872.
[25] *Morning Star*, April 21, 1872.
[26] *Southern Home* (Charlotte), May 6, 1872, hereinafter cited as *Southern Home*.
[27] Hamilton, "Elections of 1872," 145.
[28] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949: The Continental Congress, September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, and the Congress of the United States from the First to the Eightieth, March 4, 1789, to January 3, 1949, Inclusive* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session, *House Document No. 607*, 1950), 1,557, hereinafter cited as *Biographical Directory of Congress*.
[29] *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 1,445.

12.[30] Major John Hughes received the nomination for lieutenant-governor.

At first Merrimon had not been interested in the nomination, but party leaders promised him that if he lost the campaign he would be elected to the United States Senate.[31] This was a safe guarantee because of the Conservative-Democratic majority in the State legislature.

After the results of the first ballot were announced, Merrimon made his acceptance speech. Then, as its final act, the convention adopted a platform. According to these resolutions, the Conservative-Democrats agreed with the Republicans on the tax and education issues. On the other hand, they condemned Republican violations of the Constitution and called for civil service reform.[32]

With the ending of the Conservative-Democratic convention, the State campaign had ended its first phase—the leaders for the coming struggle had been chosen.

On the national scene a threat to continued Republican rule was shaping up in Missouri. A quarrel over the removal of the disabilities of "Copperheads" split the Republican Party in the State.[33]

With Carl Schurz at their head this so-called Liberal Republican faction made an alliance with the Democrats and came to power in 1869.

In January, 1872, this newly formed Party held a mass convention at Jefferson City, Missouri. At this meeting an invitation to a national convention was extended to all those opposed to Grant. This convention was to be held at Cincinnati on May 1.

North Carolinians were well aware of this development. Schurz had been seeking southern support for some time. As early as September, 1871, he had sent out an appeal to the young men of the South to join in the liberal movement.[34]

The newspapers of the State carried the announcement of the Missouri Convention, and there were many comments upon it. One Conservative-Democratic editor hopefully wrote:

> We think we see in this meeting . . . a cloud, which, with its gathered strength in the meantime, will break in a storm over the head of the

[30] *Sentinel*, May 3, 1872.
[31] Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 586.
[32] *Greensboro Patriot*, May 2, 1872.
[33] Bowers, *Tragic Era*, 376.
[34] F. P. Graham, "Carl Schurz in the Liberal Republican Movement of 1872" (unpublished master's thesis, Columbia University, 1916), 20-21.

unstateman-like [*sic*] dolt at Washington, and sweep him from the White House.[35]

In North Carolina continued interest was shown in the candidacy of Judge David Davis. In a letter to William A. Graham, James Grant said that the strongest candidates for the nomination at Cincinnati were Judge Davis, Gratz Brown, Lyman Trumbull, and Charles Francis Adams. In his opinion Davis was the strongest, especially since he had no "vulnerable record." In addition, Grant said that Davis had the most support in the Democratic Party. Several weeks later Grant again wrote to Graham and urged him to go to Cincinnati and work for the Davis nomination.[36]

H. H. Helper was hard at work making preparations for North Carolina's participation in the convention. In the press he issued a plea for help. "Arise! fellow countrymen and aid us in the gracious work of overthrowing the Grant-Radical thieving and mercenary party."[37] He continued with a call for public meetings to choose delegates to the Cincinnati Convention.

As May 1 approached, the city of Cincinnati became the center of interest. The Liberal Republicans rented Exposition Hall with its huge capacity and spent $5,000 for decorations.[38] At the opening session Schurz made a brief address, and then the convention adjourned until the following day.

At the second session, Schurz, making the main address, called for Party unity and rejected the "anybody to beat Grant" idea. With high idealism he predicted that the victory would be theirs if they truly deserved it.[39]

After adopting the platform the convention proceeded to the selection of a presidential candidate. The names of Adams, Davis, Trumbull, Brown, and Greeley were placed in nomination, and the balloting began. Adams and Greeley were the chief contestants, and the old editor won in a stampede on the sixth ballot.[40] Gratz Brown, Governor of Missouri, was nominated for the second place on the ticket.

How had the North Carolina delegation fared? *The New York Times* said that North Carolina was one of several States represented

[35] *Sentinel*, February 12, 1872.
[36] James Grant to William Alexander Graham, April 17, 1872, Graham Papers.
[37] *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), March 8, 1872, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman*.
[38] "The Liberal Republican Convention," Dawson Pamphlets, VIII (1865-1872), No. 15, 3. This collection, with the binder's title Dawson Pamphlets, is at the University of North Carolina Library. The reference will hereinafter be cited as Dawson Pamphlets with the appropriate information.
[39] Dawson Pamphlets, VIII (1865-1872), No. 15, 12.
[40] Dawson Pamphlets, VIII (1865-1872), No. 15, 29.

wholly by Democrats or by residents of other States who happened to be at the convention.[41] The records show, however, that North Carolina Liberal Republicans were there and participated fully in the proceedings. In fact, D. R. Goodloe was elected secretary of the national executive committee.[42]

The delegation came to the convention with a strong leaning toward Davis. However, they cast their ballots, at various times, for four out of five of the candidates. A partial record of their vote is shown below.

	Davis	Greeley	Trumbull	Adams[43]
First ballot	12½	5	—	—
Second ballot	3	8	9	—
Fifth ballot	3	5	7	5
Sixth ballot	—	17	—	3

In North Carolina Conservative-Democrats received the Greeley nomination with approval, but it was of a very lukewarm and qualified nature. The following selections from the anti-Grant press show that the Conservative-Democrats were trying to make the best of what they obviously thought was a bad bargain.

> As far as men are concerned, we don't think that the Democratic Party would be one whit better off had Trumbull, Adams, or Davis been nominated. If we have to take a Republican, Greeley is as good as any, and a deal better than the most of them.[44]

> About the *best* we can do at present, therefore, is to settle down on Greeley and rise when we can do better.[45]

One editor wrote that he was surprised if not disappointed. He decided that the Conservative-Democrats had their hands full electing Merrimon and had better forget Greeley until after August.[46] Another writer advanced the idea that sympathy for Greeley would drive "all to Grant" and cautioned, "Our strength is to sit still."[47]

At this time the regular Republicans were preparing for their national convention. In North Carolina the Party had trouble completing the selection of its delegation, but the group which was finally chosen left for the convention solidly committed to Grant and Henry Wilson. Their instructions read:

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[41] *The New York Times*, May 6, 1872.
[42] Chamberlin, *Struggle of '72*, 401.
[43] Chamberlin, *Struggle of '72*, 386-394.
[44] *Greensboro Patriot*, May 16, 1872.
[45] *Carolina Watchman*, May 10, 1872.
[46] *Daily Journal* (Wilmington), May 5, 1872.
[47] *Southern Home*, May 6, 1872.

Resolved, That the Administration of President Grant meets with our hearty and unqualified approval, and our delegates to the National Convention, to assemble at Philadelphia on the 5th day of June next, are instructed to vote for his renomination to the Presidency of the United States.[48]

On a rainy Wednesday, June 5, Grant's supporters assembled at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia. At 11:50 A.M. the band began to play and then at noon yielded to former Governor William Claflin of Massachusetts and the call to order. The suggestion had been made in the press that the presidency of the convention should be given to the South, and thus it was. Thomas Settle was quickly chosen and became the first southern Republican to hold that position.[49] Another honor fell to North Carolina when, soon afterward, James H. Harris was asked to speak.

When it came time for the nominations, Grant, "our second Washington," was chosen by acclamation as was expected. When the enthusiasm abated, the convention began to ballot for a vice-presidential candidate. Henry Wilson, "the Natick cobbler," was successful on the first ballot, aided by twenty North Carolina votes.[50]

It was no surprise to anyone that Grant had received the nomination. Although the Civil War hero had made a poor President, his name was magic at the ballot box, and the Party naturally chose him to head the ticket a second time. Shortly after the two-day convention, Thomas Settle wrote that he thought they had presented the strongest possible ticket and that he did not doubt of its success.[51]

The Democratic Convention was to be held July 9 at Baltimore. In North Carolina both the Conservative-Democrats and the regular Republicans predicted that the convention would endorse the Cincinnati ticket and platform. However, the Republicans added that Republicans who would vote for Greeley would be balanced by Democrats voting for Grant.[52] The selection of the State delegation was completed, and it left for the convention.

July 9 was a hot day. The gaslights used to illuminate Ford's Opera House added their heat to the air until the thermometer stood at one hundred degrees.[53]

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[48] *The New York Times*, May 29, 1872.
[49] Hamilton, "Elections of 1872," 147.
[50] *The New York Times*, June 7, 1872.
[51] Thomas Settle to Richmond M. Pearson, June 9, 1872, Richmond M. Pearson Papers, Southern Historical Collection.
[52] *Carolina Era*, April 18, 1872.
[53] "The Baltimore Convention," *The Nation*, XV (July 18, 1872), 39.

When the convention got under way, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the grandson of Thomas Jefferson, was made temporary chairman. He was followed in the chair by former Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin, who later campaigned in North Carolina for Merrimon. The convention accomplished little on the first day and adjourned until the following morning.

Next day the convention wasted no time in choosing Greeley on the first ballot with 686 votes out of a possible 732. Gratz Brown did a little better with a total of 713.[54] At 1:39 P.M. it was all over. Greeley accepted the nomination by letter on July 18.

That the Democrats should nominate Horace Greeley was, on the face of it, one of the strangest events in American political history. The general amazement is reflected in a letter from William T. Sherman to his brother.

> Of course I have watched the progress of political events from this standpoint, [from abroad] and feel amazed to see the turn things have taken. Grant, who never was a Republican, is your candidate; and Greeley, who never was a Democrat, but quite the reverse, is the Democratic candidate.[55]

In the South Robert Toombs saw no choice in the coming election. "I would support the devil in preference to either of them [Greeley or Grant], because when you support the devil you support a very respectable antagonist."[56]

An earlier remark by former Governor Vance best characterizes the feelings of North Carolina Conservative-Democrats at this time. He boldly stated that, "If the Baltimore convention puts Greeley in our hymn book, we will sing him through, if it kills us." He explained that the southern people were "trying to get out of hell fire." They would co-operate with anyone who promised help.[57]

The Republican newspapers in the State made light of the situation. One pretended to be very pleased over Greeley's success and spoke familiarly of "Old Whitey" and "Carl Shirts."[58] A Conservative-Democratic paper, in a different vein, said, "Of cource [*sic*] this paper 'accepts the situation,' and will go for the Cincinnati-Baltimore

[54] J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield* (Norwich, Connecticut: Henry Bill Publishing Company, 2 volumes, 1884), II, 529-530.

[55] E. Benjamin Andrews, *The History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States, 1870-1895* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2 volumes, 1896), I, 70-71.

[56] E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), 346.

[57] Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 5 volumes, 1917-1937), III, 48.

[58] *Economist* (Elizabeth City), July 9, 1872.

nominees. . . . The 'jig's up'—the child's born, and his name is Greeley." [59]

The Liberal Republicans in the State had nearly all accepted Greeley. Now after the Democratic convention, they joined the Conservatives although some were "restless under the burden." The Liberal Republicans, the Conservatives, and the Democrats were all for Greeley, but there was no enthusiasm in the ranks.[60]

Thus ended, for North Carolina, the convention phase of the important election year of 1872.

The election of August 1, 1872, in North Carolina had unusual significance. Because it was the first State election after the Presidential candidates had been chosen, it was supposed to give an indication of the result in November. "As North Carolina goes, so goes the nation" was the slogan that year. *The New York Times* was claiming that this contest would be the first absolutely free election in the State since the War.[61]

As the day drew near, Greeley's *New York Tribune* began to hedge a little and say that the election would not be a true test because some Republicans would vote Republican in August but for Greeley in November. "On the other hand, if the Renominationists are beaten now nothing can save them in November, and they know it, and are working accordingly.[62] Henry Wilson made an admission that seemed to bear out the last statement.

> I say in all frankness to gentlemen supporting the Democratic ticket that if they can carry North Carolina at this election, they will impose upon the Republican Party a difficult task to maintain control of the Government of the United States.[63]

Naturally each political group predicted victory for its own ticket. The Conservative-Democrats saw themselves winning by 3,500 votes, and the Republicans claimed success by a 7,500 margin.[64] The most prophetic prediction appeared in the pro-Grant *New York Times.* "There is a prospect of a good, lively old-fashioned and intensely interesting canvass up to the day of the State election, but after that it will be very flat, as the Democrats will make hardly any effort to win in November." [65]

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[59] *Carolina Watchman*, July 12, 1872.
[60] Hamilton, "Elections of 1872," 148.
[61] *The New York Times*, July 19, 1872.
[62] *New York Tribune*, July 15, 1872.
[63] *The New York Times*, July 26, 1872.
[64] *The New York Times*, July 20, 1872.
[65] *The New York Times*, June 15, 1872.

As so often happens in an election, each side accused the other of trying to "buy" victory at the polls. It was said that John Pool had $100,000 which had been sent by northern radicals for use against Merrimon.[66] The Republican campaign chest was not quite as bulging, however, as the opposition claimed it to be. On June 12 Governor Caldwell wrote Henry Wilson that the Republican Party in the State was in "woful [*sic*] condition."

> Cannot you have something done in the way of material aid for us? If ten or twelve thousand dollars can be furnished Hon Sam[l] F Phillips, the chm[n] of our State Executive Committee, for distribution in the several Congressional Districts, it will do great good—We need some active canvassers to arouse the colored voters, and no one can do this more efficiently than colored speakers & we have none who can bear the expense—I hope you will consider of this matter [*sic*] and induce the Northern Republicans to assist us if you can—[67]

The Republicans countered the stories about the "Pool Fund" with charges of their own. They claimed that two "notorious characters" had been sent into the State by the Liberal Republican National Committee and had $9,500 to spend on Merrimon's election.[68]

The campaign on the stump was said to be of unprecedented interest and bitterness. Sometimes a series of debates would be arranged between rival candidates. One such affair, complete with two speeches by each candidate, lasted for three hours and forty-five minutes.[69]

In the political speeches of that day humor was an important factor. Josiah Turner, Jr., is a good example of one who used humor and ridicule with deadly effect. The following is one of the many stories used on the stump which often were successful where logical argument made no impression.

> Speaking of the idea of the colored people voting for Greeley, because he was an Abolitionist, he [T. L. Hargrove] was reminded of the favorite cosset Billy, that an older brother put in the midst of a scaly lot of sheep, when the paternal flock was to be divided. He thought the younger brother would choose that lot because of Billy. But the younger brother on viewing the lot remarked, "Billy, I've loved you long, and I love you now, but what a crowd you are in!" [70]

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[66] *Greensboro Patriot*, July 18, 1872.
[67] Tod R. Caldwell to Henry Wilson, June 12, 1872, Padgett, "Reconstruction Letters," 70-71.
[68] *The New York Times*, July 24, 1872.
[69] *Greensboro Patriot*, May 30, 1872.
[70] *The New York Times*, May 27, 1872.

Because of the importance of the campaign, the national organizations of both the Greeley and Grant forces sent dozens of speakers to North Carolina. One of the high lights of this influx was the visit of Carl Schurz. D. R. Goodloe and other prominent citizens met him at Reidsville and escorted him to Greensboro.[71] The next day he journeyed to Charlotte to attend a large Liberal Republican mass meeting. The meeting was held beneath the "noble oaks" which surrounded the Presbyterian church. As Schurz was speaking, a fire broke out in a new house two blocks away. Part of the crowd went to watch the fire, and the Conservative-Democrats charged that a Grant Negro had applied the torch for this very purpose.[72]

Newspapers played an important part in the campaign. The political editorial was both a frequent and potent weapon. One common practice was for an editor to print a long extract from an opposition newspaper and then answer it point by point. Another tactic was to print certain inflammatory quotations day after day for weeks at a time.[73] The battle of words was further extended through the use of great quantities of campaign literature and documents.

The Grant administration was accused of making use of the power of the federal government to influence the campaign. The Army, the Internal Revenue Department, and the Justice Department were all said to be involved.

The charge of interference by armed force may be quickly dismissed for lack of evidence. A newspaper report, however, appears to support the attacks on the Department of Internal Revenue. In the mountain fruit districts the revenue agents were supposed to have promised the people that if the Radicals won, they would be able to "still to their heart's content" without any tax.[74] It must be remembered that the above information was printed in a strong Conservative newspaper.

The third anti-Grant charge of interference concerned "intimidation" by the Justice Department. On April 20, 1871, Congress had passed the so-called "Ku Klux Act." This act made it a federal offense to employ disguises and methods to prevent any person from exercising his constitutional rights. In North Carolina many were indicted under this law, and Samuel Phillips directed the prosecution of these cases. By February there had been 1,208 such proceedings,[75] and

[71] *The New York Times*, July 29, 1872.
[72] *The New York Times*, July 30, 1872.
[73] *Carolina Era*, July 8, 1872.
[74] *Greensboro Patriot*, August 14, 1872.
[75] Hamilton, "Elections of 1872," 148.

just before election time estimates of their number ran as high as 4,000.[76]

Many of those charged with night riding were prominent citizens. James M. Leach was one of these, but the Conservative-Democrats said the testimony against him was false. Sometimes circumstances surrounding these arrests were spectacular. The officers of the law came for D. S. Ramsour, a student of Wake Forest College, while he was attending a meeting and dragged him off forcibly.[77]

Taken at face value, this mass of indictments would seem to indicate that the State was the scene of widespread violence at this time. However, several factors indicate that such was not the case and that there was some justification for the Conservative-Democratic cry of "intimidation."

If lawlessness had actually gotten the upper hand in North Carolina, President Grant would have declared the State in insurrection. This was not done. Also, the timing of the indictments was suspicious. Their volume was highest just before the election. Probably the best indication of the political nature of these proceedings was the fact that after the election was over the arrests stopped and most of the cases were dropped.[78]

Warnings and charges of fraud were made by both political groups. For this election new registration books were ordered, and the Republicans said that Conservative-Democratic registrars were transcribing automatically the names of all Conservative-Democrats but were only entering the names of Republicans on demand.[79] Conservative-Democrats retaliated with a charge that the Radicals were going to transport "a thousand negroes . . . from the second to the first district and a like number from the same district to the third and fourth. . . ."[80]

One of the most clever frauds was one supposedly contrived by the Conservative-Democrats. They were alleged to have printed a special ballot which enabled them to defraud their opponents.

> These posters are the Democratic State, Congressional and Legislative tickets, printed in sheets, the backs of which are covered with an adhesive substance, such as is used on postage stamps, and holes are drilled around the names of each candidate, so that it can be quickly detached from the others.[81]

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[76] *Greensboro Patriot*, July 31, 1872.
[77] Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860*, 178.
[78] A. M. Arnett, with the collaboration of Walter Clinton Jackson, *The Story of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1933), 368.
[79] *Carolina Era*, July 18, 1872.
[80] *Carolina Watchman*, June 28, 1872.
[81] *The New York Times*, August 1, 1872.

When the opportunity presented itself, a Republican vote could be quickly changed into one for a Conservative or a Democrat.

And so the campaign came to a close with charges and countercharges filling the air and a great deal depending on the result.

Election day was quiet and orderly in the capital city of Raleigh. The rest of the State was also quiet despite predictions of violence. The earliest returns were favorable to the Conservative-Democrats. One newspaper boldly predicted the election of Merrimon by 20,000 votes. Another bore the headline, "THE STATE REDEEMED FROM RADICALISM REJOICE, OH, YE, NATIONS! REJOICE!"[82] By August 2, however, Merrimon's predicted majority was down to between 5,000 and 10,000; and two days later it had sunk to 2,000.[83]

As the days went by, the tide continued to run against Merrimon, and on August 8 the *Daily Sentinel* conceded the election to Caldwell.[84] However, when the final ballot was tallied, it was found that he had won by a majority of less than 2,000 in a total vote of nearly 200,000 (98,132 to 96,234).[85]

The Conservative-Democrats had failed to capture the governorship, but the results of the other contests were more favorable. They had secured a majority of fourteen in the Senate and twelve in the House. In the Congressional races the Party had carried five out of the eight districts.[86] An agreeable thought was the fact that Caldwell could not block Conservative-Democratic legislation because he possessed no veto. The jubilation of the Merrimon forces suddenly changed to dismay, but the completed picture was one of limited victory rather than defeat.

With the vote in the gubernatorial election being so close, it was not surprising that Merrimon's supporters called for a contest. The Republican press reacted violently to this idea.

> We *care not what action the Legislature may take in the matter, the Republicans will* resist *any attempt to seat Judge Merrimon.* . . . We are satisfied that Caldwell received a majority of the legal votes cast, and we hope he will maintain his rights in the premises, by moderate means at first—AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET—if necessary.—Republicans will not submit to be Ku Kluxed out of their victory.[87]

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[82] *Daily News* (Raleigh), August 3, 1872.
[83] *New York Tribune*, August 5, 1872.
[84] *Sentinel*, August 8, 1872.
[85] R. D. W. Connor (comp. and ed.), *A Manual of North Carolina . . . 1913* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1913), 1,002, hereinafter cited as Connor, *Manual, 1913*.
[86] *Greensboro Patriot*, August 7, 1872.
[87] *Greensboro Patriot*, September 4, 1872, quoting the *Carolina Era*.

The continuing clamor finally resulted in the calling of a joint meeting of the executive committees of the Conservative-Democratic and Liberal Republican parties on October 20. At this gathering it was decided that there would be no contest. All the factors which went into the decision are, of course, not known. However, the Conservative-Democrats probably concluded that any other course would only end in violence with much more loss than gain.

Although the Merrimon forces did not contest the election, their cries of "fraud" were numerous and prolonged. One of the gravest charges was the assertion that the Republicans had brought large numbers of Negroes into the State to swell the vote for Caldwell. The Conservative-Democrats said that five to seven hundred Negroes had been sent from "Washington City" to Norfolk and from there distributed throughout the State. The Liberal Republican National Committee in Washington announced that it had affidavits of over fifty such Negroes who had voted in the election.[88]

The most important Conservative-Democratic contention was to the effect that in several counties there were more votes cast than there were eligible voters to cast them.[89] This particular assertion can be verified. The census of 1870 lists by county the number of male citizens twenty-one years old and over.[90] Under the existing voting requirements, these totals would be almost the same as the totals of eligible voters.[91] By comparing the census figures with the total votes cast in each county[92] it can be shown that there was an excess of votes over eligible voters in fourteen counties. These fourteen were the counties of Bladen, Cumberland, Franklin, Greene, Halifax, Hertford, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Nash, Northampton, Robeson, Sampson, and Wilson. The above facts, however, must be interpreted very carefully.

First of all, there had been a lapse of two years between the census and the election. Some natural changes in the size of the voting population could be expected during that period. In most cases, nevertheless, the extra vote seems too large to be explained in this way.

If fraud is admitted, the blame does not necessarily fall upon the Republicans. It can be shown only that the total number of votes cast

[88] *Greensboro Patriot*, September 11, 1872.
[89] *Carolina Watchman*, August 15, 1872.
[90] *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* (Washington, D. C.: United States Bureau of the Census, 3 volumes [and *Statistical Atlas*, and *Compendium*], 1872), I, 633, hereinafter cited as *Ninth Census: 1870*.
[91] *Address of the Executive Committee of the Third Congressional District*, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina.
[92] Connor, *Manual, 1913*, 1,001-1,002.

was greater than the number of eligible voters. However, it is natural to assume that if the members of a political party wanted to commit fraud, they would find their best opportunity in an area where their party had its greatest strength.

An examination of the returns for the State elections of 1868, 1870, and 1871 shows that seven of these fourteen counties had gone Republican in every case and only two were three times captured by the opposition.[93] The other five counties had not been won consistently by either party. Therefore, half of the counties in question could be called Republican strongholds, but only two were strongly Conservative-Democratic.

That these counties were largely dominated by the Republicans may be shown in another way. The local Republican Party was composed of approximately 20,000 whites and nearly all of the 78,019 Negro voters in the State.[94] Where the proportion of Negroes to whites was very high, it could be presumed that the Republicans were relatively strong. Census figures show that in every one of these fourteen counties except one, the proportion of Negroes exceeded the State average of approximately 36 per cent.[95] In seven of these counties the proportion was greater than half. It is then interesting to note that six of these seven "black" counties are among those listed above as Republican strongholds. With the racial composition of these counties in mind, it is not surprising to find that they were all in the eastern part of the State, the area of greatest Negro concentration. It has not been proved that the Republicans committed the major portion of the frauds, but the foregoing facts tempt speculation in that direction.

Naturally, the Republicans had several complaints of their own. They said that Virginians crossed into North Carolina and voted for Merrimon.[96] They also claimed that over two hundred Negroes who had been working on the railroad in Virginia were refused ballots.[97]

These charges are interesting but unsupported. However, the statement that the Conservative-Democrats had been guilty of gerrymandering may be investigated.[98] As a result of the federal census of 1870, North Carolina had received an additional congressman; and the Con-

[93] Connor, *Manual, 1913*, 1,001-1,002, 1,016-1,018.
[94] *Ninth Census: 1870*. I, 619.
[95] *A Compendium of the Ninth Census* . . . (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1872), 78-80.
[96] *The New York Times*, August 7, 1872.
[97] *The New York Times*, August 7, 1872.
[98] Governor's Message, Executive and Legislative Documents of the North Carolina General Assembly, Session 1872-1873, 25, hereinafter cited as Governor's Message, 1872-1873.

servative-Democratic majority in the legislature had redrawn the congressional districts. The Republicans said that the opposition had disfranchised many voters by the unfair manner in which they had made this rearrangement. In particular they objected to the makeup of the Second Congressional District which they said had too large a population and was unnatural in shape.

Their statements seem justified. The eight districts were supposed to be as nearly equal in population as it was possible to make them. The standard aimed at was approximately 133,000 people per district. The Second Congressional District contained over 150,000 people, an excess of around 17,000.[99] Also, it was strangely shaped, extending from Warren County on the Virginia line to Jones County in the southeastern part of the State.

The real objection was to the fact that the Conservative-Democrats had put so many Republican voters in one district. The counties involved were all strongly Republican, and this meant that many Republican votes that could have been very useful elsewhere ended up as part of a large but useless majority in this controversial district.

The Conservative-Democrats had also changed the election laws. Governor Caldwell said these changes gave them other unfair advantages. According to the Republican law of 1870, registration was to be conducted during the thirty days prior to the election. A voter could also register on election day. During the registration period, unlimited challenging was permitted, but on election day, challenges could be directed only at those who registered at that time.[100]

The Conservative-Democrats had virtually done away with the last minute registration and had also removed all limitations on election day challenging.[101] The Republicans said that the opposition intended to challenge on frivolous grounds to use up voting hours. This practice would be used where there were large numbers of Negroes.[102]

A brief study of the Republican election law of 1870 and the Conservative-Democratic revision of it shows that both parties were guilty of practices which were not strictly ethical. The 1870 law was favorable to the Republicans, and the revision of it was favorable to the Conservative-Democrats. It would be surprising to find it otherwise.

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[99] Governor's Message, 1872-1873, 26.

[100] J. B. McLeod, "The Development of North Carolina Election Laws, 1865-1894" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1947), 53, hereinafter cited as McLeod, "Election Laws."

[101] McLeod, "Election Laws," 55.

[102] McLeod, "Election Laws," 57.

Gradually the interest in the election died, and its results were accepted. The Conservative-Democrats had hoped for a more clear-cut victory, but the outcome had been in no sense a disaster. The victory of Caldwell, however, was a serious blow to the hopes of Horace Greeley and his followers. Many felt that the result of the August election foretold certain defeat for the Democrats and Liberal Republicans in November. One experienced politician later said that the tide turned with the North Carolina election and after that was never checked.[103]

Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York launched the Republican national campaign in New York City on July 23. In North Carolina the campaign did not start until the first week in October. The Republicans then began their canvass and were soon followed by the Conservative-Democrats.

From the beginning of the State campaign it was apparent that there was much less public interest in this contest than there had been in the one just completed. The Conservative-Democrats were particularly apathetic. The Party had done its utmost in August, and there did not seem to be much chance of victory in November.

In August and September Greeley embarked on a speaking tour, and his supporters in North Carolina were able to learn more about his current views and objectives. The reform candidate said that the two great issues of the campaign were reconciliation and purification.[104] In his reconciliation policy there were three steps. Greeley wanted to drive out the carpetbaggers, grant universal amnesty, and restore to southerners all the rights of citizenship.[105]

While Greeley was touring the country, his lukewarm support in North Carolina was fading away. Toward their candidate Conservative-Democrats and Liberal Republicans showed either obvious apathy or open dislike. Those Democrats who were violently opposed to Greeley comforted themselves by attending the "Straight-Out" or "Taproot" Democratic convention held in Louisville, Kentucky, on September 3.

As the second campaign began in North Carolina, the war of words, though subdued, was resumed. Horace Greeley made a perfect target for the shafts of the Republicans. He was ridiculed as a protectionist,

[103] G. W. Julian, *Political Recollections* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg and Company, 1884), 342.
[104] Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), 93, hereinafter cited as Buck, *Road to Reunion.*
[105] Buck, *Road to Reunion,* 93.

leading tariff reformers, and a Republican leading the Democrats.[106] In North Carolina the Republicans said that the Greeley forces had a fund of $60,000 with which to purchase Negro votes and Ku Klux equipment.[107]

Meanwhile the anti-Grant coalition was being equally critical of the Republicans. Throughout the South the cry went up against "bloody shirt" tactics,[108] and in North Carolina there were complaints of illegal activities by the Union League,[109] the United States marshals,[110] and the federal election supervisors.[111]

Although this second campaign was milder, it still had some of the color which was typical of contemporary politics. There were parades and big rallies where torches, flaming barrels of rosin, skyrockets, and band music enlivened the atmosphere.

The most spectacular incident during the campaign was the explosion at the plant of Josiah Turner's *Daily Sentinel* on October 10. Evidence indicated that some person or persons set off a charge of gunpowder under the Hoe steam press.

Turner's friends loyally came to his support with sympathy and money. One wrote: "We have just heard of the diabolical treatment you recently received from some *malicious*, unprincipled gang of *devils* incarnate.... We are *ever* ready to give you aid in any way you may desire."[112] Using other facilities, Turner quickly resumed publication on October 12.[113]

In the 1872 contests political clubs of many varieties were much in evidence. In Greensboro there was a Conservative club of 190 members which met every Monday night in the basement of the Benbow.[114] In August, to keep up with the changing political situation, it became the Greeley and Brown Club.[115]

The constitution of one such group is interesting and revealing. Among numerous duties required of members was the obligation of noting the names of all registered persons "who are dead." On

[106] John Spencer Bassett, *A Short History of the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, Third edition, 1939), 649.
[107] *The New York Times*, July 30, 1872.
[108] Buck, *Road to Reunion*, 94.
[109] *Greensboro Patriot*, October 23, 1872.
[110] *Speech of Alfred M. Waddell Before the United States House of Representatives, April 13, 1872.*
[111] *Greensboro Patriot*, October 23, 1872, quoting the *New York Herald.*
[112] Eugene T. Jones to Josiah Turner, October 21, 1872, Josiah Turner Papers, Southern Historical Collection.
[113] *Sentinel*, October 12, 1872.
[114] *Greensboro Patriot*, October 16, 1872.
[115] *Greensboro Patriot*, August 21, 1872.

election day members were also to send conveyances for the "sick, disabled, and luke-warm." [116]

With meetings, speeches, parades, and some violence, the campaign drew to a close. Conservative-Democratic anger over the election that was, and fears of apathy toward the election that was to be, were clearly evident in two election eve headlines, "LOOK AT THE REGISTRY LISTS AND SEE THAT YOU ARE NOT SWINDLED AS IN AUGUST." "THE MAN WHO STAYS AWAY FROM THE POLLS HELPS TO ELECT GRANT." [117] The Republicans were confident. They could rely on getting out almost the same vote which had brought them victory in August.

When election day finally came, Grant's victory was overwhelming. His popular majority was more than 760,000,[118] and he received 272 electoral votes to Greeley's 66.[119] In North Carolina there was never any doubt of the result.

With evident chagrin, a Conservative-Democratic editor wrote, "GONE BY THE BOARD! MONEY WINS. *Corruption Triumphant! Four years more of the blessing of Radicalism, and four years after that!* A CLEAN SWEEP! It never rains but it pours!" [120] Said another, "North Carolina has gone Radical by ten or fifteen thousand majority. This fact can not fail to be gratifying to those who staid [*sic*] at home." [121]

The official figures showed that in North Carolina Grant had received 94,304 votes to Greeley's 70,322.[122] Grant's total was only 3,828 less than Caldwell's had been, but Greeley's vote was 25,912 less than Merrimon's. Since Grant's majority over Greeley was only 23,982, this stay-at-home vote theoretically could have given the State to Greeley.

In their national campaign, the Liberal Republicans started out with high hopes, but they had been overwhelmingly defeated. In North Carolina indifference, dissatisfaction, and despair among the Conservative-Democrats and Liberal Republicans resulted in an easy victory for Grant.[123] It is not surprising to find this entry in Major

[116] *Constitution of the Greeley and Brown Club* (Raleigh: Sentinel Book and Job Print, 1872), *passim.*

[117] *Greensboro Patriot,* October 30, 1872.

[118] Edward S. Ellis, *The History of Our Country* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The History Company, 8 volumes, 1899), V, 1,388.

[119] Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of Reconstruction* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1938), 471.

[120] *Greensboro Patriot,* November 6, 1872.

[121] *Carolina Watchman,* November 7, 1872.

[122] Connor, *Manual, 1913,* 987-988, 1,001-1,002. Other sources give varying totals for the returns of this election. See Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert Bushnell (eds.), *Cyclopaedia of American Government* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 3 volumes, 1914), III, 33.

[123] Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 592.

G. W. F. Harper's diary, "Tues. 5th. Cloudy, cold. . . . Presidential Election. Small turn out and but little interest manifested." [124]

And so ended the important election year of 1872 in the Old North State. The anti-Grant forces had been beaten decisively in November, but mostly because they did not care for their candidate. They were more interested in the August election, and in this contest they had won at least a partial victory. Their chief disappointment was in losing the race for governor by such a small margin.

All in all, they should have been more than satisfied, because the fundamental struggle in the campaigns of 1872 was over control of the State government. The "alliance" had been able to maintain the dominance which they had secured by the victory of 1870.

[124] Diary of Major G. W. F. Harper, November 5, 1872, Southern Historical Collection.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW BERN: A FOOTNOTE

EDITED BY FRED J. ALLRED AND ALONZO T. DILL*

The following documents from the State Archives of the Canton of Bern describe the deportation of a party of Swiss "undesirables" to North Carolina in 1710. About 100 of these Swiss joined between 300 and 400 Germans, moving in the same year from the war-ravaged Palatinate, in founding under the leadership of the Bernese nobleman, Christoph von Graffenried, the City of New Bern.

The German migration to North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere has been treated at some length.[1] The Swiss migration has received little attention in English-language publications, though it forms a chapter in a German-language history of the Bernese Anabaptists.[2] The former North Carolina Historical Commission in 1920 published Graffenried's accounts of the founding of the New Bern colony, including a few letters of the Swiss settlers, but the emphasis is chiefly on the Palatines and Graffenried's dealing with the English.[3]

The Swiss deportation was carried out in part as a commercial venture by Georg Ritter and Company, a colonizing and silver-prospecting group in which Graffenried and other Bernese were financially interested. The documents below describe the diplomatic and financial arrangements and certain precautions taken by the government of Bern in agreement with Ritter and Company and with an Anabaptist commission or committee. Unfortunately no list of the

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The publication of the translation of records in the Archives of the Canton of Bern is with the permission of F. Häusler, Archiviste, Staatsarchiv des Kantons Bern, Switzerland.

[1] See for example, W. A. Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Dorrance and Company, 1937).

[2] Ernst Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Taüfer nach den Urkunden Dargestellt* (Frauenfeld, Germany: J. Hubers Verlag, 1895), 252-279, hereinafter cited as Müller, *Bernischen Taüfer.*

[3] Vincent H. Todd in Cooperation with Julius Goebel, *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 1920), hereinafter cited as Todd and Goebel, *von Graffenried's Founding of New Bern.*

deported persons seems to survive, but the compilation of such a list is implicit in these records.[4]

The Swiss party as conceived was to have consisted of 101 paupers or squatters (*Landsassen*) and about 50 Anabaptists (*Wiedertaüfer*) plus a dozen leaders who were to conduct them down the Rhine River to Rotterdam. There they were to sail, rendezvous with a convoy in England, and journey to North Carolina. Nearly all of the poor families completed the journey, but most of the religious group broke away in Holland and were permitted to seek refuge with friends in Holland or neighboring German states at the insistence of a merciful and tolerant Dutch government. However, one or more of the Anabaptist families apparently reached New Bern.[5]

The crime of the deported paupers is obvious; they had no money and were a drain on the industrious Swiss. Nor were they wholly unwilling to be colonists; they had little to lose in seeking a new life in America. Because of the somewhat voluntary nature of their going, the Dutch government made no objection to their being put aboard ship in a Dutch port. The Anabaptists were a different case. The crime of these people was their faith.

The Anabaptists have been called the left wing of the Reformation. In Switzerland the sect formed from Zwingli's evangelical movement in Zurich, but broke with him about 1523 to pursue their fundamentalist ideas. They denied the efficacy of infant baptism; hence the name Anabaptist or *Wiedertaüfer*, "baptized again." They maintained, for their own way of life, "a voluntary and benevolent communism" in the holding of property.[6] They believed in freedom of worship and separation of church and state. Most of the civil governments of Europe, including England's, took action at various times to suppress the sect.

The reluctance of these people to swear an oath, to serve as civil officers, to condone capital punishment, or to pay taxes for ecclesiastical and military purposes, made them "undesirables." They regarded the taking of interest as usury and the bearing of arms in defense of the state as a violation of their pacifist principles. These views brought them into conflict with the Swiss laws of conscription and the Protestant ethic in favor of interest which was to make the Swiss the

[4] The German lists survive and have been published. See "Board of Trade List of Palatines, May 3, 1709," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Records*, XL (1909), and XLI (1910).

[5] At least one Swiss letter from New Bern appears to have been written by an Anabaptist family. Todd and Goebel, *von Graffenried's Founding of New Bern*, 307-315.

[6] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, Scotland: 12 volumes and index, 1925-1926), I, 406-412.

bankers of all Europe. Most if not all of the Anabaptists referred to in the documents below were serving prison terms for disloyalty to the government.[7]

It is believed that these documents have not until now been translated into English or published. They consist of entries from the Council Records and from the German Letter-Book. The Council Records represent actions of the City Council and instructions to the clerks in preparing orders and dispatches. The Letter-Book—one in the German language, as no doubt there were others in French and Italian—contains copies of the dispatches sent to envoys, cantonal officials, and others, and reflects the memoranda of the Council Records.

Here in the jargon of "officialese" of the period—the *Amtssprache* which Adolf Eichmann, of a later day, testified he knew so well—is the story of the deportation of the Bernese Anabaptists and their fellows in misery, the poor families.

[Council Records 41/166]

February 25, 1710

To the honorable gentlemen, Justice Kilchberger,
Saltz-Director Lerber and Councillor Frisching:—[8]

Whereas the apothecary Herr Ritter and his associates plan to undertake their journey to America right way[9] and have offered to take with them, in return for travel expenses, not only [poor] families from here, but also able-bodied Baptist people[10] from the Canton, you, honored sirs, have in your wisdom approved this, and do acknowledge herewith that Herr Ritter and his associates shall be paid 500 thalers[11] on behalf of the poor families chosen to go with him, to the number of 101 persons.

Since providing the same transportation and provisions for the Anabaptists would be expensive because of the necessity for keeping them under guard and other circumstances, 45 thalers shall be paid per person. However, the last half of the full amount will be paid out according to the number of Anabaptists actually being transported to America.

[7] Müller, *Bernischen Taüfer*, 266.

[8] Emanuel Kilchberger was associated with Graffenried and Ritter in the colonizing company. Todd and Goebel, *von Graffenried's Founding of New Bern*, 292. Frisching and Lerber have not been identified. Possibly the "Saltz-Director" was an official managing the precious supply of salt.

[9] The colonists left Bern on March 18, 1710. See below, note 22.

[10] The words "Baptist" and "Anabaptist" are used interchangeably in these documents, though the modern Baptists bear no relation to the *Wiedertaüfer*. The meaning seems to be that the poor families will come from the immediate locality of Bern, while the Anabaptists are being collected for deportation from the cantonal area (*Land*).

[11] It is difficult to relate the value of the thaler to modern currency. The official weight of the thaler was 25.9 grams of silver, worth about 83 cents at the U. S. Treasury sale price of silver.

This is set forth so that you, honored sirs, may understand this and inform those persons who are interested.

To the estimable gentlemen of the Baptist Commission:—

We wish to inform you that we are well aware that expenses and financial loss will be incurred in transporting the Baptists. Therefore we wish you to reflect on how and from what source this expenditure will be paid back.

To the honorable Treasurer, Von Wattenweil:—

You are instructed to pay the sum to Herr Ritter and to account for it to our worthy Council.

To the estimable gentlemen of the Baptist Commission:—

With regard to from whom the 45 thalers promised for each of the Baptists sent to America is to be obtained, the honorable Council finds that if the Baptists to be transported should have the means to pay transportation, then each should pay his own, but that those who lack this amount should be paid for from the incoming rents of the properties in the communities from which the Baptists come.

Moreover, before the Baptists are sent away, it should be impressed upon them most seriously that if they should betake themselves again into this country and be caught here, they will get into serious trouble, and even their lives will be in jeopardy.[12] We want to make this point clear.

[Council Records 41/229]

March 5, 1710

To Justice Kilchberger and his Committee:—

The apothecary Herr Ritter desires to conclude the arrangements on behalf of the Baptists and the subjects of the Council incident to his departing for America. Therefore, honored sirs, you will consider summoning Herr Ritter to arrange with him what Baptists he wishes to take, as well as how the money shall be provided. If you, honored sirs, approve, please inform us.

[12] Bern had banished the Anabaptists, under penalty of death if they returned, as early as 1528. At one time adult baptizing was punishable by drowning. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 407.

[Council Records 41/279]

March 11, 1710

To Justice Kilchberger, Saltz-Director Lerber
And Councillor Frisching:—

Because of the fact that the total monies for travel expenses for the Baptists being sent to America, and also for some of the poor families here, have exceeded our competence [to authorize], we have placed this question before the highest authorities, who meet tomorrow to hear to what extent and to what conclusion will be the decision.

Therefore, you, honored sirs, are requested to return the memorandum we received today and to deliver your opinion on this subject tomorrow. In addition, you must consider what is necessary to facilitate the expulsion of these people, especially how they can obtain the required documents and passports at the Chancellery, and then inform Herr Ritter about approved instructions.

[Council Records 41/281]

March 11, 1710

To his Excellency, the French Ambassador:—

To request permission for transporting the Baptists and a number of German subjects here[13] to Pennsylvania, and to obtain passports, as [in the file] in the German Letter-Book.

To his Excellency, Herr von Trautsmansdorf:—

Ibid.

[German Letter-Book 41/397]

March 11, 1710

To his Excellency, the Imperial Ambassador,
Herr von Trautsmansdorf:—

Request for passport.

Your Excellency, etc.:—

A few of our people and subjects, numbering approximately 120 per-

[13] This seems to indicate that some of the Palatine Germans had sought refuge in Bern from the Louis XIV wars. Many were transported to Pennsylvania, but European ideas of American geography were so vague that the reference to Pennsylvania is not conclusive. The following letter, for example, refers to sending the Anabaptists to the West Indies, though North Carolina clearly is meant.

sons, have given us to understand that they, along with their families, intend to go to the West Indies, and we consider it necessary and proper to send with them some of our disloyal subjects who belong to the Baptist sect, amounting to 50 men.

Therefore, we most amicably request your Excellency to grant passport to the leaders of these people, about 12 men in all, and also, if it is not inconvenient, a letter of recommendation to the generals and commanders of the Rhine fortifications, so that these people may pass more securely and safely to reach their intended destination. Since their departure is to take place the 18th of this month, may it please your Excellency kindly to send us the necessary documents.

We doubt not your favorable consideration of this request, and so assure your Excellency that in every event we shall remember your assistance most gratefully. Wherewith we commend your Excellency to the care of the Almighty.

Your Excellency,
Obediently yours,
The Mayor and Council of the City of Bern

To his Excellency of the French Embassy,
Count de Luc:—

Ut supra, mutates muta

[Council Records 41/285]

March 12, 1710

Let our worthy Council and citizens be assembled by the usual ringing of bells.

To the worthy gentlemen, Justice Kilchberger,
Saltz-Director Lerber and Councillor Frisching:—

Concerning your memorandum of this date on the contract with Herr Ritter and interested parties for the deportation of the Baptists to America, our worthy Council and citizens have officially decreed as follows:

1. First, Herr Ritter and the interested parties are obligated to take the Anabaptists entrusted to them to Carolina, and to take all possible measures for embarking them on the transport vessels.

2. The above persons are likewise to provide for, take care of and transport the additional colonists to the aforesaid Carolina.

For their good work [in transporting the Anabaptists] they shall have their necessary and honorable subsistence, for which purpose 45 Reichsthalers per colonist, graciously appropriated by our Council, are to be used by them to provide for each colonist as well as possible.

3. To facilitate this passage, honored sirs, it should be understood that, in addition to the passports requested, there shall be paid to them

45 thalers for each person as soon as papers are shown certifying the colonists are put aboard the transport vessels in Holland—half this sum to be paid now and the rest after proof of the possession of these documents by the interested parties, who must guard these persons on the trip, so that, if by their own negligence, some are left behind, we will not be obligated to pay the promised funds.

4. Finally, in regard to the artisans permitted to go with them, five thalers' duty shall be paid on each of these, young or old, it being understood that these people, when they settle in Virginia and Carolina, shall be maintained and cared for like the people in other free colonies.

Our worthy Council and citizens wish to entrust you with carrying out the above conditions, and if more passports are needed, everything necessary will be done to procure the same, so that these deported Anabaptists shall earn their livelihood and be well treated by going to a country where they will find others of their kind and by working together. If, however, they are thus cared for and, contrary to expectations, one or another should return to this country, that person will be surely and severely punished and may even be put to death.

To the Justice-Treasurer, Von Wattenweil:—

The above to be reported to him.

[Council Records 41/301]

March 15, 1710

To the worthy gentleman, the Justice-Treasurer
Von Wattenweil:—

Since it has just been agreed by the Council and citizens that 45 thalers per person will be paid to the worthy Herr Ritter and others interested in transporting the Baptists to Carolina—one-half here and the other half after documentary proof that these persons have been put on board the transport vessels—Herr Ritter has requested that some advance of money should be made to him now so he can purchase necessary supplies.

Therefore, your Excellency is kindly requested to pay immediately to Herr Ritter a suitable sum on account, since purchases on credit would entail a loss of money in the form of interest.

[Council Records 41/306]

March 15, 1710

To the honorable Justice Kilchberger
and his Committee:—

It has been reported that various ones among your people have been

asking from time to time for expense money in anticipation of their setting out for America.

The Council, in the press of business, wishes to be relieved of such duties, and desires to grant to Herr Ritter the authority in his discretion to take suitable care of these people who have no means and are a burden to the country, so that travel expenses of from two to six thalers may be awarded to them and they may be sent out of this country.[14]

To the Chiefs of the General Hospital
and the *Insel,* separately:—[15]

Since according to the decision of the authorities the imprisoned Baptists will embark on their journey next Tuesday, it is necessary for them to be allowed in the open air each day in the yard of the *Insel* and the General Hospital and churchyard, so up until their departure you are commanded to arrange that, when the guards are told, they should let the Baptists outside for three or four hours daily and again take them [into custody] and lock them up.

To the local Commandant:—

You are ordered to provide a suitable number of men with an officer to guard these people and to deliver them to the proper authorities.

To the Chief Bailiff:—

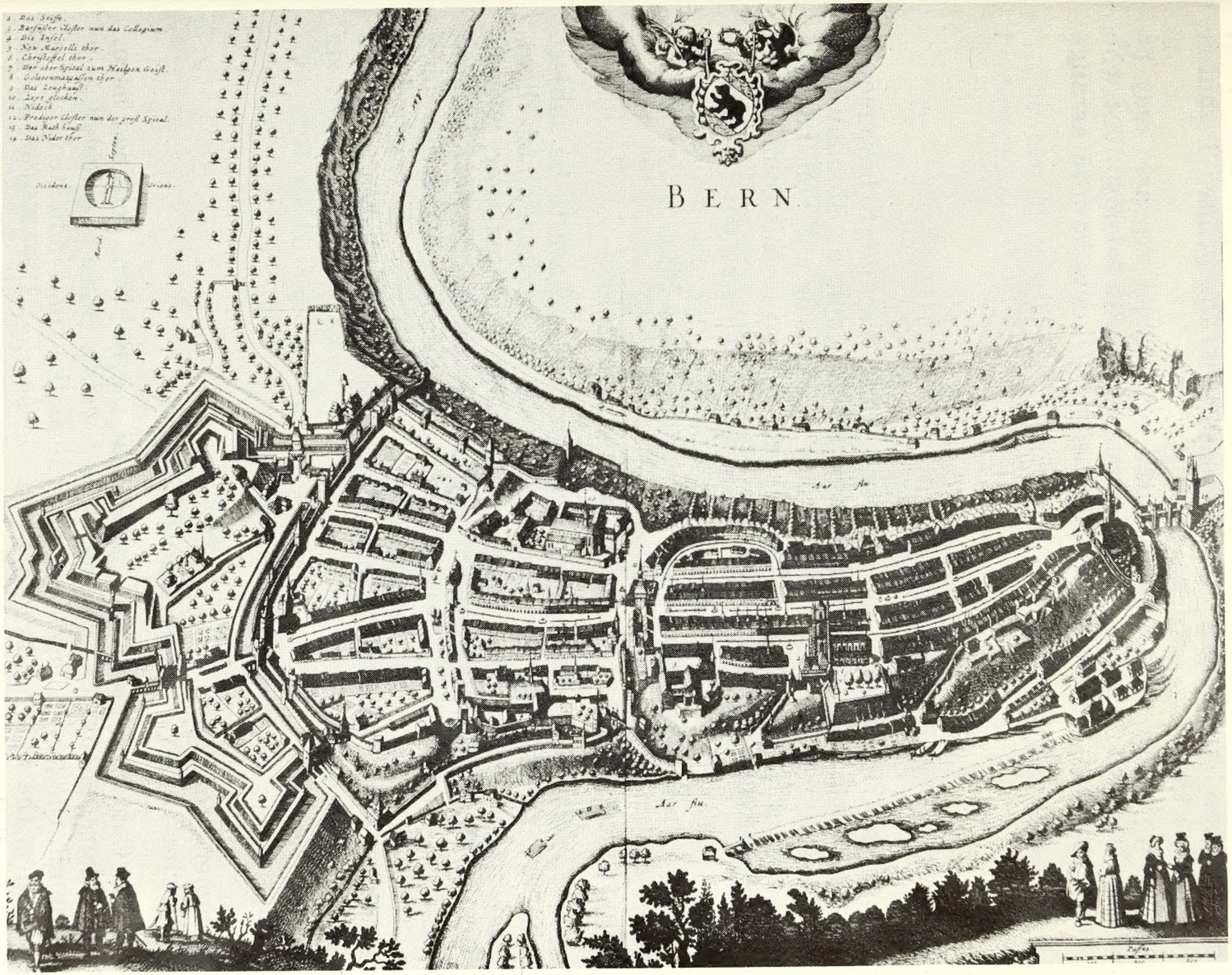
You are commanded to order Bailiff Langhanss to be present with this guard and to pay strict attention to these Baptists so that none of them shall escape.

To the worthy gentlemen, Justice Kilchberger
and his Committee:—

With regard to the question raised—whether those of your people who are to watch over the Baptists shall have the aforesaid travel expense

[14] One Swiss estimated the cost of his journey from Rotterdam to Carolina at 34 thalers, so the "two to six thalers" was a pittance. Todd and Goebel, *von Graffenried's Founding of New Bern,* 313.

[15] The *Insel* ("Island") was evidently a place of isolation or quarantine, possibly even a prison. Its high walls are shown on a map of this period, not far from the spire of the General Hospital of the Holy Spirit *(Oberspital zum Heiligen Geist).* Frederick de Wit, *Theatrum Praecipuarum Totius Europae Urbium* (Amsterdam, 1695?). The City of Bern is depicted on Map No. 8.



This map of Bern, Switzerland, was made about 1695. It shows the *Insel* and General Hospital, where the Anabaptist families were confined, and the Council House, where the Council presumably met for its deliberations. The map is from the Division of Maps, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

money free of customs duty—the Council finds that, as far as these guards alone are concerned, money paid as duty shall be refunded, and Herr Ritter shall be so informed.

With regard to whether those deported and others making the journey should be allowed to take Bibles, prayerbooks and other books they want, will you gentlemen buy these at your expense from the printer Tschiffeli and give them to those who are leaving?

Furthermore, as you are aware, honored sirs, travel expenses may be provided for those who would like to depart with these colonists but who do not have sufficient means. You gentlemen now know how to arrange this.

To the Chief Bailiff and Court Clerk:—

Since those Baptists in the General Hospital and *Insel* are to be removed next Tuesday, you are ordered to acquaint these people on Monday with the oath of banishment, so that whether they swear it or not, you, honored sirs, will deal hardly with them if they should return to this country and punish them with loss of life or limb.

To the honorable gentlemen of the Baptist Committee:—

In order that the Council may know which Baptists are to be subject to removal, we should like for you to prepare an exact list of them, stating how many, from what locality, of what age, together with a description of their height, whether they are teachers, notaries, or how they differ from one another in education and occupation. Have this done by your secretary, and have a copy sent to Herr Ritter, the original to be deposited here for future reference. You will know how best you can do this, honored sirs.

The Government [of Bern]
to the Provincial Governor of Thun:—[16]

Our worthy Council are of the opinion that the Baptists detained here, along with others, should be transported by water. Since the River Aar is so very small, the government orders that at the time indicated by the ship authorities, the bridges are to be raised so that the people can be met with here all the more quickly.

[16] Thun is a city about 15 miles southeast of Bern, at this period subject to the City of Bern's administration. It connects with Bern upstream of the Aar River.

The Government [of Bern]
to Basel:—

You are to order the local ship authorities who are transporting the Baptists to select a definite place on the Rhine for the debarkation, as in the German Letter-Book.

The Governor [of Bern]
to General von St. Saphorin:—[17]

You are to pay Herr Ritter there in Holland the other part of the money promised, as *ibid.*

[German Letter-Book 41/413]

March 15, 1710

The Government [of Bern]
to Basel:—

You are requested to provide for the local ship authorities a walled place located near the Rhine so that the persons and effects being transported can be kept and stored when they pass through.

Yours, etc.

We have decided to banish and send to America certain Baptists resident in our country. The person in charge of them informs us that they must be sent by ship via Basel and that he needs a walled place near the Rhine in which to keep these persons and the effects they are taking with them. We ask you therefore (as a matter of intra-cantonal courtesy) to place at the unrestricted disposal of the conductor of these persons, and his seamen, such a place, so that they can stop over there for a short time. For which we shall be most grateful.

With God's grace, etc.
Mayor and Council of the City of Bern

[German Letter-Book 41/414]

March 15, 1710

The Government [of Bern]
to his Lordship St. Saphorin:—[18]

[17] The Bernese envoy to Holland. See letter below and note 18.

[18] François Louis Pesme, Seigneur de St. Saphorin (b. 1668), was a military commander of Genevan family. He had seen service with Dutch, Prussian, and Austrian forces before entering the Swiss diplomatic service in 1706. Noted for his religious tolerance, he was the Bernese envoy to Holland in 1710. Müller, *Bernischen Taüfer*, 259-260.

Submitting a detailed list of the Anabaptists, etc., that are being sent away.

Our worthy Council has decided that the Baptists who for a number of years have been slipping back into the country should be sent to the West Indies because of their continuing opposition to our laws and regulations. Therefore we have contracted for the transportation with Herr Georg Ritter and Herr Peter Isoth,[19] in their names and on behalf of other interested parties, to the effect that they shall be paid 45 thalers in specie for each of these persons if they are brought via transport vessel to Rotterdam or Briel[20]—one-half of this sum to be paid upon departure here, the rest to be paid upon the delivery of these persons to the transport ship.

The persons described [in the accompanying list?] have been entrusted to the aforesaid Herr Ritter and Herr Isoth; they have been put on board ship, and half the amount of the travel money has been given out. Because the rest of the money must be delivered to the interested parties in accordance with the number of Baptists delivered, we request you to send someone capable of handling this affair from there to the place where the people are transported, to see whether they have been shipped in complete number. If such is the case, the latter person must arrange for the remaining amount to be handed over to these parties. For this purpose a letter of credit in the amount of 1,200 thalers specie is being directed to Chaumel & Company.

If, however, one or more of the number described is missing and the contractors cannot prove that such persons have been removed from their hands by irresistible, superior force, then nothing is to be paid to them there [for these missing persons]. In addition, there should be deducted from the sum for each of the remaining persons that which they received here in Bern, except what has been spent for the cost of food and maintenance up to the time of disappearance.

A similar disposition of funds shall apply regarding those who die en route, and expenses for these shall be allowed only up until the time of death.[21] This accounting is to be arranged by Herr Dexteritet, and the casualties, whether by death, escape or illness, are to be listed by surname and given name.

This is requested of you, honored sir, whom we commend to the care of the Almighty.

Date: March 15, 1710

Chancellery of Bern

P.S. In case Peter Wüeterich from the Parish of Trub and Nichlauss

[19] Peter Isoth was Ritter's partner and a signer of the contract with Graffenried and others for lands in North Carolina upon which to settle the Swiss and Palatine Germans.

[20] Briel is a Rhine port a few miles downriver from Rotterdam. The vessel or vessels carrying the Swiss colonists stopped there briefly. Todd and Goebel, *von Graffenried's Founding of New Bern*, 313.

[21] In all, nine of the colonists appear to have died either on the Rhine voyage, at Rotterdam, or in England. At Rotterdam, two children and one man died, but there were no deaths on the voyage from England to America. Todd and Goebel, *von Graffenried's Founding of New Bern*, 307.

Leüthe of Lower Frittenbach from the Parish of Laupersweyl, both Anabaptists, should be among those arriving, they should be paid traveling expenses in the same way as the above-mentioned. *Datum ut in litteris.*

[Council Records 41/323]

March 17, 1710

To Justice Kilchberger and his colleagues:—

In view of the misfortune just experienced as a result of overloading the ship, it is advisable that you make it plain to the ship authorities that the vessel should not be too heavily laden and thus not be unsafe tomorrow when the Baptists and other persons are put on board. Take care also, honored sirs, to have the ship inspected.

March 17, 1710

To the most worthy gentleman,
Treasurer von Wattenweil:—

In order that the deportation of the Baptists and others who go with them may not be delayed for lack of adequate provision, the Council has discussed this morning the matter of money and has also requested the worthy gentlemen of the Baptist Board to provide you, honored sir, with a list of the Baptists. The appointed committee should provide you with a list of the others accompanying the Baptists and inform you that you should make available, as a loan, half the sum of 45 thalers for each Baptist, five thalers for those traveling with them and, in addition, the amount necessary for the requirements of the guards accompanying these people.

To the worthy Justice Kilchberger
and his Committee:—

In order that the deportation of the Baptists and others desirous of traveling with them may not be delayed, the Council has decided this morning, concerning the money, that the Baptist Board and you, honored sirs, must give the Treasurer today a specific list of the Baptists and the other persons, in order that the Treasurer may lend the required travel money, which is five thalers per person.

To the worthy gentlemen
of the Baptist Board:—

In order that the deportation of the Baptists, as well as the persons who go with them, may not be delayed for lack of adequate provision, the Council has decided this morning, concerning the money, that you, honored sirs, must give to the honorable Treasurer a specific list of the Baptists which should indicate also how many guards will accompany these people and what wages each of them will be paid daily, so that the Treasurer may procure the money for the one purpose and for the other.[22]

[22] On March 18 the colonists left Bern and on April 9 or 10 arrived at Rotterdam, where they remained for eight weeks, paying their own expenses. Not until July 11 did they sail from Newcastle. On July 24 they met the convoy fleet and sailed for America, landing at Hampton, Virginia, September 11. They completed the journey to New Bern by land. Todd and Goebel, *von Graffenried's Founding of New Bern*, 308-309, 313-315.

BOOK REVIEWS

Search for the Cittie of Ralegh: Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina. By Jean Carl Harrington. (Washington: Government Printing Office. Archeological Research Series, Number Six, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior. 1962. Pp. viii, 62. $.60.)

In the first part of this booklet a historical summary of the exploration and settlement of Roanoke Island is presented, with accounts of the colonies of 1585 and 1587, and a description of the site and early archeological research.

The second, and primary section, deals with the excavation of the fort and the objects of European origin found, and the dating of these objects relative to the fort. The section on reconstruction of the fort combines archeological and documentary evidence to demonstrate how the reconstruction was achieved.

An anti-climactic section deals with the search for the habitation site, and presents the evidence found in light of what was expected from the excavation trenches.

Of particular interest to archeologists was the description of the Indian pot fragments associated with the ruin of the fort, and the relationship of these to previous knowledge of the ceramic types of the area.

The final section deals with the continuing search for the sixteenth-century settlement site, and offers an examination of the evidence pointing to a location other than the traditional one for consideration when future work is undertaken.

The bulletin is well illustrated with drawings and photographs, and represents a fine example of archeological examination, restoration, and interpretation of a historic site. This quality report presents clearly and simply the approach of the historic site archeologist to his data.

Stanley South.

State Department of Archives and History.

North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698. Edited by Mattie Erma Edwards Parker. (Raleigh: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission. 1963. Introduction, footnotes, and index. Pp. xxi, 247. $5.00, buckram; $10.00, leather.)

This first volume in the proposed new edition of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* helpfully brings together, for the first time under a single cover, all of the fundamental charters that are pertinent to an understanding of the colony's origins. Included are the charters issued by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1578 and 1584; the three Virginia charters of 1606, 1609, and 1612, each of which conveyed rights extending into the Carolina region; Sir Robert Heath's patent of 1629; the great charter granting Carolina to the Lords Proprietors in 1663 and its revision of 1665; the Concessions and Agreement of January, 1665, in which the proprietors spelled out the conditions they offered to prospective settlers, an especially significant document; and finally, the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina in all of the five known versions, from the first of 1669 to the latest revision in 1698. Each document is prefaced by an editorial introduction placing it in its historical context. The volume has also a general Introduction and an Index.

Handsomely printed on paper that promises to endure and with a type face and spacing that make for easy reading, the book is intended to serve the general interest of the State's citizens as well as the needs of the specialized scholar. Warning is given that some of the spelling has been modernized, some of the punctuation in the original changed. The editorial apparatus has been kept to a minimum. An appropriate and useful memento of the current tercentennial, the volume should find a welcome in every public and school library of the State.

The professional scholar, for whom it is promised that later volumes in the series will be edited primarily, will also find here much that is helpful to him. W. L. Saunders' edition of *The Colonial Records of North Carolina,* published at Raleigh in ten volumes between 1886 and 1890, has been out of print for many years. Complete sets are difficult to acquire. Moreover, although Saunders' edition represents for its time an achievement in which the State may take great pride, his work had certain faults that the new series promises to avoid. For one thing, the collection at critical points was incomplete. For another, the transcriptions were not always exact.

Saunders' omission of the Gilbert, the Raleigh, and the Virginia charters was not a serious fault, for the documents could be easily

found in other places and their existence was well known to all students. Quite serious, however, has been the effect of his omission of all save a single version of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. That he knew of the five versions reproduced here is indicated by his identification of them in the preface to his first volume, but, for whatever reason, he printed only the version of March 1, 1670. He thus failed to make the contribution he might have made toward settling an important question of authorship, upon which Mrs. Parker helpfully comments by casting fresh doubt upon the assumption that John Locke deserves the credit, or the blame, that often has been assigned to him. Saunders also, especially by omitting the revisions of 1682 and 1698, left the student to confront the difficult questions of Carolina's early history without ready reference to a fundamental part of the record. However slight the revisions may have been, they were made at times of critical importance for the history of the project, and so they deserve the closest possible attention, if only for the light they throw upon the continuing role played by the proprietors.

No less important than the evidence that the editing of the new series will be guided by appropriate standards of completeness is the assurance that full advantage will be taken of modern techniques for the purpose of guaranteeing a faithful reproduction of the true text. In every instance the editor has worked from the original document or a photographic reproduction of the original, or the nearest to the original that has been found. Some of the differences in the rendering of the text may be considered minor, as when in the significant section on religion of the Fundamental Constitutions "doth" becomes "does" in Article 95, or the expressed hope in Article 97 "that civil peace may be obtained amidst the diversity of opinions" becomes a condition to be *maintained.* But there is a substantial difference in the rendering of the text of Article 100, where each recognized denomination is required to "set down the external Way whereby they witness a Truth," not the *eternal* way.

Wesley Frank Craven.

Princeton University.

A History of the Education of Negroes in North Carolina. By Hugh Victor Brown. (Raleigh: Irving Swain Press. 1961. Illustrations, notes, addenda, and index. Pp. 167. $3.00.)

In this attempt to write a scholarly work in Negro education from ante-bellum days to the 1950's, Mr. Brown has utilized materials throughout North Carolina from those in the colleges and archives to

that collected in personal interviews. Having served the Negro public schools many decades, Mr. Brown was in some ways uniquely suited for his task. He says that as he was aware "that changing times often cause us to forget the influences and the agencies which have motivated these changes, I was seized with the inspiration to gather the facts of our educational history in North Carolina and place them in one package for preservation that—'Lest we forget'—unborn generations might tell their children 'how we came through.'"

Unfortunately the book suffers from the enormity of the task undertaken. Many of the brief sketches merely whet the appetite for further information. The difficulty of trying to reconstruct this story from primary sources and compress it into 167 pages can be grasped by reviewing some of the contents. Ante-bellum education covers six pages. The period from 1863 to 1900 takes twenty-five. Because of the diversity of topics such as the development of public and private schools, colleges, special institutions such as those for the orphan and the blind, the teachers' association, agricultural extension work, private philanthropies, and the State Division of Negro Education, no one topic can be given much space. Few of the institutions concerned with Negro Education are omitted, and few are given the coverage one would desire. A check of the sources such as those cited on pages 31 to 33 will disclose the inaccuracy of some of the quotations and footnotes. While apparently not distorted in context, much of the material found in the quotations could be more correctly termed paraphrases; also, the page citations in the footnotes are not wholly accurate.

Mr. Brown has pioneered in an area where historians have been negligent. His book fills a gap where nothing was available and can be useful as an introduction to possible topics of extensive study. Perhaps the historians of North Carolina will heed the call.

Richard Barry Westin.

University of Richmond.

Front Rank. By Glenn Tucker. (Raleigh: North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. 1962. Pp. 83. $3.00.)

This is an impressionistic account of the Civil War experiences of the State of North Carolina. It ought to warm the hearts of its sponsors—the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission; it is a paean of praise for the State's record in the conflict. From beginning

to end, the book is North Carolina's boast writ large—"First at Bethel, Farthest at Gettysburg . . . Last at Appomattox." Notwithstanding the author's undisguised and overwhelming sympathy for North Carolina, there is ground for much of what he says; that North Carolina made immense sacrifices and contributions to the Confederate effort—contributions perhaps above the State's share of resources—is beyond question.

The volume's most controversial generalizations are those explaining the causes of the Civil War, and those describing the career of Governor Zebulon B. Vance. The author accepts uncritically the James G. Randall-Avery Craven thesis that the War could have been avoided by patient statesmanship. This is a truism that is hard to dispute; it can be said of any war. But the author goes too far when he says that the "best thought" of both North and South aspired toward an end of slavery (p. 81). Who represented the best thought of the South is not revealed; certainly the leading politicians, journalists, and theologians of the section on the eve of war did not seek the abolition of the "peculiar institution."

Governor Vance appears as the "Dynamo of the Confederacy." That Vance was something of a dynamo is true. But this account does not so much as hint at Vance's obstinate and often obstructive exercise of state rights.

Front Rank is a sprightly written and attractively illustrated book; it will serve well to perpetuate North Carolina's tradition of valor.

Charles P. Roland.

Tulane University.

Equal Protection of the Laws in North Carolina. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office [Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights]. 1962. Preface, contents, foreword, footnotes, maps, afterword, acknowledgments, and appendixes. Pp. x, 251. $1.00.)

The North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has rendered a real service to the people of the State through the issuance of its report. The North Carolina committee is one of the fifty-one such groups working in the area of civil rights; the United States Commission found that the North Carolina report was of a "range and quality . . . so extraordinary" that a complete publication in a separate volume was needed to do justice to it.

The findings are presented in an objective way. Each section contains a few paragraphs in which the historical background is developed, legal actions which have a bearing on the particular problem are revealed, and statistical data are provided. Quotations from interviews and letters throw additional light on the subject.

Several large areas are discussed. Voting, administration of justice, employment, education, the uneducated, housing, medical care, and compulsory segregation resulting from various local enactments are subject headings. In each area, the status of the Negro and other minority groups is analyzed with care, and each section contains a summary in which conclusions are drawn from the findings.

The very nature of the report precludes its absolute conclusion. Numerous legal cases were still pending at the time of the writing. Legislation introduced in the 1963 General Assembly will change some of the conditions discussed. For example, Senate Bill 165, which repealed G.S. 127-6, relating to segregation in the State militia, was ratified in April. The very fact that the report cannot be conclusive is in itself indicative of progress in the field of race relations in North Carolina.

Citizens interested in the goal of equal protection under the law for all North Carolinians should avail themselves of the opportunity of reading this report. The facts are sometimes shocking, sometimes encouraging, sometimes disillusioning. North Carolinians who pride themselves on the progress which has been made in the area of race relations will find that the facts do not always support that feeling of pride. On the other hand, bit by bit the State has moved forward and is continuing to edge ahead through many avenues. The small steps—and there are many of them—add up to the big step which hopefully will lead to equality under the law.

Annotations, statistical charts and maps, and appendixes afford a researcher an opportunity to obtain primary and valuable source material. An index would add immeasurably to the usefulness of the book. The North Carolina Advisory Committee is to be commended for its presentation of an objective report covering many fields of activity; the United States Commission is to be congratulated for its decision to publish the report and make it available to the public.

Memory F. Blackwelder.

State Department of Archives and History.

Abstracts of the Records of Jones County, North Carolina, 1779-1868. Volume I. By Zae Hargett Gwynn. (Memphis, Tennessee: Privately printed. Foreword, acknowledgments, contents, and Index to Land Grants and Entries and to Deeds of Jones Co., N. C. Pp. vii, 1,074. $30.00.)

This well-edited, adequately indexed, and beautifully bound volume is a reference work of particular value and interest to local historians and persons engaged in genealogical research.

Persons having these special and localized interests will find that this book presents a remarkably comprehensive and convenient key to the archives of one of North Carolina's more interesting and most rural counties. The Jones County region was early settled by German Palatines and Swiss immigrants who came with the De Graffenried colony in 1710. The records of these colonists can be traced best through the public records of Craven, Jones, and Onslow counties.

In purpose, content, style, and appearance, the present volume is a companion work to the two volumes entitled *The Records of Onslow County, North Carolina,* published by Mrs. Gwynn in 1961. Like her Onslow volumes, Mrs. Gwynn's new book will be enthusiastically received as a highly reliable guide for researchers and historians who mine in the public records for factual information about persons, families, places, and events connected with Jones County area between 1778 and 1868.

Comprised in this volume are land entries, 1779-1795; land grants, 1784-1792; abstracts of deed records, 1779-1867; abstracts of will records, 1778-1868; tax and census lists dated 1779, 1786, and 1850; marriage records, 1851-1874; and estate papers for the period 1809-1829.

The designating of this book as "Volume I" suggests that Mrs. Gwynn may be planning a second volume. Jones County Court Minutes, additional estate papers, land divisions, and other minor records exist in sufficient quantity to provide a second volume. However, nothing approaching the scope and significance of Volume I remains to be done for the older Jones County records. Consequently, this reviewer and many other people who highly esteem the work Mrs. Gwynn has accomplished in dealing with the Onslow County records and the Jones County records would hope that she will not be delayed in turning her talents to a similar project in the Craven

County records which begin in 1706 and comprise one of the most interesting local record collections in the State.

Charles R. Holloman.

Director of Publications,
North Carolina Citizens Association,
Raleigh.

North Carolina Lives: The Tar Heel Who's Who. Edited by William S. Powell. (Hopkinsville, Kentucky: Historical Record Association. 1962. Pp. 1,358. $17.00.)

This volume is a Who's Who of contemporary Tar Heels. To the question, "Who is a Tar Heel?" the editor has aswered, "anyone born in the state no matter where he lives today and anyone residing in the state today no matter where he was born." This was a happy solution that made it possible to include everybody: interlopers, "exstatriates," and those who just stayed.

The value of such a biographical dictionary derives from its inclusiveness rather than from its selectivity. Certainly there are hundreds of biographical sketches that will be read only by the subject, and their worth is confined to flattering the ego of the subject and to fattening the pocketbook of the publisher who obviously knew that he created a potential buyer with each sketch he included. But for users of the volume the criticism will not be that too many people were included, but rather that too many people were left out. Each user will compile his own list of "important" people who should be listed and are not. In fairness to the editor and his advisory board, however, it should be noted that the omissions are generally due to the unwillingness of people to participate rather than to a desire to leave anybody out.

The biographical entries were prepared by the editor, but his source of information of course had to be the individual subject. A questionnaire was sent to each person invited to participate, and the completed form served as the basis for the biographical sketch. Thus the usual information on place and date of birth, genealogy, education, professional accomplishments, family status, and memberships is as complete and as accurate as the individuals who furnished it wanted it to be. All professions are represented and public servants at the State and local level are included in abundance. In fact, it may occur to the user that probably nobody was excluded who did not

want to be. This is not a "vanity press" publication, however, as no charge was made for biographical entries. But vanity has played its part in the venture; a charge was made for having a picture included, and in some instances vanity led subjects to furnish photographs that were taken many years before this volume went to press.

The publisher of this commercial venture into contemporary biography—the dead are not included presumably because they do not buy books—was fortunate to secure the services of William S. Powell, Librarian of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library and respected scholar. This is a far better book than it might have been without his editorial skill and his knowledge and appreciation of North Carolina and North Carolinians.

Cyrus B. King.

State Department of Archives and History.

William Henry Drayton and the American Revolution. By William M. Dabney and Marion Dargan. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press. 1962. Pp. xiv, 225. $5.00.)

William Henry Drayton lived several lives during his thirty-seven years. Although he died in 1779 before there was any great realization of the significant upheaval in American political practices, his own political experience was kaleidoscopic, ranging all the way from stanch support of the Crown to ardent espousal of the American cause. In this study there is the speculation that Drayton's change came about because of a debt of £2,400, but subsequent revelations imply that there were more substantial reasons leadings to his change of heart. In fact, in London it was felt that Drayton had switched sides when Lord Dartmouth had not approved his application for a judgeship on the Supreme Court of South Carolina.

His was a most interesting personality; quick-tempered, and perhaps a little vain, he did everything with a bit of a flourish. The introduction promises interesting characterizations in the analysis of Drayton's varying moods and personality quirks, but the man who emerges from these pages is drab in contrast with the anticipation. The authors allow the narrative to wander along two parallel courses, one based on the drift of South Carolina toward revolution, the other built on the activities of Drayton. Too often there is an irrelevancy that is never quite reconciled. Several irritants impose themselves in this arrangement. Too often the reader is left with the feeling of being

talked down to in lengthy and patient explanations of local political developments which should have been relegated to a footnote, if included at all.

Then there are hazy generalizations that result in misplaced emphasis or that are downright misleading. For instance, there is the reference to North Carolina's War of the Regulation as "the civil war which gripped North Carolina during the decade preceding the War for American Independence." In a like manner, there is the implication that the Howe Peace Commission was the brainchild of the Howe brothers because of their antagonism to the North administration.

Foreign manuscript repositories have been utilized, but greatest reliance seems to have been placed upon the National Library of Scotland; surely much more material should have been located in English libraries. Although John R. Alden's *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* is listed in the bibliography and apparently used rather extensively, the work is not cited once. Other secondary studies have received similar treatment.

Nevertheless, this is still a useful work, but its pedestrian style and loose organization should encourage another biography of William Henry Drayton.

Hugh F. Rankin.

Tulane University.

The Fighting Elder: Andrew Pickens (1739-1817). By Alice Noble Waring. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1962. Foreword, contents, illustrations, notes and references, and index. Pp. viii, 252. $6.00.)

It was perhaps inevitable that this biography of Andrew Pickens be in one sense a military history because his career was inextricably interwoven with the sporadic campaigns conducted in the Carolinas and Georgia during the American Revolution. Engaged in the first battle of the war in South Carolina, he also fought in the last major campaign in the State. The title *Fighting Elder* is appropriate because he dedicated his life to both rifle and Bible. He typified the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who fought the British with the zeal they displayed in their worship.

This biography clearly reveals what some of the major problems in South Carolina were during the war: the strong Tory sentiment which at times prevailed, the political conflict between the coastal groups con-

trolling the legislature and the poorly represented frontiersmen, the lack of co-ordination among the militia from different states, the resentment of many South Carolinians against a seemingly apathetic Continental Congress, the ravaging and plundering by white outlaws, the depredations committed by the Indians in league with the Tories on the frontiers. In some respects the problems reflected in South Carolina were similar to those in many other States. Mrs. Waring stresses the fact that South Carolina was one of the bloodiest battlegrounds of the war, and it is her aim, at least indirectly, to show what part that State, and particularly General Pickens, played in bringing it to a successful conclusion. Some military historians, however, may feel that in her efforts to give Pickens a well-deserved place in the roll of Revolutionary heroes she does less than justice to General Greene. She obviously admires her subject, and for valid reasons.

Perhaps one of Pickens' most significant contributions lay in his treaty-making with the Indians. Relentless in his pursuit of them as enemies, he was repeatedly engaged in seeking fair treatment for them in the post-war period. Known as Skyagunsta, meaning Wizard Owl or Great Warrior, he was respected by the Indians for his integrity. Both Washington and Jefferson as presidents sought his services as a commissioner in Indian affairs.

Pickens was a politician as well as a soldier. He served on several occasions as a member of the South Carolina legislature and was in the House of Representatives of the Third National Congress. At first a Federalist in sentiment, he recognized the necessity of a stronger union to settle disputes with the Indians and objected to the States negotiating with them or purchasing land without the consent of Congress. He also recognized the need for a uniform militia throughout the United States. By 1800 his political views had changed, and he adopted the principles of the Republican-Democrats. Mrs. Waring, however, has failed to explain what prompted this change, except by quoting from a cryptic letter in which Pickens urged vigilance against "any attempt of arbitrary government." Indeed, Mrs. Waring is not nearly so thorough in presenting Pickens' political career as his military one, nor does she explore fully enough the political implications of the Revolution in South Carolina.

The portrait of Pickens which emerges is that of a man of moral rectitude and honor. He defended the cause of the Indians against the unwarranted encroachments by white men and protected the Tories after the war. Ever imbued with a frontier spirit, he retreated westward and settled near the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains,

where he died in his seventy-eighth year. Mrs. Waring's biography, reflecting a painstaking search of all pertinent documents, has succeeded in giving due recognition to a somewhat neglected figure of the American Revolution.

Jack C. Barnes.

University of Maryland.

General Leonidas Polk, C. S. A.: The Fighting Bishop. By Joseph H. Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. [Southern Biography Series]. 1962. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, and index. Pp. x, 408. $7.50.)

The Scotch-Irish in America have always been notable for that strange combination of Calvinistic piety and a willingness to indulge in physical combat. It was therefore not strange, when principles were at stake, that Bishop Leonidas Polk should have doffed his clerical robes to become a general in the Confederate Army. His family had descended from one Robert Pollock who had come from North Ireland in the seventeenth century and settled in Maryland. They had shortened the name to Polk as they drifted southward into western North Carolina but had not changed their stern Calvinism nor their aggressive independence. There one Thomas Polk had played a rather stormy part in the American Revolution, and his son, William Polk, had not only fought well in that struggle but had laid the foundations for a fortune by acquiring great stretches of virgin lands in Tennessee.

Leonidas, fourth son of William, thus had the advantages both of wealth and education. He attended the University of North Carolina for a time and then entered the United States Military Academy. Both he and his father "preferred that he be a soldier." Soon, however, the old Scotch-Irish conflict between the church and the army began to develop. After considerable struggle both with himself and his family, the young would-be soldier or planter decided to complete his course at West Point and then to enter the Episcopal clergy.

After graduation young Polk traveled abroad, studied for a time at the Virginia Theological Seminary, and then settled down on family lands as a planter and slaveholder who preached to his neighbors and built them a church.

This ideal compromise, however, was temporarilly interrupted by appointment as Missionary Bishop of the Southwest. That sent him traveling through Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana in an effort to

find and stimulate the growth of churches in what was, to a large degree, a religious frontier. He seems to have been quite successful and was rewarded by appointment as Bishop of Louisiana.

Here he was again able to combine planting with his religious duties. He purchased a sugar plantation near New Orleans and stocked it with slaves. All went well for a time but soon disaster struck in the form of a cholera epidemic which forced him to liquidate his holdings and to move to New Orleans. Here, freed from plantation worries, he was able to concentrate on what was to prove his most important contribution—the carrying forward of plans for the University of the South at Sewanee. War checked his efforts but the foundations were laid.

Leonidas Polk was thus identified with all the interests and attitudes of the Lower South. He acepted slavery, believed in States' Rights, and in the right of secession. So when war broke he declared his diocese independent of the national church and became a brigadier general in the Confederate army.

Professor Parks' treatment of Polk as a general becomes largely the story of the campaigns in which he participated. There are excellent descriptions of the military developments which run from Columbus to Corinth, to Shiloh, Perryville, and on to Stone River and Chickamauga. The part which Polk played in these movements is not always clear. He did his duty, much of it of a defensive character, but most of the narrative has to do with Polk's personal reactions to the blundering leadership of Braxton Bragg, the general in command. Polk did his duty often reluctantly and in the end was relieved of command under Bragg's charges. His letters on which Professor Parks largely relies for his attitudes leave no doubt but that Polk sincerely believed that Bragg had misused a great army and was largely responsible for its final fate.

Later assigned to service in Mississippi, Polk rendered good service and had moved his troops forward to co-operate with General Joseph Johnston around Atlanta, when struck by a sharpshooter's shell while viewing the Federal position from atop Pine Mountain.

In this biography of Polk Professor Parks has written another fine biography of an important southern leader.

Avery Craven.

Chesterton, Indiana.

The South Carolina Regulators. By Richard Maxwell Brown. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1963. Maps, appendixes, notes, and index. Pp. xi, 230. $5.50.)

One finds here a clearly cogent picture of South Carolina's "Back Country" on the eve of the American Revolution. It properly begins with the Cherokee War of 1760-1761. With this introduction the author creates a brief, but well defined, picture of conditions of settlement and life in the Back Country of this time.

The account of the Regulation and the methods used to enforce law and order is quite convincing. The reader gets a delightfully sure account, both of the two legislative efforts to create a court system for the frontier, and the pacifying efforts of the Moderator Movement.

The history leaves three questions in the mind of this reviewer. One has difficulty visualizing the type of lawlessness which apparently existed in the Back Country—an area of agricultural and trapping economy. One gets the impression of city thugs with muggings, assaults, and robberies of a municipal type. Apparently the isolation of life, and the slow transportation available, would make such impossible.

Again, obscurity remains as to the second objective of attack by the Regulators. Once downright outlaws had been suppressed, or driven into Virginia, the movement apparently becomes one of social conflict. The author implies, but does not carry through on the proving thereof, that the Regulators were the protagonists of an emerging aristocracy in suppressing the "lower people." Does this mean that in South Carolina the social revolutionary movement of pre-Revolutionary days was working in reverse?

Finally, one feels that this account could be more complete if it tied the aftermath of the Regulator Movement into the causative years and actions of the American Revolution. Were the people of South Carolina so far removed, both physically and in spirit, from Massachusetts and Virginia that they were not involved in the decade of 1765-1775 with the approaching Revolution?

C. G. Gordon Moss.

Longwood College.

William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and other Documents. Edited with an Introduction by Richard Beale Davis. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. [Virginia Historical Society Documents, Volume 3]. 1963. Illustrations, notes, index, and map. Pp. xvi, 399. $7.50.)

William Fitzhugh, though born in England, lived in the Northern Neck of Virginia (the area between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers) in the final quarter of the seventeenth century. His activities as planter, lawyer, churchman, burgess, justice of the peace, commander of the militia, and as representative of the Proprietary of the Northern Neck in the distribution of land as well as his association with prominent people (whose descendants were to be even more prominent) mark him as an important character. The publication of his letters and other papers with the sympathetic sketch of his life throws much light on significant aspects of the seventeenth-century Virginia frontier in which he played such an active part. It would not be accurate to say that this work rescues William Fitzhugh from oblivion, but it does give him more precise stature and in doing so makes clearer some of the characteristics and institutions of his time.

Especial mention might be made of John Fitzhugh's will which appropriately enough is the final paper presented. This document not only reveals the testator as a man of property and taste but the articles mentioned and bequeathed suggest the level of living and culture enjoyed by the Virginia gentry on the frontier in this period.

The work of Editor Richard Beale Davis, Virginia-born and Virginia-educated but presently a professor at the University of Tennessee, deserves comment. The scholarly account of Fitzhugh, already referred to, and copious annotations contribute much to the understanding of the volume. Indeed, it might be said that without this editorial aid the reader who is not home in the source material of the period would be lost in the intricacies of seventeenth-century composition and the mélange of characters presented not to mention the complexities of colonial politics. Even to the experienced reader the erudition of the editor and his research in the area contribute indispensably to the worth of the letters and other documents presented.

Cecil Johnson.

The University of North Carolina.

The Journal of the Earl of Egmont: Abstract of the Trustees Proceedings for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1732-1738. Edited with an Introduction by Robert G. McPherson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1962. Frontispiece, notes, and index. Pp. xxv, 414. $7.50.)

The granting of the Georgia Charter of 1732, against a background of the economic, imperialistic, and philanthropic aspirations of its various promoters, created a corporate body which obtained a proprietary grant of land in America. While control of the Georgia colony was vested in the corporate membership, or Trustees, as a whole, the more responsible leadership was performed by a smaller group known as the Common Council.

Less known than James Oglethorpe, but fully as significant in Georgia history, is John Percival, who became the Earl of Egmont in 1733. Serving as both a Trustee and Common Council member from 1733 to 1744, Egmont dedicated himself wholeheartedly to the advancement of the Georgia colony. Only waning health and, finally, death could halt this devotion.

Egmont was a meticulous record-keeper, and the personal journals he kept of the Georgia corporation meetings in England constituted an encyclopedic account of the colony's progress. Unfortunately, soon after his death in 1748, the three-volume journal disappeared. In 1881 the last two volumes, covering the period 1739 to 1744, were found and placed in print. The important first volume, with all its information on the birth-pains of the colony, was not discovered until 1946 and now appears in print for the first time.

The Trustee and Council meetings reported in the journal reflect the virtual life-and-death urgency of existence in Georgia: the transportation of colonists, the struggle to carve a settlement out of the wilderness, the ever-present fear of Indian attack, and "the ordeal of seasoning." The promoters in England were never able to reconcile their Utopian vision with the realities of life in America.

Dr. McPherson, a member of the History Department of the University of Georgia, has provided an excellent Introduction to accompany his skillful editing of the journal. As the fifth publication under its auspices, the Wormsloe Foundation of Georgia is to be commended for its efforts to inform the people of Georgia as to their hard-earned pioneer heritage. The historical profession also should welcome this addition to its steadily increasing store of source materials on colonial Americana.

James K. Huhta.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission.

The Alabama Confederate Reader. By Malcolm C. McMillan. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xxi, 468. $7.75.)

Alabama played a vital role in the Confederacy. Her politicians helped ignite secession, her capital city was the first host to the Confederate government, her physical and human resources were in constant use, and her resistance was among the last to collapse. Malcolm McMillan, by using a combination of narrative and documents, has told this story well in *The Alabama Confederate Reader.*

The "Reader" format is a flexible one and, if mishandled, can make unpalatable hash of valuable material. *The Alabama Confederate Reader* is a well-disciplined work. Major divisions of the volume treat secession and confederation, military and naval affairs, and the home front. There are eighteen chapters, and the material in each chapter is presented chronologically whenever possible. The author begins his chapters with two or three pages of narrative and analysis of that part of Civil War Alabama then being considered. Each chapter contains a series of documents, ranging in number from two to fourteen, and each document is preceded by a full explanation of its content and relevancy. The result is that the author's own contribution comprises 20 or 25 per cent of the volume, and in itself constitutes a pretty good history of Confederate Alabama.

The bulk of the volume consists of a variety of documents pertaining to Civil War Alabama and Alabamians. The available material was voluminous, and the author confessed to making many "heart-breaking decisions" for his final selections. His sources include diaries, journals, letters, official reports, accounts in Civil War newspapers and periodicals, and recollections, with the latter being the least favored because of their noncontemporaneousness. Twelve of the ninety-nine documents are from unpublished manuscript collections. This reviewer is particularly pleased at the inclusion of four excerpts from William R. Smith's *History and Debates of the Alabama Convention,* and wishes that this excellent source were republished in its entirety.

To express a non-Alabama viewpoint, there is one quarrel with the book. In his Preface McMillan points out the lack of significant military action occurring in Alabama. In compensation, he devotes considerable space to participation by Alabama troops and officers in major out-of-state engagements. Though the Preface stated that the book would do just that, non-Alabamians would probably prefer more

emphasis on conditions in Alabama behind the lines of war.

The book is well printed and sturdy.

Buck Yearns.

Wake Forest College.

The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860. By Clement Eaton. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1961. Editors' introduction, illustrations, bibliography, and index. Pp. xvii, 357. $6.00.)

For the student or professor of history who has used as a text Professor Eaton's *A History of the Old South* or read his excellent monograph, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South,* this volume will not be a disappointment. It is the study of southern economic and social life in the pre-Civil War years expected from a scholar who has spent many years working in this field. This volume is an excellent summary of the research and writing in this field during the past several decades. Also, Professor Eaton has made excellent use of manuscripts for this period recently made available.

The political history of the Old South and the sectional controversy are not covered in this volume. The center of attention is southern society and the different southern civilizations. For this reader, a native of the State of Louisiana, the chapter entitled "The Creole Civilization" was of particular interest. Many writers on the Old South have ignored this very interesting and important culture. Professor Eaton is especially to be commended for his well-balanced and sane interpretation of slavery, and his analyses of the southern middle class and yeomanry, southern town life, and economic recovery in the Upper South during the 1850's.

There is one major failure in the volume, but this failure is not attributable to the author. The intellectual life of the Old South is inadequately treated. The publishers and editors intend to trace intellectual developments in a separate volume. Also, Professor Eaton will treat this subject in a separate volume of essays to be published under the title *The Mind of the Old South* (his Fleming Lectures). Even accepting the above rationalization, the concluding chapter of this volume entitled "The Southern Mind in 1860" is poor and the book does not have the brilliant ending expected of such a writer.

These criticisms in no way detract from the merit of the work.

It is an excellent volume and one of the best yet to appear in the *New American Nation Series.*

John Edmond Gonzales.

The University of Southern Mississippi.

Ante-Bellum Southern Literary Critics. By Edd Winfield Parks. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962. Notes and index. Pp. x, 358. $7.50.)

The label of definitive is used too loosely these days, when a scholarly book that stands up for ten years has done well. But it *is* safe to say that Professor Parks' *Ante-Bellum Southern Literary Critics* will pass that mark. Though he would not care to be praised for mere labor, his book clearly rests on long, patient study (he comments that he essentially started in 1935); furthermore, it is ambitiously conceived and is carried out on a generous scale. Rather than confining himself to esthetic creeds, Professor Parks has aimed to write "the intellectual literary history of the South from 1785 to 1861," perhaps leaving himself open to the charge that his title is too narrow on several counts, especially since he begins with a chapter on "Thomas Jefferson: Humanitarian." When he gets to figures of the 1820's and later, his scale calls for entire chapters on Hugh Swinton Legaré, Richard Henry Wilde, and Thomas Holley Chivers—whose criticism was only "fragmentary"; on the other hand, he omits Edgar Allan Poe rather than "trying to compress his critical thought into a chapter." As would be expected from such an approach, the notes are so full (over eighty large pages) that they rightly are covered by the careful index.

It would be foolhardy to predict a rush to use these riches, set forth in a direct and efficient style. Without Poe they are in danger of seeming devoted to second-rate figures on whom the fine-spun detail is unrewarding; even the specialist may wish that larger patterns had been stressed more, if only in a conclusion or afterword. Few will quarrel seriously however, with any particular chapter, except possibly the shortest one, "The Intent of the Humorists," which ignores the perspectives that several critics have recently supplied. The longest chapter—based on a separately published monograph—should become recognized as the most useful synthesis of William Gilmore Simms' literary ideas. More broadly, with this book Professor Parks should

become recognized as easily the foremost scholar now writing about the literature of the ante-bellum South.

Louis J. Budd.

Duke University.

Generalization in the Writing of History: A Report of the Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council. Edited by Louis Gottschalk. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1963. Notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xiii, 255. $5.00.)

The Committee, of which this volume of essays is a report, was appointed in June, 1956, following a meeting in which several scholars expressed an interest in following-up on Social Science Research Council Bulletin 54 (*Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* [New York, 1946]) and Bulletin 64 (*The Social Sciences in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* [New York, 1954]). The present Committee has devoted itself to the problem of generalization in the writing of history—generalization being used in the sense of interpretation or re-creation. The essays, then, discuss the degree to which the historian could—and should—interpret and explain historical data as he writes history.

The essays which comprise this volume are divided into two parts. The first deals with historical generalization in specific periods, areas, or problems. One essay is concerned with a field of history remote in time (Ancient History), two with an area remote in space to the Western historian (Chinese History), and several with specific problems in Modern History (revolution, national character, social role). The second group of essays, all of which were written by members of the Committee, deals with the problems of historical generalization in the abstract. The Committee, obviously, is sympathetic with the point of view of the authors who are friendly to generalization in historical research.

The volume concludes with a bibliography of writings on historiography and the philosophy of history which was compiled by Martin Klein. The bibliography supplements the compilation which appeared in Social Science Research Bulletin 54 and contains none of the titles that were listed in the latter publication. Since Bulletin 54 was published in 1946, Klein's contribution in assembling recent titles concerning historiography is a significant one.

This volume will almost inevitably provoke controversy—at least to the extent that scholars indulge in controversy. The controversy will center not on whether historians should generalize but on the *degree* to which they should (to use another word) interpret. Unquestionably, the degree to which a historian could—or should—generalize will depend on his individual competence and the thoroughness of his training. Some historians—and there are, unfortunately, too many of them—can generalize only to the extent that they can borrow the generalizations of others. It is regrettable that Gottschalk, in the final sentence of the summary that concludes the essays, did nothing more than suggest the desirability of training historians in how to deal with generalization in the writing of history.

This book is of interest, principally, to the "serious" historical scholar. But any person who purports to be a historian should be familiar with the point of view that these essays express.

Thornton W. Mitchell.

State Department of Archives and History.

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Annals of Progress: The Story of Lenoir County and Kinston, North Carolina, by William S. Powell, is the first in a proposed series of county histories written primarily for the use of school children studying North Carolina history. The 107-page pamphlet contains information on the development of the county and its leaders. Published by the State Department of Archives and History, *Annals of Progress* may be ordered from the Department's Division of Publications, Box 1881, Raleigh, for fifty cents.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission has recently published Harry H. Hall's *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem: The Pride of Tarheelia.* The Civil War story of the Twenty-Sixth Regimental Band, a group of Moravian musicians, is fascinatingly told in this 118-page booklet. Copies may be ordered from the Confederate Centennial Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh, for $1.50.

Number 150 of the National Archives publications, *Preliminary Inventories,* is now available. Entitled *The Sir Henry S. Wellcome*

Papers in the Federal Records Center, Seattle, Washington, the 14-page listing was compiled by Elmer W. Lindgard. Copies may be obtained free of charge from the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

The Show Boat: USS North Carolina (BB-55) is the title of an illustrated brochure on the battleship now berthed at Wilmington. Paintings and research were done by Ione and Elmer G. Griese and editing was done by Paul Jennewein. Copies are on sale aboard the "North Carolina" and at Belk-Beery in Wilmington for $1.00 each.

A member of the faculty of Wake Forest College, Robert G. Gregory, is the author of *Sidney Webb and East Africa: Labour's Experiment with the Doctrine of Native Paramountcy.* Volume 72 of the University of California Publications in History, the 183-page monograph was published by the University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles. Additional information is available from the publisher.

The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia, by Arthur L. Jensen, was recently published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. Divided into three parts, the book deals with the foundations of Philadelphia's maritime commerce, the areas of its commerce, and British policy and the Revolutionary movement in relation to commerce in that city. Notes, statistical tables, an annotated bibliography, and an index add to the usefuless of the book. It may be ordered from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 816 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin, for $4.75.

Another in the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology series is *The Pueblo of Sia, New Mexico,* by Leslie A. White. Anyone interested in the anthropological study of this group of Indians will find a wealth of material in the book. Illustrations add to its appeal. It is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C., for $2.75.

Also relating to the subject of Indians is *Indian Place Names of New England,* compiled by John C. Huden and published by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Broadway at 155th Street, New York 32, New York. This alphabetical list of names,

with adequate identification of each, will be invaluable to persons doing research in Indian lore. A bibliography and index are included in the 408 pages of the book.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

The H. B. Garden Collection of Confederate weapons has been donated by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission to the Hall of History. In the collection are a number of very rare hand weapons, including a matched pair of Spiller and Burr revolvers and a Lemat revolver.

The Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Commission, Mr. Norman C. Larson, met with members of the New Hanover County Centennial Committee in Wilmington on March 5 to plan the April meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference.

Delegates to the third annual County Centennial Committee Meeting in Raleigh on March 9 heard an address by Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., Executive Director of the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission. He spoke on the national Commission's role in the current commemoration. A luncheon address entitled "Glimpses of the Confederacy's High Brass" was delivered by Dr. Bell I. Wiley, historian and author. On March 8 Dr. Wiley spoke to the staffs of the Department of Archives and History, the Confederate Commission, and the Charter Tercentenary Commission.

Formation of an association to preserve the history of broadcasting in North Carolina was discussed at a meeting of the Commission's Audio-Visual Committee in Greensboro on March 15. The proposed organization would work with the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters and the Department of Archives and History in setting up a permanent archives to house audio and visual materials relating to the history of the industry.

Members of the Audio-Visual Committee also previewed the WBTV production of Betty Smith's "Durham Station," a half-hour television play produced under the auspices of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission.

A North Carolina State flag to be used at the commemoration of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, was presented by Governor Terry Sanford to Mr. Larson at ceremonies in the Governor's Office on March 21. At that time the Governor designated the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, the Twenty-Sixth Regimental Band, and the South Rowan Senior High School Band as the official representatives of the State at Gettysburg.

The Executive Secretary was in Charlotte, Greensboro, and Wilmington from March 25 to 27 to schedule showings of the U.S. Army Civil War Centennial Exhibit. The special van exhibit, which was also shown in Raleigh, was brought to North Carolina by the Confederate Centennial Commission.

Mr. Larson addressed the Julian S. Carr Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Durham on April 2 and the John B. Gordon Chapter in Winston-Salem on April 5. Topics for the respective talks were "The Battle of Gettysburg" and "Blockade-Running along the North Carolina Coast."

A marker commemorating the Battle of Asheville was unveiled in that city on April 7. Presenting the marker on behalf of the Department of Archives and History was the Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Commission. The Buncombe County Centennial Committee sponsored the dedication.

Sixty delegates from eleven southern State commissions were in Wilmington on April 19 and 20 for the spring meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference. Mr. Virgil Carrington Jones, author of *The Civil War at Sea,* delivered the luncheon address on April 19, and the Honorable Robert McNair, Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina, spoke at a banquet that evening. Hosts for the Conference were the New Hanover County Confederate Centennial Committee and the North Carolina Commission.

Ceremonies commemorating the signing of the Bennett Place surrender were held in Durham on April 27, with Mr. Edmund Gass, Assistant Executive Director of the U.S. Civil War Commission, making the principal address. Mr. Larson was in Durham for the Bennett Place ceremonies and introduced the speaker.

During the first and last weeks of May, the Executive Secretary and Mr. Robert Jones of the Department of Archives and History were in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to shoot a half-hour film entitled "High Tide of Gettysburg." The film, which is based on the book of that name by Glenn Tucker, is being produced in conjunction with the one-hundredth anniversary of the battle.

On May 22, 23, and 24 the Executive Secretary of the Commission was in Boston for the sixth annual assembly of the U.S. Civil War Commission. He served as panelist in a discussion dealing with outstanding State contributions to the Centennial.

At the Assembly announcement was made of the awarding of the U.S. Commission's Gold Medallion to the U.S. Navy for its work in salvaging historical artifacts from the "Modern Greece" and other blockade-runners off the North Carolina coast. The Gold Medallion is the highest award given by the National Commission. Presentation of the award was made at a meeting of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission in Raleigh on June 25.

A recent publication of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission is Harry H. Hall's *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem: The Pride of Tarheelia.* The monograph is based on the diary of bandsman Julius A. Leinbach and tells the story of the Twenty-Sixth Regimental Band of Salem, North Carolina. *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem* may be obtained from this Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh, for $1.50.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

The Carolina Charter commemorative stamp was issued with official ceremonies in Edenton on April 6. Master of Ceremonies was Hon. John A. Mitchener, Jr., Mayor of Edenton. The Rev. George B. Holmes, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, gave the invocation and greetings were extended to the 500 people attending by special invitation by Hon. John Gilliam Wood, State Highway Commissioner, First District. Remarks were presented by Hon. Herbert C. Bonner, Member of Congress, First District; and Hon. B. Everett Jordan, United States Senator. The principal address and stamp presentation was made by the Hon. J. Edward Day, Postmaster General of the United States. A total of 667,003 stamps were sold on the first day of issue, and 426,200 cancellations were made.

A mobile museum to transport the story of North Carolina's colonial history to people across the State was made possible by a donation of $35,000 by the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and a tractor by the Chevrolet Division of General Motors Corporation. Mr. Charles B. Wade, Jr., Vice President, presented the check from Reynolds to Governor Terry Sanford on March 27. Mr. P. C. Loehr, Zone Manager of Chevrolet, attended the presentation to reaffirm his company's contribution. (See also Division of Museums news section.)

A Tercentenary Art Exhibition opened at the State Museum of Art on March 23 and ran through April 28. The Exhibition featured portraits of the leading figures in colonial Carolina history including Charles II of England, four of the Lords Proprietors, Flora Macdonald, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Pocahontas. Some examples of art found in North Carolina were displayed, as well as silver and furniture of the period. A continuous showing of slides of colonial architecture was also included in the exhibition. A catalog for the exhibition was prepared by the Art Museum staff and is available for purchase from the North Carolina Museum of Art for $1.00.

A symphonic composition entitled "North State," written by North Carolina composer Hunter Johnson, was given its premiere performance in Durham on April 22 by the North Carolina Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Dr. Benjamin Swalin. The original working manuscript was presented by Johnson to Gen. John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Charter Commission and Mrs. J. O. Tally, Jr., Chairman of the Commission's Art Committee, to whom the work was dedicated. The manuscript was later presented to the State Department of Archives and History by Commission Chairman, Hon. Francis E. Winslow. Subsequent performances were given in Raleigh and Rocky Mount.

As a part of the Tercentenary celebration the North Carolina General Assembly met at historic Hall's Creek on April 17 in the Albemarle Sound area, site of the first Grand Assembly of the Albemarle in 1665. The legislators toured various local attractions, including the Albemarle Craftsman's Fair, and attended luncheon at the Coast Guard Base near Elizabeth City.

By an order of the day, the United States Congressional House of Representatives heard on March 25 an hour-long series of speeches on the

value of the Carolina Charter and the celebration of its three-hundredth anniversary.

Miss Anne Cooke of Cleveland and Mr. John Clayton Perry, Jr., of Greensboro took top honors in the state-wide high school essay contest sponsored by the Charter Commission. Miss Cooke placed first in the senior high division for a prize of $250, and Perry won the same award in the junior division. There were 65 entrants in the junior high division and 45 in the senior group. The students wrote on the assigned topic of "The Carolina Charter of 1663—A Milestone in the Advance of Democracy." At a ceremony in Raleigh, the winners received their certificates of achievement and cash awards from Governor Terry Sanford.

A facsimile of the first page of the Carolina Charter, reproduced by a four-color process on heavy, ivory-colored stock, is being sold for $.75 postpaid by the Charter Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh. The facsimile is 19" x 23¼" and is suitable for framing.

Fifty-five commemorative events have been listed on the official calendar of events of the Charter Commission.

Director's Office

The General Assembly has appropriated $3,000,000 for a new building for the State Department of Archives and History and the State Library.

On March 2 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, went to Wilmington for a meeting with Mr. Henry J. MacMillan and a group of interested local citizens, together with Senator Cicero P. Yow and Representative Robert E. Calder, in order to discuss measures to be taken to secure an appropriation for the construction of a visitor center-museum at Fort Fisher State Historic Site.

On March 19 at the Governor's Mansion Dr. Crittenden made a talk, "History and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1976," at one of a series of meetings of heads of the various agencies of State government. He discussed the change and progress in the field of history emphasizing the role that the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, the North Carolina Historical Commission, and the State Department of Archives and History have played in developing and disseminating historical interest and knowledge in the State.

Also on March 19 a meeting was held in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol to further plans for the proposed Historyland Trail through eastern North Carolina. Invited were representatives of various historical societies and officers of regional development associations along the Trail. The basic route will follow U. S. Highway 17 with side trips to Roanoke Island, Bath, Fort Macon, and Southport. An association to guide the program was formed at the meeting, with State Senator P. D. Midgett, Jr., of Englehard as President. Mrs. Lucille Winslow of Hertford, Mr. Edmund Harding of Washington, and Mr. Glenn Tucker of Carolina Beach are Vice-Presidents, and Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern is Secretary-Treasurer. A meeting has been set for July 12 at Fort Raleigh to arrange for the formation of a non-profit corporation, comparable to the Travel Council, to handle administrative details and financing, to

consider organizational preliminaries, and to select a name and headquarters for the program. Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Tarlton represented the Department at this meeting.

The Executive Board of the Department held its regular spring meeting in Raleigh on March 21. Present were Chairman McDaniel Lewis, Board Members Gertrude S. Carraway, Fletcher M. Green, Josh L. Horne, Daniel J. Whitener; Director Christopher Crittenden; Budget Officer Mary B. Cornick; Division Heads Memory F. Blackwelder, H. G. Jones, Joye E. Jordan, W. S. Tarlton; General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; and Miss Carolyn Myers, representing Mr. Norman C. Larson, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. The Board toured the Records Center, later meeting in the Assembly Room of the Department. Reports were made by commission chairmen and heads of the various divisions. In the afternoon a hearing was held at the request of the descendants of Regulator James Hunter and friends of the Hunter descendants, who protested removal of the Regulator Column from the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park to Alamance Battleground State Historic Site. Mr. Lewis presided at the hearing and Dr. Crittenden stated the problem and introduced a representative from the National Park Service. The Board ruled that since the monument was erected with funds donated by the public it should remain at Alamance Battleground.

Dr. Crittenden attended the meeting of the Tryon Palace Commission in New Bern on April 9. He also attended on April 12 and participated in ceremonies in Halifax commemorating the Halifax Resolves, the action of the North Carolina Provincial Congress calling for the severing of ties with Great Britain. The Sir Walter Cabinet met in the Assembly Room of the Department on April 16 and following its business session was given a preview showing of "Profile of Greatness," a film recently produced by the Department. A coffee hour was held following the program, for members and guests, in the Hall of History.

Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Tarlton were in Charlotte on April 20 to meet with the President James K. Polk Birthplace Advisory Committee, of which Mr. James A. Stenhouse is Chairman. The Committee discussed steps necessary to acquire and develop the Polk Birthplace in southern Mecklenburg County. Members of the Committee are Mr. Phillip N. Alexander, Charlotte Mayor Stan R. Brookshire, Senator Irwin Belk, Dr. Elmer H. Garinger, Mr. Ernest L. Hicks, Mr. James B. Vogler, Mr. Glen Edwin Bridges, Dr. Robert H. Woody, Mr. J. Herman Saxon, Miss Mary Louise Davidson, Mr. Kenneth A. Downs, Miss Jessie Rankin, Miss Martha Evans, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Mr. Dallas Herring, President Bruce Whitaker of Chowan College, and Dr. Daniel J. Whitener.

Chapter 210, Session Laws of 1963, establishes a Historic Sites Advisory Committee to make recommendations regarding all bills introduced in the General Assembly that would appropriate funds for "historic properties." This Advisory Committee met in the library room of the State Department of Public Instruction, on the third floor of the Education Building, at two o'clock, Tuesday afternoon, May 7, 1963. Present were appointed members

Mr. James McClure Clarke of Asheville, Mrs. P. P. McCain of Wilson, and Mr. James A. Stenhouse of Charlotte, representing the Mountain, Coastal Plain, and Piedmont sections of the State respectively; ex officio members Mr. Robert L. Stallings, Jr., Director of the Department of Conservations and Development; Mr. John L. Allen, Jr., representing the State Budget Officer; and Dr. C. O. Cathey representing the Chairman of the History Department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, who serves ex officio as Secretary of the Committee; and Mr. W. S. Tarlton and Miss Mary B. Cornick, respectively Historic Sites Superintendent and Budget Officer of the Department of Archives and History. For a few minutes at the beginning of the meeting Senator Irwin Belk of Mecklenburg County was present and expressed his appreciation of the important function of the Committee, after which he withdrew. The Committee adopted criteria for the selection and acquisition of historic properties. Resolutions were adopted endorsing the following historic sites which are presently owned and operated by the State: Pettigrew State Park, Tryon Palace Restoration, The James Iredell House, Fort Macon State Park, Fort Fisher State Historic Site, Brunswick Town State Historic Site, The U.S.S. "North Carolina" Battleship Memorial, The Governor Richard Caswell Memorial, The Governor Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site, Alamance Battleground State Historic Site, Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site, The House in the Horseshoe State Historic Site, The Bennett Place State Historic Site, and The Governor Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site.

A delegation from McDowell County consisting of Miss Mary M. Greenlee, President of the McDowell County Historical Society, Mrs. F. J. Ragaz, Mr. R. B. Benton, and Mr. Clyde M. Norton, all of Old Fort, met on May 16 in the office of Mr. W. S. Tarlton in Raleigh. Others present were Dr. Crittenden, Mr. Robert O. Conway, and Mr. Stanley A. South. Preliminary plans were discussed for the investigation of the site of Davidson Fort, where the present town of Old Fort is located, looking toward the possibility of reconstruction of the fort. Mr. South, Archeologist for the Brunswick Town State Historic Site, will assist in establishing the fort site in the event that final plans materialize.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, spoke to the National Genealogical Society in Washington, D. C., on February 16 on the subject "Genealogical Research in North Carolina: A Forward View." He spoke to the Community Development Club of Leasburg on March 25 on "North Carolina and the Coming of the Civil War." On May 2 he addressed the annual convention of the National Microfilm Association in San Francisco on "Microfilm Applications in a State Archival-Records Management Program." During his western trip he observed the archival programs in the States of Colorado and California. Mr. Jones read a paper on "Elements of a Comprehensive State-Administered Program for Records Manage-

ment" at the spring meeting of the Southeastern Chapter, American Records Management Association, in Atlanta. Georgia, on May 16. On May 10 he attended a meeting of the Council of the Society of American Archivists, of which he is Treasurer, in Washington, D. C., and on May 17-18 a meeting of the Survey and Standards Committee of the Survey of Library Functions of the States in Chicago.

Publication of the *Union List of North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1900*, edited by Mr. Jones and Mr. Julius H. Avant in co-operation with the Committee on the Conservation of Newspaper Resources of the North Carolina Library Association, is expected to be announced in July.

In the Microfilm Processing Laboratory, more than 100,000 linear feet of microfilm were processed during the quarter ending March 31. In the same period, the Laminating Shop restored 27,113 pages of official records plus 1,608 pages for individuals and libraries.

The most notable additions to the holdings in the Archives during the quarter ending March 31 were the Governor's Papers for 1961; a letter from Sir Winston Churchill expressing thanks for having been made an honorary citizen of North Carolina; a portion of a deed to the Tower Hill tract to Governor Arthur Dobbs in 1756; and the archives of Black Mountain College. Other accessions during the quarter totaled 87. The use of the Black Mountain College records will be reserved for a graduate student who elects to write a doctoral dissertation on the subject.

Fifteen new private collections were set up and eleven additions were made to old collections. Grants, surveys, deeds, and wills from Lenoir and/or Dobbs County in the Parrott Collections were welcome gifts because of the scarcity of material from this County. The Charles W. Jacocks Collection of two boxes of letters was a valuable addition transferred from the official county records of Bertie County.

During the quarter 716 researchers visited the Search Room, and 978 letters requesting information from the Archives were answered. In all 1,234 photocopies, 70 paper prints from microfilm, and 29 certified copies were furnished to the public from records in the Archives.

Members of the Archives staff took part in a number of activities around the State. Miss Beth Crabtree, Archivist II, spoke to the Bloomsbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, the Vicinia Book Club, and the Farrior Hills Home and Garden Club, all of Raleigh. The Section was represented at the Edenton Pilgrimage, Historic Hillsborough, and the dedication of the Town Creek Visitor Center-Museum. Mr. Clark Cahow of Duke University spoke to the archivists on "The Historian and the Archivist" as a part of the staff education program.

The microfilming for security of the permanently valuable records of 29 counties has now been completed and the Department's microfilm camera operators are at work in Pitt and Surry counties. In addition, Alamance, Gaston, and Mecklenburg counties are microfilming their own records with assistance from the Department.

Original records recently received from counties include:

Cumberland County: Lists of taxables, 1837-1849.

Hertford County: Minute docket (1845-1853), and execution and trial dockets (1830-1868), County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; trial

and appearance docket, Superior Court (1830-1868); administrators' and guardians' bonds (1869-1915); records of election (1880-1908, 1897, 1924-1932); cross-index to real estate (1862-1920); and 4.5 cubic feet of uncalled-for deeds (1879-1940).

Brunswick County: Trial dockets, County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (1820-1868); minute docket, Superior Court (1845-1881); deeds and indexes (1790-1813); uncalled-for deeds (1835-1903); marriage bonds (1818-1830); marriage registers (1870-1877, 1893-1904); officials' bonds (1868-1904); record of elections (1898-1920); miscellaneous papers, including civil and criminal actions, estates papers, officials' bonds and oaths (1764-1900).

Halifax County: Minute dockets, Superior Court (1868-1869, 1881-1882).

Pitt County: Minute docket (1858-1861) and trial dockets (1858-1868), County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; equity minute docket (1858-1868); minute docket, Inferior Court (1878-1885); estates records (1857-1872); civil actions (1858-1894); criminal actions (1858-1901); administrators' and guardians' accounts (1858-1903); orders and decrees (1882-1904); original wills (1882-1904); marriage register (1867-1875).

Microfilm copies of the following county records have been placed in the Search Room and are available to researchers:

Anson County: Equity and Superior Court minute dockets (1847-1927); deeds and indexes (1749-1936); inventories and other estates records (1849-1962); marriage licenses (1869-1962); marriage register (1870-1962); indexes to vital statistics (1913-1962); record of wills (1751-1962); orphans' accounts (1908-1948); record of elections (1880-1962); armed service discharges (1917-1962); orders and decrees (1868-1962); incorporations and partnerships (1888-1962); special proceedings (1874-1926); minutes of county commissioners (1868-1931); minutes of board of education (1873-1919).

Orange County: Minute dockets, County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (1752-1868); minute docket, Superior Court (1867-1944); equity partitions (1859-1938); deeds and indexes (1755-1961); records of estates (1869-1962); administrators' and guardians' bonds (1880-1913); marriage register (1851-1962); indexes to vital statistics (1913-1961); record of wills and indexes (1752-1946); incorporations and partnerships (1878-1962); inheritance tax records (1921-1962); armed forces discharge (1918-1954); orders and decrees (1868-1952); record of elections (1867-1960); minutes of county commissioners (1868-1962); minutes, board of education (1872-1962).

The county records repair service continues and the permanently valuable records of Brunswick, Cumberland, Halifax, Hertford, and Mecklenburg counties which were in need of repairs have recently been laminated and rebound. Work is in progress on Pitt County records.

The State records management program has moved into areas relating to the control of the creation of records and the manner in which they are maintained.

Beginning in January, the records management staff has offered a series of workshops to personnel of other agencies. The Correspondence Management and Plain Letters workshop was given six times to 123 per-

sons representing 25 different agencies. The Forms Improvement workshop was given one time to 16 persons representing 14 agencies; and the Files and Filing workshop, which was developed entirely by Department staff members, was also given one time to 23 persons representing 17 agencies.

The Records Management Handbook: Files and Filing was published and distributed during the quarter. Not only is it designed to assist files operators throughout the State to manage their files more effectively, but it is used extensively in the Files and Filing workshop. A third handbook, *State Records Center,* is in draft form, and work has been started on a handbook relating to *Protecting Essential Records.*

A paperwork procedural survey was completed in the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education. The annual license renewal, examination, and license-by-endorsement procedures were examined in detail and streamlined methods of handling these operations were submitted to and accepted by the Board. The revision of the annual license renewal procedure is expected to result in a saving of $2,700 per year in reduced postage, cost of supplies, and reduced machine time. A comparable survey in the Board of Cosmetic Art has also been started.

The state-wide survey of fiscal and budgetary paperwork is approaching completion and about half of an extensive report has been drafted. Installation of revised filing systems in the State Department of Archives and History and in the Public Welfare office of Welfare Work Among the Negro was completed. The revised filing system for the Board of Architects has been approved, but installation will be deferred until after July 1.

New schedules for the Department of Water Resources and the Board of Higher Education were approved, as was a revision of the Alcoholic Board of Control schedule. Schedules for the State Library and for the Board of Cosmetic Art have been approved by the agencies concerned. Disposition schedules for North Carolina State College, Real Estate Licensing Board, State Board of Barber Examiners, and Laboratory of Hygiene were in process. Existing schedules of the Probation Commission, State Board of Health, and Department of Revenue were amended.

The electrical work in the Records Center has been completed, and 262 additional units of shelving have been delivered. Installation of the new shelving has been started, and, upon completion, the capacity of the Records Center will be increased to about 37,000 cubic feet.

In the Records Center, 2,694 cubic feet were received and 725 cubic feet were disposed of, resulting in a net gain of 1,969 cubic feet. This brought the total holdings of the Center to 26,580 cubic feet. The Records Center staff performed 13,658 references during the quarter ending March 31, providing service for 23 State agencies. In addition, 52 visitors from 11 State agencies and from the Internal Revenue Service and the U.S. Air Force consulted records at the Center.

Records reviewed to remove non-archival material included the non-opinion files of the Attorney General, dental institute records of the Board of Health, plant operations files of the Board of Education, general office and school records of the Board of Correction and Training, and old records of the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education.

In the Microfilm Project, 135 reels containing 439,060 images were filmed during the quarter. In addition, 118 reels of film were processed for the State Treasurer.

Mr. Bobby J. Holleman was promoted from Clerk II to Clerk III effective March 1.

Division of Historic Sites

A Preservation Seminar held at Old Salem on April 26-28 was sponsored by Old Salem, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the State Department of Archives and History, the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, and the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities. Experts from the National Trust staff and related organizations from throughout the country appeared on panel discussions during the various sessions. Many professional and lay workers in the field of preservation from North and South Carolina attended. Those attending from the Department were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Mr. Nicholas B. Bragg, Mr. Benny C. Keel, Mr. James H. Craig, Mr. Frank Walsh, Mr. Robert O. Conway, and Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialists; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator; Mr. Robert Mayo and Mr. Robert Jones, of the Museums staff; and Mr. John Woodard of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts. Mr. James A. Gray, Executive Vice-President, and other members of the staff of Old Salem were in charge of local arrangements. The regional seminar received widespread publicity and was considered very successful.

Two large map markers have recently been erected. A marker located at historic old Alamance Presbyterian Church in Guilford County commemorates 250 years of Presbyterian history and development in North Carolina. It was dedicated in special ceremonies on June 12. Dr. Crittenden was the featured speaker. Another map marker has been erected at Franklin commemorating the Battle of Echoe, fought between the Cherokee Indians and a British-Colonial army under Colonel Archibald Montgomery, June 27, 1760. The marker stands on the Macon County Courthouse Square.

Mr. A. L. Honeycutt, Jr., Historic Site Specialist in charge of Fort Fisher, reports that more than 200,000 people visited the Fort Fisher Museum-Pavilion from March 1, 1962, until March 1, 1963. Recently at Fort Fisher archeological excavation has revealed the foundation of the old Federal Point Lighthouse keeper's residence which antedated the construction of Fort Fisher. The house dates from 1837. During the Civil War it served as Confederate headquarters for the administration of Fort Fisher. It was destroyed by the U. S. Navy bombardment in December, 1864.

Recent publicity on Fort Fisher includes an article in the February issue of *American Heritage,* and a special article in the National Civil War Centennial *Newsletter* for March.

On March 27 the General Assembly visited the Wilmington area and Mr. Honeycutt spoke to the members briefly concerning the future de-

velopment of Fort Fisher. Recently a new display of artifacts taken from the Confederate blockade-runner "Modern Greece" was mounted in the Museum-Pavilion. Several large timbers used in the construction of bomb-proofs in Fort Fisher have been recovered and placed on exhibit on Battle Acre.

Mr. Honeycutt has been elected President of the Lower Cape Fear Archaeological Society, has served on the Wilmington Visitation Committee for the tour of the General Assembly, and has performed other special services and assignments relating to public events. On May 10 Confederate Memorial Day service was held on Battle Acre, Fort Fisher, and was attended by a crowd of approximately 250 people. The program was sponsored by the Fort Fisher Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. In May Mr. Honeycutt conferred in Washington with Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, and others concerning the loan of a twelve-pounder Whitworth gun to Fort Fisher. Arrangements have been made for a temporary loan and the gun will be on exhibit at Fort Fisher on August 23 and following.

Aycock Birthplace reports that over 600 school children have visited the site during the spring months. This represents a considerable growth over previous months and years. A special educational program for different age groups has been prepared. In addition, groups representing the Brownies, Cub Scouts, the Salvation Army, and the Social Service League of Farmville have visited the Birthplace.

Improvements at the site include the erection of a flagpole at the entrance, installation of vinyl plastic floor covering in the office and research room of the Visitor Center-Museum, and the acquisition of the original Aycock stables for early relocation on the original site and restoration as part of the project. Professor Hugh B. Johnston, Jr., of Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, recently donated more than 35 items to Aycock Birthplace for museum use. Mr. Richard W. Sawyer, Jr., Historic Site Specialist in charge of Aycock Birthplace, appeared on a second spot program over Channel 9, Greenville, publicizing the Aycock Birthplace. He contributed an article which was published in the *Tarheel Historian* in April.

At the Vance Birthplace visitation during the first five months of 1963 increased 11 per cent over the same period last year. This year the total was 1,965. Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist in charge of the project, completed a series of historic sites programs in western North Carolina schools, appearing in 61 schools in nine counties. Recently he has also spoken to the Brevard Kiwanis Club, the Waynesville Lions Club, the Asheville Optimist Club, the Marion Kiwanis Club, West Asheville Rotary Club, Waynesville Kiwanis Club, McDowell County Historical Society, the AAUW Book Club, the Fanny Patton Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Kenilworth Book Club.

After lengthy research on the title, arrangements have been completed for the purchase of 2.5 acres of land adjacent to the present Vance Birthplace property, on which will be constructed a new visitor center-museum. This building is now being designed by Architect Bertrum J. King of Asheville. It should be let for contract in the fall of this year.

Archeology at Brunswick Town has concentrated recently on the excavation of the homesite of Judge Maurice Moore. It was here that North Carolina Supreme Court Justice Alfred Moore spent his childhood. After the Moore site was completed, the house site of James Espy became the scene of excavations.

Mr. Hugh Zachary of Long Beach recently donated two Mullane and sea coast artillery shells to the Brunswick Town project. These will be exhibited at a later date. Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist, carried out archeological work at Fort Fisher on the lighthouse keeper's residence referred to above. Mr. South has given many talks to school assemblies in Wilmington and also made addresses to the Brunswick County Historical Society, the Cumberland County Historical Society, the Whiteville Woman's Club, the State Federation of Women's Clubs of North Carolina, and the spring regional meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held at Greenville in April. He spoke to the members of the General Assembly on their visit to Brunswick Town in April.

Alamance Battleground has become the beneficiary of two large directional signs, for east and west bound traffic on Interstate 85 near Burlington, which direct visitors to the site. Mr. Walter Wootten, Historic Site Specialist, reports an immediate increase of out-of-State visitors as a result of the erection of these two signs. Mr. Wootten has been active in assisting the Alamance County Chamber of Commerce in conducting local celebrations of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary program. Homecomings have been set up this spring for the old colonial Hawfield's and King Creek Quaker settlements. Mr. Wootten spoke to the General Greene Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution at Greensboro recently on "British Mercantilism and the War of the Regulation."

On April 21 the new Visitor Center-Museum was dedicated at Town Creek Indian Mound. More than 3,000 people attended the program. Mr. James A. Gray, Executive Vice-President of Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, was principal speaker. Speaker of the House of Representatives, Clifton Blue of Aberdeen, was the master of ceremonies.

Local arrangements for the opening were made by a committee headed by Mr. Robert J. Levin and Mrs. Katie McAulay Rankin. They were assisted by Mr. Billy F. Haywood, Mr. R. B. Jordan III, Mrs. Martha McGeachy, Mr. Lenue T. James, Mrs. Dot Johnson, Mrs. Hazeline Morris, Mrs. Jean Dorsett, Mrs. Ann Kirk, and Mayor Haywood.

A band concert was held preceding the ceremonies with music furnished by the bands of West Montgomery and East Montgomery high schools.

The Visitor Center-Museum has attracted great numbers of visitors since its opening. In the months of April and May some 2,000 school children visited the site.

The summer excavations have been initiated and it is hoped that by the end of the season the Plaza will have been completed so that reconstruction of this important area will be possible.

The Smithfield Jaycees have raised the necessary funds to complete the Bentonville Battleground Visitor Center-Museum. Construction of the building is scheduled to begin in the early fall of this year.

Mr. N. B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist in charge of Bentonville Battleground, spoke to the Smithfield Rotary Club on the occasion of the dedication of the new Interstate 95 historical markers for Bentonville Battleground. The markers were erected at the Selma rest stop for southbound traffic, and north of Fayetteville for the northbound traffic. The erection of these markers was paid for by the Smithfield Rotary Club.

Mr. Bragg recently spoke to the Durham Civitan Club, the assembly of Burgaw High School, the Rotary Club of Goldsboro, Raleigh Woman's Club, and the Jane Addams Book Club. He attended a meeting of the Durham-Orange Historical Society to report on signs for the Bennett Place and historical markers. Mr. Bragg showed slides of historic sites in North Carolina during the Preservation Seminar at Old Salem and photographed a tour for the Raleigh Historic Sites Commission which included sites and buildings in Bath, Wilmington, Brunswick Town, Old Salem, Halifax, and Bladen County. He and Mr. Tarlton investigated the following houses for their historic and architectural value: Best Playhouse in Greene County, "Elmwood" in Granville County, and "Harmony Hall" in Bladen County.

Division of Museums

A special photography exhibit was opened in the Hall of History on February 17 in connection with the meeting in Raleigh of the Carolina Press Photographers Association. Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Mrs. Sue Todd, and Mrs. Frances Ashford of the Museums staff assisted Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museums Administrator, at a morning preview showing of 1890 costumes to special guests. The photography exhibit was designed and executed by Mr. John D. Ellington and Mr. Robert Mayo of the Museums staff. A special display featured the world's first metal camera, which is on loan from the A. G. Voigtlander Company of West Berlin, Germany. The camera was made in 1840. Secretary of State Thad Eure cut the ribbons and made a brief speech at the formal opening of the exhibit. Photographers were invited to photograph costumes of the 1890's which were modeled informally by members of the staff of the Department.

Mrs. Jordan attended the American Association of Museums Conference in Seattle, May 26-29. She is serving her second term as a member of the Council of the Association.

Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, Administrative Assistant, attended a Conference on Underwater Archeology in St. Paul, Minnesota, April 26-27. He presented a project report on the work being done at the Preservation Laboratory at Fort Fisher and participated on a panel dealing with "The Conservation of Artifacts from Salt and Fresh Water." Mr. Townsend was in Boston, May 22-25, at the National Assembly of Civil War Centennial Commissions.

On May 23 the State winners in the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association Contest for Junior Historians were selected. Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan of the Department of Archives and History, and Miss Betty Smith, Department of Public Instruction, served as judges. In the Essay or Research Division, a narrative history of Cabarrus County, "The Gold Nugget," was selected as the winner.

This history was prepared by the Stephen Cabarrus Junior Historian Club of the Harrisburg School, Harrisburg. Mrs. Mabel Blume is the club's adviser. "Peace in the Wilderness," a short history of Archdale by the Archdale Club, was selected for honorable mention. In the Model or Drawing Division, a series of oil paintings depicting the history of North Carolina was selected as the winner. These paintings were done by the Roanoke Junior Historian Club, Washington Street Elementary School, Plymouth. Mrs. Ruth Thomas Pharr is the club's adviser. An electric map by the Guilford Club, Guilford School, Greensboro, and a model of a house by the Stephen Cabarrus Junior Historian Club, Harrisburg, were selected for honorable mention. The winning clubs will be presented their awards at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in December. All entries in the Model or Drawing Division have been placed on display in the Junior Historian Room in the Hall of History.

During the 1962-1963 school year a total of 813 school groups, with a total of 37,883 students, registered for the slide-lecture program given by the Division, prior to visitation to the Hall of History.

Mrs. Jordan, Mr. Robert Mayo, and Mr. John Ellington conferred with Mr. Daniel I. Hadley on plans for the new mobile history museum on May 8, and on May 17, Mrs. Jordan, Mr. Mayo, and Mr. Ellington went to Wilmington, Delaware, to review the work being done by Hadley and Associates. The mobile history museum is designed to tell the story of North Carolina from 1663 to 1763 and to travel to all points in the State. On June 11 the Mobile Museum of History was presented by the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and the Chevrolet Division of General Motors and accepted by Governor Terry Sanford. The ceremony was held in front of the Legislative Building. (See also Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission news section.)

Recent additions to the Hall of History include a large collection of chemical laboratory equipment from the Green Hope School. The equipment was used during the years 1890-1920. Mr. and Mrs. Julian T. Baker of Raleigh gave the Museum an extremely large collection of clothes and accessories used between 1856 and 1930. Outstanding items were a baby carriage used in 1900, with a wooden horse on front, two candle carriage lanterns, an 1875 doll, 500 cylinder records dating about 1905, and a dress made in 1856. The Department has received a large collection of clothes, given by the granddaughters of the late Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Crowder of Raleigh, that were used between 1885 and 1935.

Division of Publications

The first three months of 1963 resulted in sales of publications in the amount of $4,424, with $3,401 being retained by the Department and $1,023 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 144 documentary volumes; 61 letter books of governors; 440 small books; 9,729 pamphlets, charts, and maps; 44,165 leaflets and brochures; and 3,937 lists of publications available from the Department. The total of 54,989 does not include copies

of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and *Carolina Comments* which were issued during the period. There were 93 new subscriptions and 184 renewals to *The Review* during the three-month period.

Galley proof for Volume IX of the *Records of the Moravians* was checked and was returned to the printer near the end of May. Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, conferred with the Moravian Archivist, Miss Grace Siewers, and with the Editor for Volume X, Bishop Kenneth G. Hamilton, on March 22, relative to plans for that volume. Page proof for the first volume of the Vance Papers, edited by Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, was checked and returned to the printer in May. The schedule calls for delivery of the first copies of this volume by June 30; Volume I of the Vance Papers will be available from the Department for $5.00 a copy.

Annals of Progress: The Story of Lenoir County and Kinston, North Carolina, by William S. Powell, was published as the first of a series of county histories designed for school children. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. H. G. Jones, and Mrs. Blackwelder conferred with Governor Terry Sanford on April 3 with regard to plans to finance a continuation of the project.

The pamphlet on pirates in colonial North Carolina and the leaflets on the Andrew Johnson house, Town Creek Indian Mound, Brunswick Town, and Bentonville were reprinted.

Mr. Noble J. Tolbert, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina, has agreed to write a pamphlet on Reconstruction in North Carolina. This will be an additional title in the publications designed primarily for school use.

Mrs. Mary Holloway resigned and was replaced by Mrs. Catherine G. Barnhart as Editorial Assistant I.

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn, Editorial Assistant II, spoke to the Raleigh Public Health Academy on April 22 and to the social science teachers at Whitted Junior High School in Durham on April 23. Both she and Mrs. Blackwelder attended the Confederate Centennial Workshop on March 9. They attended meetings of the Editorial Committee of the Wake County Historical Society on May 20 and of the Executive Council and committee chairmen of that organization on May 21. Mrs. Blackwelder spoke to the Division of Higher Education of the North Carolina Education Association In Asheville on March 23, to the Meredith College student body on April 4, and to the Swansboro Historical Association on April 8. She attended the spring meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina on April 5 in Raleigh, and she and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell represented the Department at Historic Hillsborough's annual tour on April 28. Mrs. Blackwelder went to Omaha, Nebraska, May 1-4, for the Mississippi Valley Historical Society and for the meeting of editors of historical journals held in conjunction with that association.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Paul Murray, Director of the Department of Social Studies at East Carolina College, will resume full teaching duties as Professor of History

in the fall quarter, 1963, after serving six years as Director. Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., who is teaching during the first term of the summer session at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, will become Director of the Department of History at East Carolina on September 1. Dr. James Hugh Wease will join the history faculty as Assistant Professor of History also on September 1.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder, Chairman of the Department of Social Studies at Appalachian State Teachers College, announces the following Visiting Professors for the summer sessions: Dr. John W. Chisholm, Professor of Economics at Louisiana State University, and Dr. John P. Posey, Assistant Professor of History at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, will teach both terms; Dr. Newton B. Jones, Professor of History at Furman University, and Dr. Arda Walker of Maryville College will teach during the first session; and Dr. J. Fred Rippy, retired Latin American history professor of Durham, and Dr. Robert N. Elliott, Professor of History at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, will teach during the second session. Dr. William F. Troutman, Associate Professor of Political Science at Appalachian, gave a series of lectures at Gardner-Webb College, May 6, 7, and 8, on "The Sabbath: The Role of Church and State in the Shaping of a Cultural Institution."

Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., of the Department of History and Social Science, North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, read a paper, "The Court of Chambord and the Formation of the Third Republic," at the meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies on April 6 at Harvard University. Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., read a paper, "The Trials of Minor Biography: or, Charles B. Aycock and Me," at the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina on April 5 in Raleigh.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, has been awarded a Kenan Research leave for the spring of 1964. Dr. Robert Moats Miller is the recipient of a research leave for the fall of 1963 and Dr. George V. Taylor has been named a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies for the academic year, 1963-1964, and will be absent from the University at work on research during that period. Dr. George B. Tindall has been awarded a membership in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, for 1963-1964, and will be in residence during that period at Princeton to do research. The Department of History announces the following appointments and promotions: Dr. Ralph Lee Woodward, Southwestern Louisiana University, as Assistant Professor of Latin American History; Mr. Charles G. Stricklen, Yale Graduate School, as Instructor of Modern European History; Dr. John B. Harrison, Michigan State University, as Visiting Professor of European History for 1963-1964; Mr. Paul J. Pinckney and Mr. John Semonche promoted from Instructor to Assistant Pro-

fessor; and Dr. Clifford M. Foust, promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor.

Dr. Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences, North Carolina Wesleyan College, Rocky Mount, is the recipient of a grant from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for Research for the summer, 1963. Dr. Gatewood has received also a grant from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for a study of the national university movement in the United States. Mr. Alf Andrew Heggoy, a Ph.D. candidate at Duke University, will join the Wesleyan history faculty in September.

Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Meredith College since July 1, 1962, has been promoted to the rank of full professor. She joined the Meredith faculty in 1947. Dr. Lemmon taught two classes in world history on WUNC-TV on February 26 and 27. Dr. Frank Leslie Grubbs, Jr., who received his Ph.D. from the University of Virginia, will join the Meredith faculty in September as Assistant Professor of History and Political Science. Mr. Richard D. Goff, Instructor, will receive the Ph.D. degree from Duke University in August. His dissertation is on the logistics of the Confederate Army. Mr. Thomas C. Parramore, Instructor, will spend the summer in England doing research on Anson's voyage around the world in the eighteenth century.

Mr. Cary Henderson will join the faculty of Queens College on September 1 as Assistant Professor of History and Political Science and Mr. James B. Looney will also join the faculty in September as Assistant Professor of History. Mr. Henderson is a doctoral candidate at Duke University; Mr. Looney is a doctoral candidate at Columbia University.

Dr. Malcolm Lester, Chairman of the Department of History at Davidson College, announces the addition of two members to the faculty of the Department effective September 1: Mr. Brown Patterson, doctoral candidate at Harvard University, will be an Assistant Professor of History; Mr. Norman M. Johnson, doctoral candidate at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, will become an Instructor in History.

Dr. Elmer Puryear became Dean and Professor of History of Greensboro College effective July 1. He will have a part-time assistant to help with his teaching duties. Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs spoke to the Greensboro College assembly recently on "The Crisis in the Caribbean"; on United Nations Day he spoke to the Reviewers Club on "The Challenge to the United Nations."

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History at Duke University, read a paper on "New Perspectives in American History" on April 6 at the Indiana Council for the Social Studies in Blooming-

ton. Dr. Watson was chairman of a session at the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, May 2-4, in Omaha, Nebraska, as were Dr. John R. Alden and Dr. John S. Curtiss. Dr. Curtiss will be on sabbatical leave for the academic year, 1963-1964, and with the aid of a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies will be doing research in Austria and the Soviet Union. He is the author of *Essays in Russian and Soviet History* published recently by the University of California Press. Dr. Lynn L. Marshall presented a paper, "From Panic to Paper Money to Jackson: Sources of Jacksonian Democracy in Kentucky," at the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting. Dr. Joel Colton served as an outside examiner in European history for the June Swarthmore College Honors program and Visiting Professor R. John Rath, who will be at Rice University, beginning in the fall of 1963, was presented on May 3, by the Austrian Ambassador to the United States on behalf of the Austrian Republic a First Class Cross of Arms for Arts and Sciences at a ceremony at the Embassy in Washington. Dr. Harold T. Parker read a paper, "French Industrialists, Scientists, and Administrators, 1781-1793," at the ninth annual conference, Society of French Historical Studies which met in Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 5-6. The Duke History Department will have the following teaching in the 1963 summer session: Visiting Professors Forrest McDonald of Brown University and William A. Jenks of Washington and Lee University; and Visiting Associate Professors Charles Arnade of the University of South Florida and Richard Lowitt of Connecticut College. Announcement has been made of the following appointments: Associate Professor Mark Van Aken, Alameda State College, who will be on a Fulbright research grant during the academic year, 1963-1964, will begin teaching at Duke in the fall of 1964. He has published *Pan-Hispanism: Its Origin and Development to 1866*, and has in press *Los Origenes de la Hispanidad en El Siglo XIX*. Mr. Donald E. Ginter, Ph.D. candidate at the University of California, Berkeley, will become an Instructor, effective in the fall of 1963. He has been doing research in England since 1960. Visiting Professor of Commonwealth History Manning Clark, of the Australian National University, will also begin teaching duties with the fall semester as will Mr. Robert E. Wall, Ph.D. candidate at Yale University, who will serve as Instructor. In the spring semester, 1964, Visiting Professor of Commonwealth History Donald G. Barnes of Western Reserve University will join the faculty. Dr. William E. Scott is the author of *Alliance with Hitler* published by the Duke University Press; Dr. Calvin D. Davis is the author of *The United States and the First Hague Peace Conference* published by the Cornell University Press.

Dr. Alfred Tischendorf, Assistant Professor of History at Duke University, died suddenly on November 26, 1962, in Buenos Aires, where he was on sabbatical leave. He received his B.A. degree from Kent State University, and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, joining the Duke faculty in 1955. He was the author of numerous articles and book reviews and had published one book. Another book, "The Diary and Journal of Richard Clough Anderson, Jr., 1814-1826," edited in collaboration with Dr. E. Taylor Parks, has been accepted by the Duke Press. Dr.

Tischendorf had almost completed research on "Argentina: The Years of the Radicals, 1891-1950" at the time of his death.

An award for the best published book dealing with the Truman period, to be known as the David D. Lloyd Prize, will be made by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute in each biennium beginning in the fall of 1964. A competition for this prize of $1,000 was established by the Directors at the annual meeting in March in honor of Mr. Lloyd who died in December, 1962. He was Executive Director of the Harry S. Truman Library, Inc., and Vice-President of the Institute. *The Research Newsletter* for April, 1963, contains a list of recently acquired historical materials.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that the competition for the Institute Manuscript Award of $1,000 will be open until December 1, 1963. The manuscripts submitted must deal with the period from *ca.* 1760 to *ca.* 1815. The Award, which includes publication by the Institute through the University of North Carolina Press, will be presented to the winner in May, 1964. Entries should be submitted to the Editor of Publications, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 220, Williamsburg, Virginia. The Institute wishes to compile a list of current research projects in the history of America before 1815, since there is no listing of past doctoral research presently available. Persons wishing to notify the Institute should state their name, profession, and describe briefly the research in progress. Replies should be mailed to the above address.

October 15 is the deadline for manuscripts entered in the competition for the 1963 Allan Nevins Prize awarded by the Society of American Historians. Dissertations that are history or biography in the fields of American arts, literature, and science are as eligible as those in the area of politics and economic or social life. Entries must have been accepted in partial fulfillment of the doctorate during the academic year, 1962-1963. All entries should be mailed by the chairmen of various social studies departments (limited to one manuscript for each department) to Dr. John A. Garraty, Society of American Historians, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York, New York.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL

The Robeson County Historical Society was reorganized at a meeting on February 7. Plans for publishing a history of the county were discussed and the following officers were elected: Mr. David Townsend, Rowland, President; Mr. Nash Odom, Proctorville, Vice-President (Research); Mrs. E. H. Alexander, Red Springs, Vice-President (Publication); Mr. D. C. McEachern, St. Pauls, Vice-President (Finance); Mr. James McLeod, Lumberton, Secretary; Mr. John Luther McLean, Lumberton, Treasurer; and Mrs. Scott Shepherd, Lumberton, Curator. The group estimated the cost of publishing the county history to be $14,000 and decided to engage a professional historian to do the writing and research.

The Burke County Historical Society elected officers for the coming year at its February 12 meeting. Those who will serve are Mr. Sam J. Ervin III, Morganton, President; Dr. Robert Paschal, Valdese, First Vice-President; and Mr. Harry L. Hallyburton, Drexel, Third Vice-President. Mr. William Leslie and Mr. Ervin spoke briefly at the meeting. A delegation from the Alexander County Historical Society attended the meeting.

The *Newsletter*, official publication of the Brunswick County Historical Society for August and November, 1962, and May, 1963, has been received by the Department. The August issue is devoted to an illustrated article, "An Unusual Smokehouse Is Discovered at Brunswick Town"; the November issue features "The Coins Recovered from the Brunswick Town Ruins"; and the May number has a story, "The Colonial Child at Brunswick Town." Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist at the Brunswick Town State Historic Site, is Editor of the *Newsletter*. The Society met on May 12 at the Camp Methodist Church, Shallotte. Mr. South spoke on the Indians of Brunswick Town.

The Pitt County Historical Society met on February 13 with Dr. Paul Murray, Director of the Department of Social Studies at East Carolina College, speaking on the significance of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary year. Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., also of the East Carolina Social Studies faculty, urged members to attend the joint meeting of the Pitt County Society and the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association on April 26 and 27. Judge Dink James was to prepare a resolution endorsing a History Building for the State. The Pitt County Society decided to meet jointly with the Beaufort historical group later in 1963.

The Beaufort Historical Association met on February 20 with Mrs. William Roy Hamilton presiding. Mr. Thomas Respess was named chairman of a group to work with other organizations in the maintenance of the Ann Street Cemetery. Reports were made and it was announced that the Old Jail Museum would be open daily beginning in June. Twenty-seven plaques, designed as coats of arms, have been erected throughout Beaufort to mark significant sites. At the March 18 meeting the Association elected the following officers: Dr. John Costlow, President; Mrs. Charles Cheek, Vice-President; Miss Ethel Whitehurst, Recording Secretary; Miss Patsy Hardesty, Corresponding Secretary; and Mr. Bill Nicholson, Treasurer.

The Wayne County Historical Society and the Wayne County Tercentenary Celebration Committee co-sponsored a banquet celebrating the tercentenary year in Goldsboro on February 22. Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, made the address. Mr. Henry Belk presided at the meeting which was attended by Mr. Francis E. Winslow, Chairman, and General John D. F. Phillips, Executive Secretary, both of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; Col. Hugh Dortch, Chairman of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission; Mr. Henson P. Barnes, Chairman of the Wayne

County Tercentenary Committee; and Mr. Conway Rose, President of the Wayne County Historical Society, who introduced Dr. Lefler.

The Perquimans County Historical Society met on March 25 in the County Library. Mr. Silas Whedbee, President, was in charge of the meeting.

On March 29 in the New Courthouse in Hillsboro, the projects committee of the Hillsborough Historical Society presented a color slide program showing a number of the historic homes of the town. Mrs. H. W. Moore is chairman of the committee; Mr. James H. Coman was in charge of the program. The houses shown were photographed to show architectural details of both the exteriors and the interiors and most of them were opened for the spring pilgrimage held on April 27 and 28. No gardens were included.

The Friends of the Moravian Music Foundation, Winston-Salem, are combining their 1963 membership drive with a capital funds campaign to raise $40,000 to develop a gift of property to the Foundation and to assist in current operations. A dwelling in residential Winston-Salem, recently donated, will house all activities of the Foundation in the future. Memberships (tax deductible) may be obtained from the Foundation. The *News Bulletin of the Moravian Music Foundation,* Winter, 1963, has articles on the projected new headquarters, new acquisitions, Christian Gregor, and a note on the April 27 meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation. Dr. Donald M. McCorkle is Editor of the *Bulletin.*

Mr. Burke Davis, writer, historian, and member of the staff of Colonial Williamsburg, was speaker at the annual meeting of Old Salem, Inc., held in Winston-Salem on May 23. A brief progress report on restoration was made. Mr. Archie K. Davis is President of Old Salem, Inc.

A committee, to investigate the possibility of having recordings made of music written by the late Earl Earnshaw of Newton, was appointed by Vice-President Tom Warlick at the February meeting of the Catawba County Historical Association. Mr. Erskine Dysart of the Newton-Conover High School faculty reported on the activity of the history clubs at his school. At the March 9 meeting the group passed a resolution in memory of Mrs. Pearle Jones (J. M.) Ballard, President of the Society at the time of her death. Miss Wiebke Schultze of Kiel, Germany, an exchange student at the local high school, gave the program. The Society met again in Newton on April 20, at which time it was announced that the Catawba Historical Museum was to have a full-time director beginning on June 1. Mrs. J. H. Ingle of Maiden made a sizeable donation recently to the Hass Cemetery Endowment Fund in memory of Mrs. Emma K. McGinnis. Dr. J. E. Hodges of Maiden reported on plans for celebrating the Tercentenary on April 21. Recent donors to the Museum are Mr. Hugh Kale, materials, and Dr. E. M. Coulter of Georgia, a copy of the John Ellis Coulter biography.

The Johnston County Historical Society met on April 21 with Judge Clifton L. Moore as the featured speaker. Mrs. W. B. Beasley, President, reported on the fund-raising project to supplement a State appropriation for the construction of a Visitor Center-Museum at Bentonville Battleground. Other persons who spoke briefly were Mr. N. B. Bragg, Mr. Harold Creech, and Mr. Joe Grimes.

The Bertie County Historical Association held its spring meeting on April 19 in the Cashie Baptist Church, Windsor. Judge W. H. S. Burgwyn of Woodland spoke on the history of Bertie County and some of the people connected with its early development. Miss Stella Phelps, President, was in charge of the meeting; Mrs. Walter Bond of Windsor is Secretary. More than fifty members and guests attended the meeting and social hour. *The Chronicle,* official publication of the Bertie group, for April, 1963, contained an article by Mr. Francis Speight, a brief article on "Wimberly: A Town Authorized But Not Established," and a letter from a student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1861.

On April 19 the Regents and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., opened a new Lafayette Escadrille Exhibit in the Arts and Industries Building. *The Journal de Marches et Operations of the Lafayette Escadrille* by Georges Thenault, commanding officer, was presented to the National Air Museum at the Smithsonian, by George Spencer Thenault, son of the author. Col. Paul A. Rockwell of Asheville and his brother, Kiffin Yates Rockwell, who was killed during World War I, were members of this squadron of volunteer aviators who flew for France at the beginning of the War.

The Martin County Historical Society met on April 19 in the City Hall in Williamston with Mrs. N. C. Green presiding. Dr. James H. McCallum spoke to those present on Martin County's part in the Civil War. He also presented the Society with Elder C. B. Hassell's book on the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association and a map of Ft. Branch made in 1864. The Fort remains virtually intact on the Roanoke River near Hamilton. The marking of several historic sites was discussed by those present.

A group of citizens met in New Holland on April 27 to organize a Hyde County historical association. The Rev. A. C. D. Noe, Rector of St. Thomas Church, Bath, made a talk, suggesting a number of activities and projects for the organization. State Senator P. D. Midgett spoke on the North Carolina Historyland and Coastland Trail project, emphasizing the need for concerted efforts by all of the counties included. Officers elected were Mrs. Allen D. Bucklew, Englehard, President; Mrs Robert G. Baum, Swan Quarter, Vice-President; Mrs. Juanita Miller, Middleton, Secretary; and Mrs. Roy Spencer, Sladesville, Treasurer. The second meeting was set for June 8 at which time the association will approve a constitution and by-laws.

The Moore County Historical Association met on February 19 at the Town Council Hall in Southern Pines. Mrs. Ernest L. Ives gave a program on "Historic Bath." Mrs. Elizabeth Boatwright Coker of Hartsville, South Carolina, spoke to more than 60 members and guests at the April 16 meeting of the Association. She spoke on Lady Rich, subject of her most recent historical novel. The business meeting was presided over by Mr. Norris L. Hodgkins, Jr., President. On April 19 the Board of Directors elected Dr. Colin G. Spencer President for the coming year.

The Alexander County Historical Association met on April 20 in the Courthouse in Taylorsville. Mr. Timmy Glass showed pictures relating to the Battle of Gettysburg. Officers of the Society, all of Taylorsville, are Mrs. Tressie Boyd, President; Mr. W. T. Pennell, Vice-President; Mr. W. C. Watts, Secretary; and Mr. B. T. Boyd, Treasurer.

The Northampton County Historical Association held a dinner meeting on April 3 with Dr. Robert Lee Humber, State Senator, as principal speaker. Mr. W. H. S. Burgwyn, Jr., President, was in charge of the meeting.

The New Bern Historical Society has recently made a concerted effort to free the Attmore-Oliver House of all debt. Mr. John R. Taylor announced that Belk's Department Store had contributed $500 toward liquidation of the debt. The campaign to free the house began in July, 1959, when the debt was over $15,000. Only $2,900 remains, according to Mr. J. C. Bagg, Treasurer, who reports gifts totaling $3,875 for the past year. The Richardson Foundation added a grant of $4,000 to be used to restore and improve the property. Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist for the Department of Archives and History, spoke to the New Bern group at its March meeting.

The spring meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina was held on Friday, April 5, at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Papers were read by Miss Louise Hall, Duke University; Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker, Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission; Dr. Joseph F. Steelman, East Carolina College; and Dr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh.

The Bladen County Historical Society held its annual meeting on April 11 in the Courthouse in Elizabethtown. Reports on a proposed history of the County and the restoration project at Harmony Hall were made. Local residents are urged to join; membership dues are $2.00 per year.

The Caswell County Historical Society met on April 10 with Mr. and Mrs. Williamson Brown at Locust Hill.

The Lower Cape Fear Historical Society sponsored the third annual historical tour of Wilmington on April 20 and 21. Houses and buildings

dating from 1772 to 1860 were featured. Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., served as Chairman and members of the Wilmington Junior League served as guides.

The Bulletin of the Society for May, 1963, contained the message and report from Mr. Randolph L. Gregory, President, and an article on the Zebulon Latimer House. A special feature of the issue was the article, "Historyland Trails: Some Questions That Must Be Answered," by Barbara Beeland Rehder. Mrs. Virginia Holmes, a member of the staff of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, was the speaker at the May 8 meeting of the Society. Her topic was "Williamsburg Restored." Officers elected for the coming year are Mr. Winfield Sapp, Jr., President; Mr. Stanley South, Vice-President; Miss Lelia Stack, Secretary; Mr. Ludlow Strong, Treasurer; and Mrs. Ida B. Kellam, Archivist. The Society voted to purchase the Latimer House at the northwest corner of Third and Orange Streets for use as headquarters. Reports were made by the various committee chairman including that of Mr. Ludlow Strong, who noted a gain in membership of 32 new members. The Society has a total membership of 511.

The Wilkes County Historical Society met on April 22 in the Town Hall of North Wilkesboro. The group discussed the marking of two cabin sites of Daniel Boone and made plans for the fall historical tour. As a special feature of the meeting, historical essays were read which had been entered in the annual contest sponsored by the Wilkes Society. Senator T. E. Story is President of the group.

Mr. Malcolm Fowler, President of the Harnett County Historical Society, spoke on May 3 at a special joint meeting of the Upper Cape Fear Chapter, Archaeological Society of North Carolina, and the Fayetteville and Cumberland County Festival of Arts. The celebration of the tercentenary of the signing of the Carolina Charter of 1663 was the theme of the program. Mr. C. D. Brewington, retired teacher of Pembroke, spoke on the history of several Indian tribes of North Carolina. Mr. Thomas McNeill of Lillington displayed a collection of Indian artifacts and Mr. Ted Matthews of Bunnlevel spoke briefly on Indian pottery, using samples of his own work to show the various stages of pottery making.

On April 16 the Wake County Historical Society held its spring meeting in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History in the Education Building in Raleigh. Dr. A. M. Fountain, President, presided at the meeting. Mr. Samuel Townsend, Administrative Assistant of the Museums Division, showed a film, "Profile of Greatness," which was recently produced by the Department. One of the proposed projects of the Society, the publication of a history of Wake County, was discussed by those present; reports were given by various committee chairmen outlining work for 1963-1964. Officers elected were Mrs. J. B. Bilisoly, Wendell, President; Mr. Charles R. Holloman, Raleigh, Vice-President; Miss Beth G. Crabtree, Raleigh, Secretary; Mr. Richard Seawell, Raleigh, Treasurer.

The Executive Committee of the Society met on May 21 to plan activities for the coming year. A walking tour on July 4 of historic sites in the Capitol Square area was announced by Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, program chairman.

The 150th Annual Session of the Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina convened in Greensboro on June 11 and 12 with more than 800 ministers and ruling elders participating in the sesquicentennial observance of the Synod. The Presbyterian Church in North Carolina dates from about 1736; however, the Synod of North Carolina was organized at the Alamance Presbyterian Church on October 7, 1813. On June 12 a historical highway marker for Alamance Church was dedicated commemorating the organization of the Synod. The Reverend Harold J. Dudley, Stated Clerk, Synod of North Carolina, presided at the unveiling of the marker which was presented by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History. Others participating in the program were the Reverend James R. Phipps, the Reverend Ben F. Brown, and the Reverend Price H. Gwynn, Jr., moderator of the Synod, who accepted the marker.

The Presbyterian News for May, 1963, contains a number of historical articles, local news items, and reports on the activities of the education and historical committees. Dr. Harold J. Dudley is Editor and Manager.

The *Historical Foundation News* for April has a tribute to the late Lowry Davis, suggestions for historians of local churches, a feature story on research in Presbyterian history in North Ireland, reports on historical activities of other churches, and notes on recent accessions.

The North Carolina Historical Review is printed on Permalife, a text paper developed through the combined efforts of William J. Barrow of the Virginia State Library, the Council on Library Resources, Inc., and the Standard Paper Manufacturing Company. Tests indicate that the paper theoretically has a useful life of at least 300 years.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
EDITORIAL POLICY

The Editorial Board of *The North Carolina Historical Review* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of North Carolina and adjacent States. Articles on the history of other sections may be submitted, and, if there are ties with North Carolinians or events significant in the history of this State, the Editorial Board will give them careful consideration. Articles on any aspect of North Carolina history are suitable subject matter for *The Review,* but materials that are primarily genealogical are not accepted.

In considering articles, the Editorial Board gives careful attention to the sources used, the form followed in the footnotes, the style in which the article is written, and the originality of the material and its interpretation. Clarity of thought and general interest of the article are of importance, though these two considerations would not, of course, outweigh inadequate use of sources, incomplete coverage of the subject, and inaccurate citations.

Persons desiring to submit articles for *The North Carolina Historical Review* should request a copy of *The Editor's Handbook,* which may be obtained free of charge from the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History. *The Handbook* contains information on footnote citations and other pertinent facts needed by writers for *The Review.* Each author should follow the suggestions made in *The Editor's Handbook* and should use back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a further guide to the accepted style and form.

All copy should be double-spaced; footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. The author should submit an original and a carbon copy of the article; he should retain a second carbon for his own reference. Articles accepted by the Editorial Board become the property of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and may not have been or be published elsewhere. The author should include his professional title in the covering letter accompanying his article.

Following acceptance of an article, publication will be scheduled in accordance with the established policy of the Editorial Board. Since usually a large backlog of material is on hand, there will ordinarily be a fairly long period between acceptance and publication.

The editors are also interested in receiving for review books relating to the history of North Carolina and the surrounding area.

Articles and books for review should be sent to the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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The North Carolina Historical Review



Autumn 1963

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is $3.00 per year. Members of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., for which the annual dues are $5.00, receive this publication without further payment. Back numbers still in print are available for $.75 per number. Out-of-print numbers may be obtained on microfilm from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Persons desiring to quote from this publication may do so without special permission from the editors providing full credit is given to The North Carolina Historical Review. The Review is published quarterly by the State Department of Archives and History, Education Building, Corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets, Raleigh. Second class postage paid at Raleigh, North Carolina.

COVER—Albion W. Tourgée, in a sketch done by O. Henry when he was fourteen years old, is shown leaving Greensboro for Raleigh. The mat from which the cartoon was reproduced was supplied by the *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel*. For an article on Tourgée, see pages 434-454.

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OUR LIVING AND OUR DEAD:
A POST-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA MAGAZINE OF LITERATURE AND HISTORY

By Ray M. Atchison*

When the four tragic years of the Civil War drew to a close, writing and publishing were quickly revived in the South. Defeated in battle, southerners wished to establish a literature of their own divorced from northern sentiment and prejudice. One major medium of publication was the numerous literary-historical magazines which sprang into existence throughout the South in the years immediately after Appomattox.[1]

North Carolina was a leading State not only in the number published but also in the quality of these periodicals devoted to the Lost Cause.[2] One of the best of these made its initial appearance in New Bern on July 2, 1873, bearing the somewhat odd name *Our Living and Our Dead.*

The complete title explains what Stephen D. Pool, the Editor,[3] had

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[1] Literary historians have practically ignored these magazines as important depositories of southern thought and attitude during the post-bellum period. For a brief but scholarly treatment, see Jay B. Hubbell, *The South in American Literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1954), 716-726. A comprehensive study is Ray M. Atchison's "Southern Literary Magazines, 1865-1887" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1956), hereinafter cited as Atchison, "Southern Literary Magazines."

[2] See Atchison, "Southern Literary Magazines," *passim.*

[3] During the Civil War Stephen D. Pool was first a captain and later a colonel in charge of North Carolina artillery troops. After the War he settled in New Bern as Publisher and Editor of the *Weekly Journal of Commerce,* as well as the daily *Newbern Journal of Commerce.* He was a charter member of the North Carolina Press Association and attended the first meeting in Goldsboro in May, 1873. Pool was one of the first Democrats elected to a State office after the War, serving from 1875 to 1876 as Superintendent of Public Instruction. The New Orleans, Louisiana, city directories list his name in the issues 1877 through 1887, indicating that he moved to New Orleans from Raleigh, and that his death probably occurred shortly after the latter date. Stephen D. Pool, Jr., and other relatives were associated with the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, Louisiana). In addition to editing *Our Living and Our Dead,* Stephen D. Pool was Editor of the *Southern Historical Monthly,* established in Raleigh, January, 1876, and the *North Carolina Journal of Education*; see *Our Living and Our Dead,* III (November, 1875), back cover, and IV (March, 1876), 126. For additional biographical information, consult R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina:*

in mind when he established this periodical: *Our Living and Our Dead; or, Testimony from the Battle Fields, A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the War Record of North Carolina.* Attractively printed, it was a large four-page folio, with a subscription price of $2.00. Advertisements, occupying six to eight columns, carried notices of southern educational institutions, magazines, products of business firms, and other enterprises of interest to southern subscribers. The paper announced in its first issue a circulation of 1,500.

The early issues of this magazine carried no political essays, but there were in abundance miscellaneous sketches, letters from correspondents, State news, war diaries of young ladies, war reminiscences, registers of North Carolina troops, and verse. General Daniel Harvey Hill and Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, prominent North Carolinians, were listed as contributors. Reprinted material was selected not from the popular British magazines, as was then fashionable, but from southern periodicals. Campfire and battlefield anecdotes copied from "The Haversack" of General Hill's *The Land We Love* (Charlotte, 1866-1869) were frequent offerings.[4]

Poetry was given considerable attention, having devoted to it a column entitled "Selected Poetry," which became "Southern War Poetry" in the second issue. The Editor's announced intention was to publish such poetry "as is commemorative of events which occurred during the War, or of the sentiments and feelings of those who participated in it, and memorial sketches in verse of gallant officers and men who fell in battle, or signally distinguished themselves."[5] With the exception of a few original poems by S. D. Bagley[6] and Appleton Oaksmith,[7] both North Carolinians, Editor Pool of necessity resorted to eclecticism. He reprinted well-known lyrics composed during the heat of conflict by Henry Timrod, George W. Bagby, John R. Thomp-

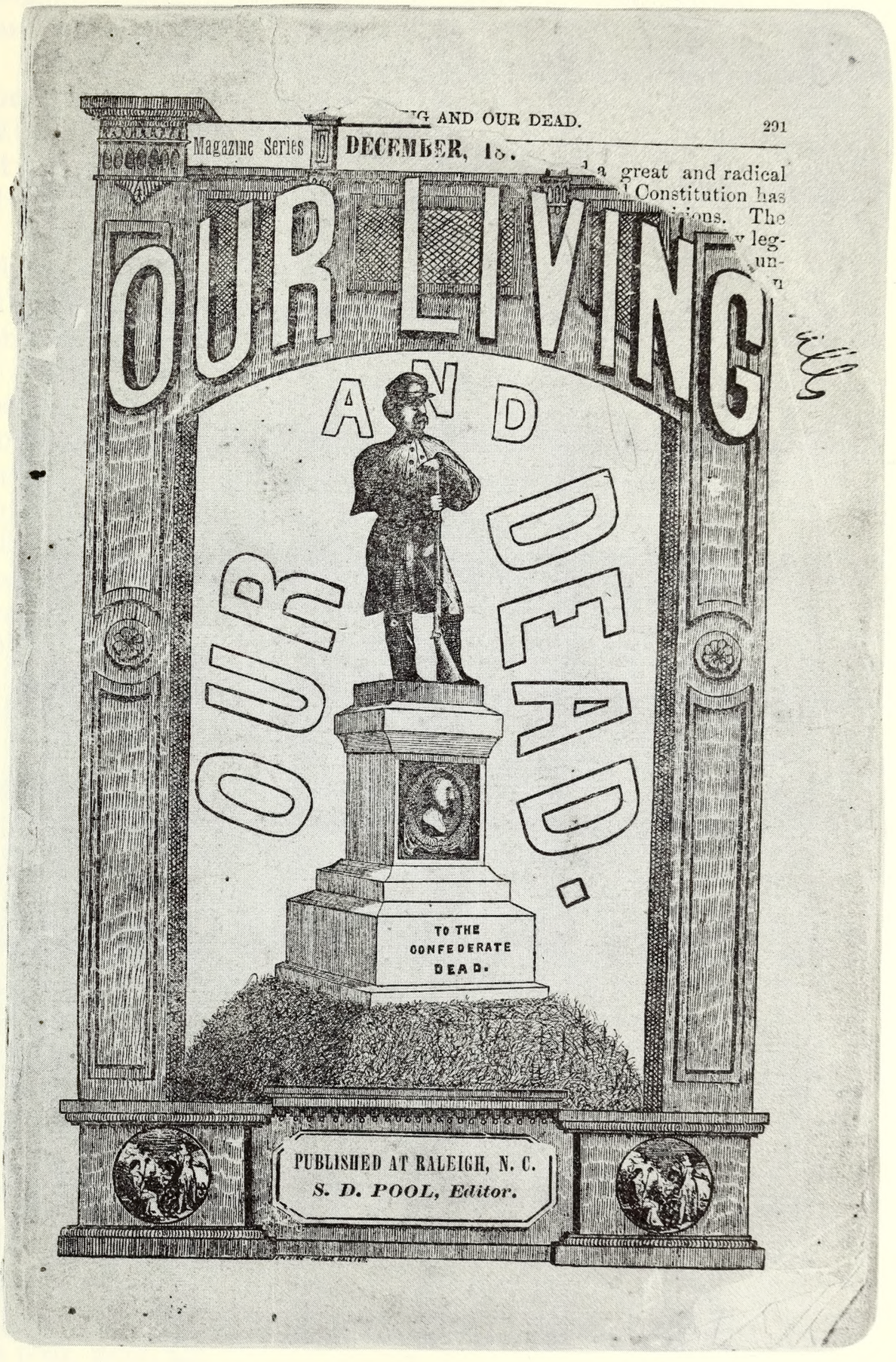
Rebuilding An Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925 (Chicago, Illinois: The American Historical Society, Inc., 4 volumes, 1929), II, 391; and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860,* Volume III of *History of North Carolina,* by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 362.

[4] For a critical and analytical sketch of General Hill's magazine, see Ray M. Atchison, *"The Land We Love:* A Southern Post-Bellum Magazine of Agriculture, Literature, and Military History," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXVII (October, 1960), 506-515.

[5] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (July 9, 1873), 1.

[6] According to information in a letter from S. D. Bagley to T. B. Kingsbury, the former was in 1891 the President of Louisburg Female College, April 17, 1891, Theodore Bryant Kingsbury Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[7] The periodical listed Oaksmith as a resident of Carteret County; "Forget Me Not," in I (December, 1874), 331, carries the notation "By Appleton Oaksmith, of Carteret." See also, John J. TePaske, "Appleton Oaksmith, Filibuster Agent," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXV (October, 1958), 427-447.



Front cover for the December, 1874, issue.

1875. **Important Announcement--Read!** **1875.**

—PROSPECTUS OF—

Our Living and Our Dead;

A North Carolina Monthly Magazine of 128 Pages, Published at Raleigh, N. C., at Three Dollars a Year.

S. D. POOL, Editor. { T. B. KINGSBURY, JAMES H. POOL, } Associates.

The success of our enterprise has been such as to authorize us in stating that **one thousand new subscribers for the year 1875** will place it on a permanent basis, and make it one of the established institutions of the State. It has met with wide favor in every section of the State, and is rapidly extending in circulation and influence. Among our subscribers are the leading men of the East, the West and the Centre, and many a brave soldier who offered himself freely in defence of his people is upon our mail-books.

We take pleasure in announcing that our plans, for the year 1875, are complete, and we are able to offer unusual attractions to our readers. The Magazine has been enlarged to **128 pages monthly**, and at $3 per annum is cheaper than any Northern publication containing as much matter. The Magazine will contain

Four Distinct Departments:

1. The Historical and Biographical.
2. The Descriptive and Statistical.
3. The Literary.
4. The Educational.

In the **FIRST** Department will be accounts of battles, historic facts, sketches of individual character, anecdotes of the war, personal reminiscences, memorial sketches, war poetry, &c.

In the **SECOND** Department will be gathered descriptive and statistical information from every section of North Carolina. The climate, soil, productions, timber, minerals, and topography of the State—its commercial, agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and other interests will be represented in its pages. Tables of **Necrology** and **Important Events** will be published each month. The history of counties, villages, towns and cities will find a place. **Reminiscenses of the Bar** will also be found in this Department.

The **THIRD** Department will contain stories by gifted writers, criticisms, essays, travels, sketches, &c.

The **FOURTH** Department will be devoted to the subject of Education in all its ramifications, and will contain addresses, essays, lectures, discussions, &c., by practiced writers and eminent teachers.

We will begin, in the January number, the publication of a

SERIAL STORY

from the pen of **Miss Frances C. Fisher** ("CHRISTIAN REID"), who stands at the head of all Southern writers of fiction, and whose merits are popular in every section of the United States. The title of the story will be **"A SUMMER IDYL,"** the scene of which will be laid in the mountains of Western North Carolina.

Mrs. Cicero W. Harris, of Wilmington, to whom we are indebted for the pleasant story in the December number, will also contribute a Serial Novel, which will be of North Carolina web and woof, and must prove highly entertaining to all. She is a lady of talents, and will do her work well.

Gov. Vance, whose recent "SKETCHES OF NORTH CAROLINA" have been so much admired, will contribute some of his best productions to our Magazine.

Many other writers of literary skill and ability will favor us.

We shall strive to improve with each issue, and appeal to our people for a generous support of our undertaking. An average of twelve (only twelve) **new** subscribers from each county in the State will place the Magazine on a firm basis. Who will be the first to move in our behalf, and from what county will come the first response? Ladies of North Carolina, give us your influence and material aid. Address,

S. D. POOL, Raleigh, N. C.

Our Living and Our Dead, prospectus from back cover of the December, 1874, issue.

son, Abram J. (Father) Ryan, Henry Lynden Flash, Paul H. Hayne, and others.

In October, 1873, *Our Living and Our Dead* became the official organ of the North Carolina Branch, Southern Historical Society. Eleven months later it was removed to Raleigh, where, as a monthly, it was published fairly regularly until its final suspension after March, 1876.

A few changes were made when the periodical began publication in Raleigh, but these were chiefly in format, not in tone and emphasis. The magazine continued to be highly provincial, that is, a glorification and vindication of North Carolina history.

Theodore Bryant Kingsbury[8] and James H. Pool, the Editor's brother, joined the staff as associate editors. In a form more suitable for binding, the periodical became a single-column octavo of 96 pages enhanced by extra large print.[9] The subscription price was increased and a decorative cover designed by Kingsbury appeared in July, 1875.[10] In the new magazine form, three volumes and one issue of a fourth were published. Financial difficulties prevented the editors from printing more than a few engravings, including the following: Orphan Asylum (Oxford); Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind (Raleigh); Carolina Military Institute (Charlotte); Peace Institute (Raleigh); and General George Burgwyn Anderson.[11]

One major problem that plagued the editors in Raleigh, as it had in New Bern, was that of securing original material from talented

[8] Theodore Bryant Kingsbury (1828-1913), author, magazine editor, journalist, minister, and literary critic, has been called North Carolina's "most accomplished litterateur." Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), I, 356. He attended the University of North Carolina but did not graduate. Instead, he became a merchant and published, meanwhile, the *Leisure Hour*, an Oxford literary weekly. In 1859 he was elected to the Chair of Literature at Trinity College (now Duke University), but he declined this honor and became a minister. From 1866 to 1869 he was pastor of the First Baptist Church at Warrenton. After July, 1869, Kingsbury left the ministry and joined the staff of the *Sentinel* in Raleigh, which was published during this period as a daily, semi-weekly, and weekly newspaper. Throughout the remainder of his life he was associated with the following newspapers: *The Morning Star* (Wilmington) as editorial writer; *The Wilmington Messenger* as Editor; and *The News and Observer* (Raleigh) as contributor. Kingsbury was the author of a few books, including one on baptism and a guidebook to the Philadelphia Centennial. In addition to the biographical sketch of Kingsbury in Ashe, cited above, other information appears in Elizabeth Wilson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1924), 423; and Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 80-81.

[9] A few issues contained as many as 140-odd pages, but a gradual reduction in the number of pages per issue gave clear evidence of the editors' financial struggle.

[10] The centerpiece was an exact copy of the Confederate monument at Wilmington. Kingsbury explained the meaning in "Our New Cover," *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (July, 1875), 145.

[11] *Our Living and Our Dead*, I (October, 1874); I (November, 1874); I (February, 1875); III (September, 1875).

authors. S. D. Bagley and Appleton Oaksmith continued to send poems, and "Christian Reid" (Frances C. Fisher Tiernan of Salisbury) contributed a novelette and one poem. Mrs. Cicero W. Harris,[12] later Editor of the *South-Atlantic* (Wilmington and Baltimore, 1877-1882), submitted a serial and a poem. Readers were promised that the popular Governor Zebulon B. Vance would send to the magazine some of his best writings. Only one of his essays was published, however, and this was an address which had been delivered before the Southern Historical Society at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, on August 18, 1875.[13]

Associate Editor T. B. Kingsbury wrote a large number of the essays. Not a profound thinker, he nevertheless knew his English and American authors fairly well. Occasionally he wrote with a degree of insight on such topics as education, southern textbooks, plagiarism, and poetasters. He was one of the better informed southern literary critics of the period, but he did not review many books in detail. Perhaps Kingsbury felt that he should not attempt to evaluate a book which he had not read and studied thoroughly.

Authors of original and selected material included those listed below, some of whom preferred pseudonyms or initials.

Lieutenant John G. Albright; "An Amateur Scribbler"; S. D. Bagley; Captain Thomas B. Bailey; Colonel L. S. Baker; General Rufus Barringer; General C. A. Battle; Dr. Jeremiah Battle; Honorable Kemp P. Battle; Honorable William H. Battle; J. H. Becton; Captain W. T. R. Bell; Professor H. B. Blake (Wilmington); T. D. Boone; General Braxton Bragg; General L. O'B. Branch; Robert W. Brown; John D. Cameron; General Thomas Lanier Clingman; J. R. Cole; General R. E. Colston; J. A. Cooper; W. A. Curtis; Colonel W. L. DeRossett; Susan Dimock (Washington, North Carolina); "Dixie"; Professor W. C. Doub (Greensboro Female College); Fanny Murdaugh Downing; William C. Elam (Fayetteville); Henry Lynden Flash; Major B. W. Frobel; Edwin W. Fuller; Seaton Gales; Lieutenant-Colonel G. I. Gordon; Captain J. A. Graham; Captain Everard Hall; Lee Hampton; General Wade Hampton; Will Loftin Hargrave; Reverend Francis L. Hawks; General A. P. Hill; General Daniel H. Hill;

[12] The writer of this article has been unable to find a detailed biographical sketch of Mrs. Harris. Florence E. Blakely, Head, Reference Department, Duke University Library, and William S. Powell, Director, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, assisted in the search, but they have also been unsuccessful. One source gives the following information: "For some years prior to 1879, Mr. and Mrs. Harris, who were of Oxford, N. C., were conspicuous in Wilmington for their literary attainments. Mr. Harris was for some time editor of the *Star*, and Mrs. Harris, who was a woman of most attractive personality and of remarkable energy, published a magazine, the *South-Atlantic*, which might have prospered but for the financial depression of the times." James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River; Being Some Account of Historic Events on the Cape Fear River* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1914), 523-524.

[13] *Our Living and Our Dead*, III (November, 1875), 612-628.

Colonel James W. Hinton; Colonel W. J. Hoke; Honorable Joseph W. Holden; Reverend W. Hooper; General Bradley T. Johnson; Eleanor M. Jones; Johnstone Jones; Theophilus F. Kluttz; "A Lady of Granville"; General James H. Lane; Reverend A. W. Mangum (Edenton Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Raleigh); Alexander McIver; Major J. C. McRae; Stephen F. Miller; J. Emory Moore; Major John W. Moore; Professor T. J. Morgan; E. M. Nadal; John W. Norwood; Reverend John Paris; Joshua Potts; Margaret J. Preston; James Ryder Randall; John E. Rhiem; Kate Mason Rowland; Reverend William Henry Rufner (Virginia); Abram J. Ryan; S. S. Satchwell; Professor D. Schable; Randolph A. Shotwell; Professor W. G. Simmons (Wake Forest College); Cornelia Phillips Spencer; John R. Thompson; G. F. Towle; General I. R. Trimble; John E. Tyler; Honorable Abram W. Venable; Mrs. Susan H. Waddell; Severn Teackle Wallis; John Hill Wheeler; John G. Whittier; Richard Henry Wilde; L. Cary Wilder; Reverend C. H. Wiley; Walter P. Williamson; "W. J. G."; Bartlett Yancy; Major Richard W. York; and Louis G. Young.

As advertised in the prospectus, the contents of *Our Living and Our Dead,* monthly edition, were neatly classified and arranged in four distinct departments, a unique feature of southern post-bellum literary magazines. In addition to these four departments—Historical and Biographical, Descriptive and Statistical, Literary, and Educational—there was an editorial section conducted by Kingsbury. And "Our Camp Chest," avowedly an imitation of General Hill's "The Haversack," appeared in November, 1874, and irregularly thereafter.

The Historical and Biographical Department was one of the best features of the magazine, although it embodied fewer biographical sketches than had been promised in the prospectus. In this department appeared accounts of battles, historic facts, personal reminiscences, memorial sketches, addresses of generals on anniversaries of battles, extracts from correspondence, diaries, sketches of regiments, and official proceedings of the North Carolina Historical Society. Most of the material was related to North Carolinians and the Civil War, but some items recorded ante-bellum North Carolina history. Representative examples included the following: "Official Proceedings of the First Meeting of The North Carolina Historical Society"; T. B. Kingsbury, "North Carolina at Gettysburg"; Colonel W. J. Hoke, "Sketch of the 38th Regiment N. C. Troops"; John Hill Wheeler, "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence"; and Johnstone Jones, "Evidences of the Mecklenburg Declaration."[14]

Wheeler and Jones cited a number of personal testimonies of eyewitnesses, contemporaneous publications, and writings by North Caro-

[14] *Our Living and Our Dead,* III (July, 1875), 62-65; I (November, 1874), 193-197; I (February, 1875), 545-551; I (January, 1875), 418-427; III (August, 1875), 187-199; III (December, 1875), 720-728.

linians in their effort to prove that the citizens of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, did renounce their allegiance to King George III of England on May 20, 1775, thereby antedating the National Declaration of Independence.[15]

In recording North Carolina State and southern history, the editors revealed a marked displeasure at the widespread circulation of northern textbooks and histories in the postwar South. For example, Kingsbury's editorials, "The South Must Write Its Own Histories"[16] and "History Perverted,"[17] expressed strong resentment against prejudiced northern historians. In tone and content these essays are to be compared with ones written by other editors, notably Albert Taylor Bledsoe (*Southern Review,* 1867-1879), William Hand Browne (*Southern Magazine,* 1871-1875), and Anthony Butler Stark (*Home Monthly,* 1866-1870). Perhaps no other southern magazine editors of the period were more concerned about this subject than were these four men. Their essays, if collected, would well express vigorous, conservative thinking on a topic which was much discussed long before as well as after the Civil War.[18]

The Descriptive and Statistical Department gave information about North Carolina's climate, soil, timber, minerals, topography, and various aspects of commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests. *Turner's North Carolina Almanac* was the source of numerous reprints. One typical original article was "On the Trade of Wilmington, N. C., May 1st, 1815," by Joshua Potts.[19] Stephen F. Miller (1805- ?), author, editor, and lawyer,[20] contributed a valuable series entitled "Recollections of Newbern Fifty Years Ago." The magazine advertised these sketches appropriately as "somewhat rare in extent and variety, embracing more than fifty occupations and topics, with about three hundred names of residents of Newbern."[21]

The Literary Department as a separate section was not established until the fourth issue, December, 1874. Kingsbury announced that in

[15] For a modern, scholarly discussion of the Mecklenburg Declaration, consult Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 191-192, 195, 203, 388, 603.

[16] *Our Living and Our Dead,* II (May, 1875), 300-305.

[17] *Our Living and Our Dead,* II (April, 1875), 170-175.

[18] See Jay B. Hubbell, "Literary Nationalism in the Old South," in David Kelly Jackson (ed.), *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd by Members of the Americana Club of Duke University* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 175-220.

[19] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (September, 1874), 50-55.

[20] A brief sketch of Miller appeared in *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (November, 1874), 239. Born in North Carolina, he moved to Georgia in early youth. Later, in Alabama, he was Editor of the *Monitor,* a Whig journal published at Tuscaloosa.

[21] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (November, 1874), 239.

order for his new department to be successful he would need contributions from "*our practiced writers.*" [22] He stated also that authors who lived in States other than North Carolina should feel free to submit material. First place, however, was reserved for the literary men and women of the Old North State. Writers were instructed to send "short sketches whether of character or travel, brief essays, criticism, choice-*ana,* poetry, literary anecdote, reminiscences, and other matter that will make this department enjoyable and edifying." [23]

The ambitious plan for making the Literary Department an outstanding feature of *Our Living and Our Dead* never reached maturity. Kingsbury was compelled to write much of the material, aided by Christian Reid, Mrs. C. W. Harris, S. D. Bagley, and Appleton Oaksmith. Two novelettes, several short stories, poetry (chiefly reprints), a few book reviews in a section entitled "Authors and Publishers," some literary criticism, and proverbs—these were the pieces that Kingsbury managed to publish.

Christian Reid's *A Summer Idyl,* a serial with North Carolina mountains as the setting, was the most attractive offering of the Literary Department. As a novelist Miss Reid was constantly praised for, among other traits, her graceful, limpid style and lifelike pictures of southern society.[24] A second serial, *Margaret Rosselyn,* came from the pen of Mrs. Harris.[25] The most artistic brief fiction was "Buried Alive," a Poe-like tale by Theophilus F. Kluttz.[26] Other stories included "The White Doe Chase; A Legend of Olden Times," by Mrs. "M. M.," [27] and, by Mrs. Harris, "A Shadow of the Past; A Sketch from Real Life." [28]

A majority of the poems were reprints of southern authors, but these shared space with some European and northern poems. Original poetry, as might be expected, usually paid tribute to some phase of North Carolina history. Representative examples may be cited: J. Emory M., "Over the Grave of Colonel Sol. Williams"; Jo. W. Holden, "Hatteras"; Wm. C. Elam, "The Mecklenburg Declaration, May 20, 1775"; Appleton Oaksmith, "Forget Me Not"; and Mrs. C. W. Harris, "Edith Moore." [29]

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[22] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (November, 1874), 256.
[23] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (November, 1874), 256.
[24] *Our Living and Our Dead,* III (September, 1875), 398.
[25] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (January, 1875), 481-490; III (November, 1875), 645-659.
[26] *Our Living and Our Dead,* II (May, 1875), 347-350.
[27] *Our Living and Our Dead,* III (December, 1875), 753-771.
[28] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (December, 1874), 353-362.
[29] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (October, 1874), 138; I (November, 1874), 253; III (July, 1875), 20-21; I (December, 1874), 331; III (December, 1875), 772-779.

Literary criticism was almost exclusively the work of Kingsbury. Many of his essays are rather modern in tone and pleasing in style, and they exhibit a wide range of interest. "Vicious Literature," for example, was one of Kingsbury's tirades against the illustrated literature of the North. In addition, he warned his readers against "Wilkie Collins, Miss Braddon, *et id omne genus.*"[30] "Vicious Taste," also, was directed at the sensational novels and newspapers of the age.[31] Books that were "safe" reading for southerners were discussed in "Living Novelists."[32] Included were Dinah Maria Mulock's *John Halifax, Gentleman,* Thomas Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd,* and Charles Reade's *Peg Woffington. Robinson Crusoe* and *Sandford and Merton* were recommended for boys and girls in "Books for the Young."[33] "Plagiarism Among Authors" deprecates literary theft, though actual cases are not cited.[34] "The Rhyming Age" exhorts poets to be skillful.[35]

In a number of essays Kingsbury wrote favorably of English and continental authors, among them Sainte-Beuve,[36] George Eliot,[37] and Tennyson.[38] The latter was commended for his originality and perfect workmanship; the *Idylls of the King* was named the greatest epic since the time of Milton.

For the Education Department Kingsbury and his contributors wrote sketches of schools and gave their opinions on topics of current interest, including, of course, coeducation. Kingsbury's viewpoint was conservative, for he did not believe that young ladies should attend school with men. It is not wise, he maintained, for a young woman at a formative period to be closely associated with young men, "many of whom are rude, susceptible, and unprincipled."[39] Another problem of the time, segregation, engaged the attention of the Reverend William Henry Rufner, of Virginia. He stated rather adamantly that there should not be coeducation of the white and Negro races. Some of his words remind one of the current integration controversy: "Power may destroy slavery, but it cannot destroy the social inequality which attended slavery, and which was founded not only upon an inequality

[30] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (January, 1875), 515-520.
[31] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (December, 1874), 398.
[32] *Our Living and Our Dead,* II (June, 1875), 509-512.
[33] *Our Living and Our Dead,* II (April, 1875), 256-258.
[34] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (February, 1875), 621-623.
[35] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (December, 1874), 365-367.
[36] *Our Living and Our Dead,* II (June, 1875), 477-488; III (September, 1875), 380-392.
[37] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (February, 1875), 651.
[38] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (December, 1874), 362-364; II (April, 1875), 228-240.
[39] *Our Living and Our Dead,* II (March, 1875), 127.

of condition but upon subjective differences equally great."[40]

The Education Department contained other articles of interest to North Carolina readers. Representative examples are these: W. G. Simmons, "The Relations of the Churches to Public Education"; Johnstone Jones, "The Carolina Military Institute"; and W. H. Battle, "An Address Delivered at Chapel Hill on the Occasion of the Re-Opening of the University, the 15th September, 1875."[41]

Our Living and Our Dead ceased publication primarily because its subscribers could not or would not pay. Moreover, it never attained a wide circulation, although it advertised in February, 1875, a monthly distribution of 2,040 copies in seventeen States. Repeated pleas, of which the following is an example, brought scanty support from North Carolinians:

> We regret to say [stated the editors] our former earnest appeals have been responded to by only a very few. Not six persons in all North Carolina have ever favored us by canvassing in our behalf, and not six persons have sent us any subscriptions *other than their own.*[42]

A last desperate call in March, 1876, for 1,000 subscribers to help sustain the magazine apparently was unheeded. The editors were unable to complete, as they had planned, a comprehensive historical record of their native State.

Although *Our Living and Our Dead* managed to survive only a few years, it nevertheless deserves recognition. For one reason, it embodies many ideas of Theodore Bryant Kingsbury, a native author. Kingsbury's future biographers cannot afford to overlook this magazine. Further, any serious student of North Carolina history should want to familiarize himself with its contents. *Our Living and Our Dead,* like *The Land We Love,* published war memories and in this respect antedated the more widely circulated "Battles and Leaders Series" of the New York *Century Magazine.* Finally, its provinciality is unequaled by any other southern post-bellum magazine, though all of them were mainly State rather than sectional periodicals—that is, aimed primarily at readers in one State rather than the entire South. Editor Pool had written that his primary object in founding the periodical was "to make a fair and impartial record of my native State, and of her gallant sons,— of the living, maimed or able-bodied, as well as the dead, whose remains filled every cemetery, reposed beneath the sod of almost every battle-ground, or in the enclosure of every hospital and Confederate cemetery, and of every prison pen at the North."[43]

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[40] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (December, 1874), 379. The article was reprinted from *Scribner's Monthly.*

[41] *Our Living and Our Dead,* I (September, 1874), 70-74; I (February, 1875), 625-628; III (November, 1875), 675-692.

[42] *Our Living and Our Dead,* III (July, 1875), back cover.

[43] *Our Living and Our Dead,* III (December, 1875), 824-825.

ALBION W. TOURGEE: CARPETBAGGER

By Otto H. Olsen*

This little tale is the narrative of one of Folly's failures. . . .
The Wise Men looked on and laughed.

A Fool's Errand [1]

During the early 1880's Albion W. Tourgée achieved national acclaim and international recognition with his fictional portrayals of the Reconstruction South, and one of his accounts, *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools,* was the best seller of its day. But the political and racial attitude of the entire nation changed in the following years, and Tourgée's novels, as well as his exciting experiences as a Carpetbagger, were soon relegated to undeserved obscurity. A return to the career of this member of a much maligned species, the Carpetbagger, casts revealing light into the still-abstruse recesses of Reconstruction and and helps clarify Tourgée's fictional treatment of that era.[2]

Albion W. Tourgée spent his youth in the Berkshire Mountains and the Western Reserve and absorbed a good measure of that well-known New England religious and reformist idealism, a heritage which was reflected less in self-righteousness than in his unyielding faith in the ultimate triumph of equality and democracy. Tourgée's devotion to romantic literature and the intense rivalry among students that he encountered at Kingsville Academy in Ohio and the University of

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[1] Albion Winegar Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1879), Preface, hereinafter cited as Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand.*

[2] For an unsympathetic biography containing little on Tourgée's career in the South, see Roy F. Dibble, *Albion W. Tourgée* (New York: Lemcke and Buechner, 1921), hereinafter cited as Dibble, *Tourgée.* More detailed, especially on the South, is Otto H. Olsen, "A Carpetbagger: Albion W. Tourgée and Reconstruction in North Carolina" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1959), *passim.* The best short sketches are those in John Hope Franklin (ed.), *A Fool's Errand by Albion W. Tourgée* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), vii-xxviii; Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928——), XVIII, 603-605; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: J. T. White and Company, 14 volumes, 1892-1906), VII, 324; and Samuel A. Ashe and Others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), IV, 440-450.

Rochester was undoubtedly more decisive, however, in molding a character marked by unusual idealism, gallantry, and pride. Furthermore, his interest in such writers as Scott, Byron, and Burns increased his interest in society and human welfare, and the Carpetbagger Tourgée would display not only the conceit, bravado, and quixotic exaggeration but also the lofty goals and ideals of Cervantes' worthy knight.[3] Tourgée's interest in literature also fostered an early interest in becoming a "writer of note," and initially encouraged by his apparent skill in narration and by the praise of his classmates and teachers, he pursued his literary activities throughout the tumult of Civil War and Reconstruction with a dedication paving the way to eventual success.

Young Tourgée displayed a great deal of ability and successful ambition. He was well liked and respected by his comrades and his superiors, and he gained popular recognition as an exceptional student, an able debater, a class poet, a song writer for the Glee Club, a fraternity leader, and a hearty prankster. He also displayed characteristics that would contribute to the achievement and maintenance of his controversial position in the South. Possessing an ability and originality which encouraged independent opinions and a frankness and pride which hindered their curtailment, Tourgée was independent to the point of rebelliousness. He was not one to be easily cowed, even in a strange and hostile environment.

There are also some signs of subconscious contributions to Tourgée's unusual independence, but in this area the historian's efforts remain extremely speculative. Certainly Tourgée disliked and rebelled against his stepmother, but also his literary heroes preached independence and pride; and self-reliance was a quality that Tourgée's father strove to instill in his son. Then too there were Tourgée's blind eye and his lifelong suffering, with occasional paralysis, from a spinal injury received during the retreat following the Battle of Manassas, both of which may have encouraged a striving for manly assertion and accomplishment. Or perhaps Tourgée's eye along with his relative poverty as a student and his service as an enlisted man contributed to his sympathy for the underdog. But always there is a full measure of reasonableness in these positions to balance against any irrational

[3] Details of Tourgée's early life are based primarily upon the Albion W. Tourgée Papers, Chautauqua County Historical Museum, Westfield, New York, hereinafter cited as Tourgée Papers. See also Dibble, *Tourgée*, 11-31; Tourgée, *The Story of a Thousand: Being a History of the Service of the 105th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, in the War for the Union from August 21, 1862 to June 6, 1865* (Buffalo, New York: S. McGerald and Son, 1896); Charles Bryant Fairchild, *History of the 27th Regiment N. Y. Vols. . . .* (Binghamton, New York: Carl and Matthews, 1888), 3-4.

impulse. Tourgée's independent resistance to authority was, however, frequent and clear—in his revolt against parental discipline, in his proud conflicts with college professors, in his leadership of a controversial student organization in its conflict with the University, in his clash with army superiors, and in his political independence during Reconstruction.

Entranced by poetry and prose and scholarship, Tourgée long remained rather isolated from the turbulence of national politics. He was devoted to the finer things, he boasted in the fall of 1860, and neither knew nor cared a thing about politics. With a dilettante's disdain he scoffed at the national crisis and bantered his pretty fiancée for having become "quite a rabid little petticoated Black Republican of late," but shortly thereafter excitement and ideals enticed the twenty-two year old Tourgée into the sectional controversy. His indignant response to secession and his immediate enlistment in the Union Army reflected both patriotism and the promise of adventure, but wartime propaganda and military experiences (which included impressive contacts with abolitionists and escaped slaves) soon convinced this receptive idealist that the War was primarily a holy crusade against slavery. Following his serious injury at Manassas and discharge from the army, the crippled Tourgée enthusiastically wrote, lectured, and recruited for "Liberty" and painfully struggled toward a physical recovery enabling him to re-enter the army as an infantry lieutenant. He endured an exciting second term of service on the western front, being again wounded, spending several frustrating months in Confederate prisons, and being discharged in 1863 because of the recurring effects of his initial war injury.

The Civil War's impact upon Tourgée was quite decisive. It had directed his thinking toward the present, stimulated his interest in the South, and significantly altered his approach to literature. Turning from an earlier desire to write sixteenth-century historical romance, he began writing poetry and prose which analyzed contemporary events. His narratives of the problems of freed slaves and of various wartime incidents, though still immature, marked the beginning of interests and activities which would culminate in his popular and perceptive depictions of the Reconstruction era.[4]

The anti-slavery and anti-Confederate beliefs which Tourgée absorbed during the war affected his future experiences in the South, but they do not appear to have motivated his move to that section. To all appearances unaware of the approaching political turbulence of

[4] Various manuscripts, Tourgée Papers.

Reconstruction, Tourgée migrated, as had his father and most Americans, in honest search of economic opportunity. He also assertedly sought a climate soothing to the continued effects of his spinal injury, and in settling at Greensboro, North Carolina, Tourgée rejected discouragements offered by northern business circles while accepting the warm welcome and enticements extended by W. W. Holden, Governor of the State.[5] Nor did this Carpetbagger arrive without substance, but brought with him two college degrees, an Ohio law license, a wife, Emma L. Kilbourne, whom he had married during the war, two sometimes troublesome in-laws, $5,000 in capital, and two business partners.

Tourgée was almost completely preoccupied with legal and agricultural business activities during his first year in the South, but an increasing interest in local affairs was only natural, and certain conflicts between this proud Yankee and his new environment easily lured him into the political maelstrom. This entrance into politics was not motivated by personal gain, since it occurred at a most unpropitious time and contributed to a business failure which left Tourgée with little more than memories of the sharp business practices of his new neighbors.[6]

Principles of politics and race had impelled Tourgée on his new course, almost precisely in the manner portrayed in his autobiographical Reconstruction novels. Tourgée was much disgruntled over the continued predominance of Confederate leaders in the South and exasperated by the prevalent denunciation and persecution of southern Unionists, and this matter was prominently kept before him because it was a postwar political issue in the State and nation.[7] Also he became personally involved in the case of a North Carolinian, a Union veteran who had returned to his home State in 1865 and was sentenced to be hanged for a minor burglary committed while he had been fleeing the Confederacy, whereas two of his accomplices, who had been captured at the time of the crime, had been released without

[5] Emma K. Tourgée to Albion W. Tourgée July 26, 1865; Albion W. Tourgée to Emma K. Tourgée, July 20, 22, 25, 27, 1865; William W. Holden to Albion W. Tourgée, June 16, 1865; Emma K. Tourgée to editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 21, 1908, Tourgée Papers.

[6] Emma K. Tourgée to Albion W. Tourgée, October 7, 1866, and business manuscripts, Tourgée Papers.

[7] For the intensity of the Unionist issue, see the 1866 issues of the *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), hereinafter cited as *Daily Sentinel;* 1866 issues of the *Tri-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh), hereinafter cited as *Tri-Weekly Standard;* D. F. Caldwell to Jonathan Worth, July 31, August 9, 1866, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission [State Department of Archives and History], 2 volumes, 1909), II, 713-715, 736-738, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence.* For Tourgée's attitude see Notebook, April, 1866, and Tourgée and Kuhn Daybook, n.d., Tourgée Papers; Tourgée speech, *Tri-Weekly Standard,* September 4, 1866.

punishment upon their enlistment in the Confederate Army.[8] To Tourgée, this was a strange conclusion to the Union's victory.

While Unionism particularly prompted Tourgée's initial involvement in North Carolina politics, two other annoyances, the status of the Negro and the state of democracy in the South, had a more significant influence. Following emancipation, the habits and beliefs of the South as well as the desire to control Negro labor and to maintain social stability encouraged the continuation of the prejudices and practices of slavery, and the resultant treatment of the Negroes violated Tourgée's conception of free labor and human equality. He was constantly irritated by a conspicuous prejudice which ranged from the milder requirements for Negro behavior through expressions of vicious racism and the denial of civil equality to callous manhandling and even murder.[9] Tourgée's compassion for the plight of the Negro was intense, and the problem of race relations contributed to his ardent Republicanism, became the dominant theme of his literary interpretations of Reconstruction, and remained a prominent concern until his death.

Tourgée's interest in the Negro reflected an equalitarianism which also contributed to his discontent with the political structure of North Carolina, one that definitely lagged behind the democratic wave of that day.[10] The disadvantages of this lag appeared proven to Tourgée by the continued political domination of a recently Confederate and slaveholding gentry. Furthermore, the denial of suffrage to the Negro conveniently united the issues of democracy and Negro equality, not only to reformers such as Tourgée but also to the conservative-minded residents of the State.[11]

During 1866 and early 1867, Tourgée was independently and unprofitably a minority radical who opposed the State's two major poli-

[8] Letters to Second Military District, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; General (E.R.S.) Canby to General U. S. Grant, November 14, 1867, and J. W. Clous to Albion W. Tourgée, April 17, 1867, Letters from Second Military District, National Archives; various letters in the Papers of Governor Jonathan Worth, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[9] The postwar position of the Negro can be seen in the local records of the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives; the vicious attitude of the southern press, for example, the *Greensboro Patriot* during 1866; the private papers of southern leaders, for example, Jonathan Worth to B. G. Worth, September 11, 1865, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, I, 417-418, and M. C. Avery to a friend, February 21, 1866, Patterson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. For Tourgée's concern, see Emma K. Tourgée to Albion W. Tourgée, October 7, 1866, Tourgée Papers.

[10] Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 59-79, hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*; Notebook, April, 1866, and Tourgée and Kuhn Daybook, n.d., Tourgée Papers.

[11] Illustrative of the issue of democracy, see the oath of the Loyal Reconstruction League, 1866, Tourgée Papers.

tical organizations, the Union and Conservative parties.[12] The former was an outgrowth of a peace movement which had operated legally within the Confederacy; it urged the complete acceptance of federal postwar demands as a means of quick and easy restoration to the Union, and it championed democratic reform. The Conservatives, on the other hand, were more representative of consistent Confederates or "latter day war men," and they opposed federal demands and internal reform and catered to the traditional upper-class leadership of the State. Tourgée accused both these parties of consisting of ex-Confederates, and he supported only Unionists "of the straitest sect," that is those who had never recognized the Confederacy. He also desired a thorough Congressional Reconstruction guaranteeing political rights and power for the straitest sect, and although initially supporting only qualified Negro suffrage, he soon supported full Negro suffrage as a means of attaining such a "loyal" State government. In pursuit of these ends, Tourgée edited two small weekly newspapers and organized an independent Loyal Reconstruction League in the State. He was supported in his endeavors primarily by native white Unionists, who were often poorer yeomen with equalitarian and reformist propensities.[13]

Not only did Tourgée's affiliation with the straitest sect affect his political attitude (as can clearly be seen in his novels), but these contacts also inspired his first substantial literary creation, the "Lagby Papers," a series of poems modeled after Lowell's *Biglow Papers,* which presented the thoughts of an elderly, illiterate southern yeoman. Greatly encumbered by dialect, the poems achieve a thoughtful and incisive but intensely partisan picture of the early postwar period. "Jehu Lagby Unioneer" denounced the Confederate gentry for their neglect of the common welfare and for having led the South into a futile and costly war: "But now we kno right well, sence all's been dun an sed, / Thet evry polytishin'd dun more gud, ef 'stead / Uv puttin 'Cotton' in the ears uv all the South, / He'd jest a staid at hoam,

[12] Joseph G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), hereinafter cited as Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* the standard account, is not entirely sympathetic toward the Union Party position. The following account is based primarily on the *Tri-Weekly Standard* and *Daily Standard* (Raleigh), hereinafter cited as *Daily Standard* (giving the viewpoint of the Union Party) and the *Daily Sentinel* (reflecting the Conservative Party position), 1865-1867.

[13] Tourgée edited and published the *Red String* (Greensboro) and *The Union Register* (Greensboro), hereinafter cited as *The Union Register.* Several issues of the latter are available in the Tourgée Papers, and *The Union Register* was frequently quoted in other newspapers, for example, *Tri-Weekly Standard,* November 10, 1866, and March 23, 1867. For "straitest sect" activities, see P. S. Benbow to editor of *The Union Register,* January 29, 1867, Tourgée Papers; *Greensboro Patriot,* September 1, 1866; February 22, 1867; manuscript speech for 1866 Southern Loyalist Convention at Philadelphia, Tourgée Papers.

an put it in his mouth." Jehu favored a radical reconstruction and reform:

> Now thar's my nighest nabor, Godsaninted Phue,
> Who thinks the world was made for his espeshil crew,
> An' that a thousan' pawpers died thet he might live,
> An' rule an' guidance to his needy fellers give.
> He's one uv them ar lucky ones thats born tu rule,
> Jes' as it seems I wuz, to be their thing an tool;
> Thet thinks pore men an' niggers haint no vested rite,
> In enyything, unles it be tu help them fite. . . .
>
> He fit fur Suth'un Rights an' hates a sneakin coward,
> He wuz'ent ever whipped, but jes' was overpowerd;
> Thet when they all surrendered, mung 'em, him an' Lee,
> They didn't yield "State Rights" nor "Soverinty."
> They jes' give up ther arms, an held to all the rest,
> Tu say an' du with, 'zactly ez they thot it best.
> Thet Cungress haint no right tu offer enny terms
> But jest must take em back with open arms;
> An' ought tu be content tu du it jest tu git
> A few brave "gemmen" wunst more inter it;
> Thet twenty-six states haint no right to shet out 'leven,
> More'n Satan hez to shet good Christians out uv Heaven.[14]

Tourgée's boldness and bluntness understandably inspired resentment. Initially, however, his publication, *The Union Register* (Greensboro), was received with some kindness by a number of Conservatives (principally because of *The Register's* attacks upon the Union Party),[15] but Tourgée's continued radicalism soon provoked a lasting hostility, one irate reader concluding that "all such men ought to be hung or shot whenever they have the impudence to open their mouths. Your sheet is generally used for Bung paper at this office and nothing else. . . . Go back home you dam Yankee & stay there."[16] The frequency of attacks such as this merely convinced Tourgée of the lack of freedom and necessity for reform in the South.

The opportunity for Tourgée's more prominent political career was provided by the Reconstruction Acts of 1867, which enabled the Union Party to unite with radicals like Tourgée, who were partially placated by these Acts, and with Negroes, who were admitted to political participation, to form the North Carolina Republican Party. The Union Party was thus continuing its policy of supporting whatever demands were made by the federal government for restoration,

[14] Proof copies of three poems, January 1, 10, 1867, and n.d., Tourgée Papers.
[15] *Greensboro Patriot*, January 11, 1867; *Daily Sentinel*, January 5, 23, 1867.
[16] Unsigned letter to *The Union Register*, n.d., Tourgée Papers.

and, in fact, that Party had predicted Negro suffrage as the inevitable result of the State's rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment the previous fall.[17] As the new Republican Party took up the banner of Radical Reconstruction, Tourgée's idealism increasingly became a central part of political rivalry within the State. Conservatives, who were irritated by military defeat, economic losses, the unfamiliar conditions of emancipation, and the failure of their half-hearted attempt to secure Negro support, were inclined to exaggerate the dangers of democracy and the intentions of the Republicans. They soon bitterly opposed the democratic reform and the Negro civil and political equality which southern Republicans championed. The intense political rivalry which followed reflected basic interests and convictions on each side, and it was largely because of their political, economic, and racial beliefs that the Conservatives centered their political program upon racist demands.[18]

As has been suggested, Tourgée was already identified with the stereotype of the odious Carpetbagger, but it would be inaccurate to conclude that his viewpoints were excessively foreign to the South. Most of the specific reforms that he supported had long been sought in ante-bellum North Carolina; and following the Civil War, political rivalry in the State had revolved about the question of democratic reform.[19] It is true that Negro civil and political equality was a new and decisive factor (although Negroes had once voted in the State), but this had been established by federal authority and was accepted by Negroes and tens of thousands of white North Carolinians. Nor can Tourgée be viewed as an agent of the North during his adventures in the South, although he would have welcomed such a role. He opposed the Reconstruction Acts precisely because they lacked effective federal implementation and were dependent upon southern Republican strength, and in 1867 he predicted that the mass of poor, uneducated, and inexperienced Negro and white Republicans would not long succeed against the wealth, ability, and power which opposed them.[20]

[17] *Tri-Weekly Standard*, September 29, 1866.

[18] Complete treatment of this political rivalry is beyond the scope of this paper, but for the Conservative attitude see Jonathan Worth to W. Clark, February 18, 1868, and Jonathan Worth to A. M. Tomlinson and Sons, April 11, 1868, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 1,155-1,156, 1,185; and *Daily Sentinel*, July 18, 30, 1867, and February 4, 5, 10, 11, 18, 1868.

[19] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 33-36, 59-64, 73-79; proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1866, *Tri-Weekly Standard*, June-July, 1866; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 172-176.

[20] "Letter from Wenckar" (a variant of Tourgée's middle name, Winegar), *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), October 10, 1867, hereinafter cited as *National Anti-Slavery Standard*.

But where else could Tourgée turn? He took up the banner of Reconstruction with the expectation of ultimate defeat and thus consciously became the Fool.

Tourgée's gloomy expectations failed to mar his activities and accomplishments. As a Republican he was at his best as a combatant and propagandist. An energetic thinker and debater, Tourgée exerted a momentous influence at the height of Republican success, proving that his radicalism could be eminently successful. Under less favorable conditions he was able to maneuver tactfully to save or gain limited ends, and like almost all Republicans, he compromised on the explosive issue of Negro equality. Reflecting some combination of pragmatism and prejudice, Republicans had never pushed complete equality and had accepted a questionable but expedient combination of equal rights and segregation.[21] This concession failed to lessen Conservative reliance upon the race issue.

Tourgée was frequently too sincere and too candid to fit well into a political machine, but his public record was a successful one. During 1867 he agitated for extensive State political reform, and he was elected to the Constitutional Convention of 1868 on a program advocating political equality, more elected officials, penal reform, free schools, a small or no poll tax, the abolition of local war debts, ad valorem taxation, and conditional amnesty. This program represented the radical wing of North Carolina Republicanism, which, contrary to Conservative accusations, was hardly making extremist demands.[22] Much of Tourgée's analysis of Reconstruction was formulated in a series of articles for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* during the campaign of 1867, and these thoughts, together with an anti-poll tax song written for the campaign, were later incorporated into his Reconstruction volumes.[23]

In the important Constitutional Convention of 1868, probably no other delegate exerted more influence in open debate than Tourgée, who persistently pressed a reformism which was supported more strongly by western white yeomen than by Negroes or Carpetbaggers and which contributed to many humanitarian reforms, including the

[21] Republicans refused to write segregation provisions into the Constitution, but they did not attack segregation and, in fact, openly endorsed it in a convention resolution. Tourgée offered to endorse constitutionally-ordained school segregation if equal facilities were guaranteed, a proposal Conservatives rejected. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of North Carolina at its Session, 1868*, 473, 483-488, 342-343, hereinafter cited as *Convention Journal, 1868; Daily Standard*, March 7, 1868.

[22] Election circular of A. W. Tourgée, October 21, 1867, Tourgée Papers; *Greensboro Patriot*, September-November, 1867.

[23] *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 10, November 9, December 14, 1867, and January 4, 1868.

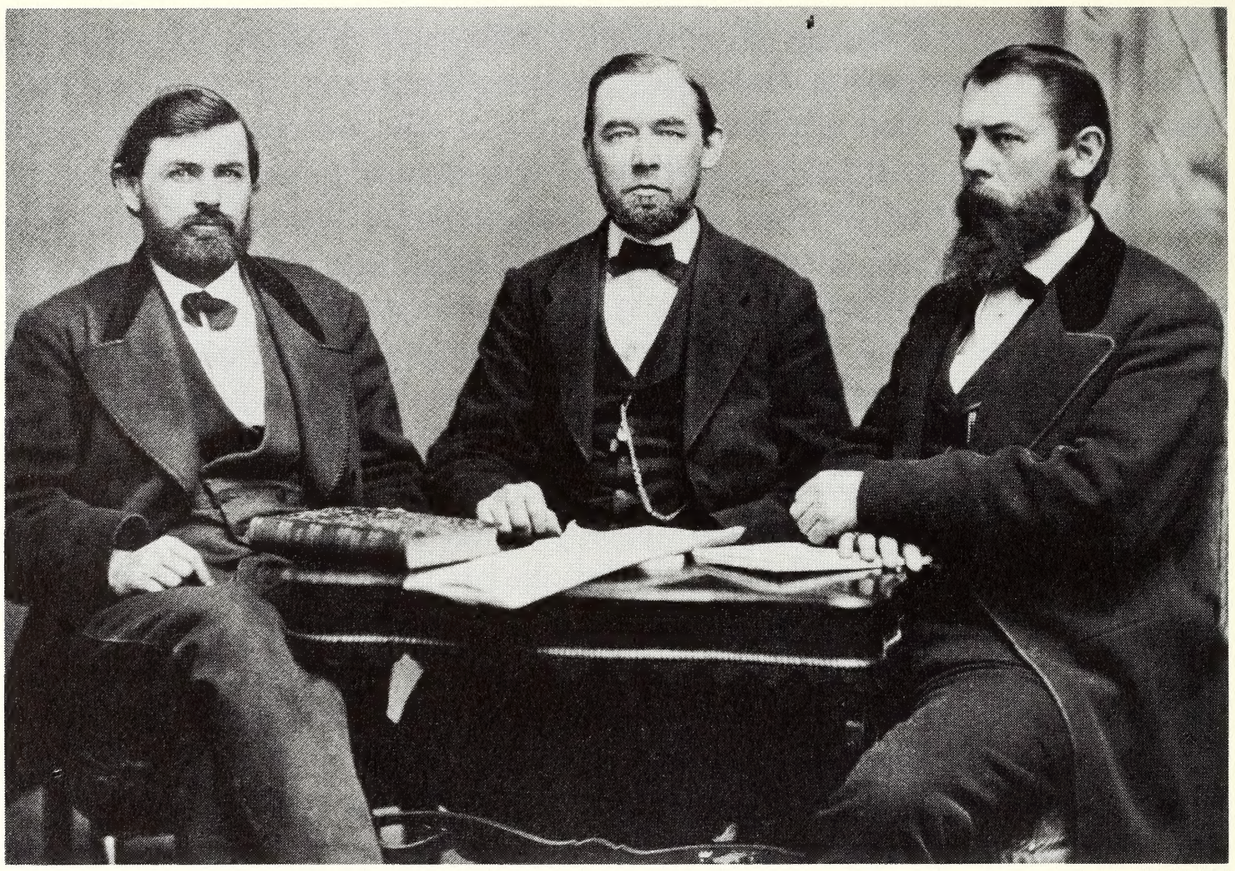
fulfillment of all but one of Tourgée's campaign pledges. He was instrumental in preparing the new democratic system of local government, in framing and winning acceptance of the judiciary reform, and in establishing a retroactive homestead law favorable to the yeomanry, but his unique contribution consisted of securing the abolition of the State's antiquated dual system of legal procedure. This change was accomplished despite opposition from the majority of the prominent Republicans and the majority of the Carpetbaggers, both of whom were reluctant to undertake innovations that had not been long demanded in the State. Ultimately, however, this legal reform and most of the reforms that Tourgée helped secure were to prove successful, popular, and lasting. The new system of local government provoked strongest opposition and was abolished by the Redeemers of 1875, but only to be, in effect, restored by the agrarian reform movement of the 1890's; and although Tourgée's retroactive homestead law was eventually negated by the United States Supreme Court, it had provided nine years of welcome relief from postwar debt.[24]

Tourgée's prominence in promoting reform and denouncing the past continued to inspire resentment, as did a certain ruthlessness he displayed in his anxiety to guarantee the success of Reconstruction. Fearful of Conservative opposition, he advised congressional chicanery to secure acceptance of the Reconstruction constitutions throughout the South; he championed repudiation of the old State debt to relieve the new Republican State of a heavy burden; and he urged the political proscription of ex-Confederates who refused to accept the civil and political equality of the Negro.[25] Through these measures he sought victory, not vengeance, but his more idealistic and orthodox allies rejected such unrestrained guarantees.

During the Constitutional Convention Tourgée was appointed one of three code commissioners to revise the law and legal procedure of North Carolina, and in the spring elections of 1868 he was elected a State Superior Court judge. Trained in the code system of the North, Tourgée was unusually well acquainted with the new codified system; and he was certainly one of the most qualified attorneys among the

[24] The account is based primarily upon the *Convention Journal, 1868*, the *Daily Sentinel* and the *Daily Standard* convention accounts (January 14-March 17, 1868), and items in the Tourgée Papers. See also Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 253-288, and Kenneth Edson St. Clair, "Debtor Relief in North Carolina During Reconstruction," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (July, 1941), 223, 227, 230.

[25] *Daily Sentinel*, January 31, February 15, 17, 22, 1868; *Daily Standard*, February 1, 25, 1868; manuscript speech for the 1868 convention, Tourgée Papers; Albion W. Tourgée to B. F. Wade, February 13, 1868, James A. Padgett (ed.), "Reconstruction Letters from North Carolina: Other Letters," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1944), 247.



The three North Carolina code commissioners, 1868. Left to right, William B. Rodman, Victor C. Barringer, Albion W. Tourgée. Photograph from Tourgée Papers, Chautauqua County Historical Museum, Westfield, New York.

limited supply of educated Republicans. As code commissioner he assisted two competent North Carolinians, Victor C. Barringer and William B. Rodman, in the preparation of an excellent code of civil procedure; and Tourgée led the successful struggle to win acceptance and approval of the Republicans' legal reform from an initially hostile bar and judiciary. Tourgée also wrote a large part of the legislation passed by the Republicans between 1868 and 1870, but he failed in his efforts to secure a complete codification of the State's law.[26] Codification thus ended at the procedural level, and it had proceeded that far primarily because of the explicit constitutional provision that Tourgée had secured.

Despite his youth and lack of experience in the North Carolina courts, Tourgée proved a capable judge. His first court addresses in

[26] Victor C. Barringer, William B. Rodman, Albion W. Tourgée (commissioners), *The Code of Civil Procedure of North Carolina to Special Proceedings, 1868-1871* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1868); *Documents of Code Commission, 1868-1871* (a bound volume in University of North Carolina Library). For appraisals of code reform, see Walter Clark, *The Code of Civil Procedure of North Carolina with Notes and Decisions to July, 1900* (Goldsboro: State of North Carolina, third edition, 1900), Preface; Robert Watson Winston, *A Century of Law in North Carolina* (n.p., n.d.); James Willard Hurst, *The Growth of American Law: The Law Makers* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950), 71.

the fall of 1868 revealed a conciliatory spirit and humility, which his political opponents ignored, and his judicial decisions do not suggest incompetence, irresponsibility, or marked prejudice. Concerning the controversial subject of Negro criminal activity, Tourgée recognized a special problem among freed slaves and inflicted harsh punishment to stamp out this and other postwar crime. His behavior did at times reflect his political prejudices, but hardly in an evil manner, as may be seen in his insistence upon equal justice for Negroes, his establishment of stoves in the local jails to prevent suffering during the winter, his maintenance of racially mixed juries (which he accomplished without provoking any significant outcry), and his decision (overruled by the higher court) which sought to enhance the degraded status of tenants and sharecroppers.[27]

This Carpetbagger's many local activities also revealed a sincere and helpful interest in his new home. Tourgée promoted public education in Guilford County, and he helped the Methodist Episcopal Church found the very successful Bennett College for Negroes and the short-lived High Point Seminary.[28] A variety of lesser accomplishments included the establishment of a city fire fighting unit, election as Grand Master of a reputable Masonic Lodge, and the publication of local historical items in the Greensboro press.[29] Rather than exploiting, this Carpetbagger assisted the State—through his initial business investment, his articles encouraging industrial development, and his launching of one of the State's first wood-turning industries (which provided labor for scores of men). By such activities as encouraging systematic Negro education and advancement and successfully representing the first woman to seek admission to the North Carolina bar, Tourgée also managed continuously to implement his idealism.[30]

Although primarily occupied with legal and judicial duties during his judgeship, Tourgée remained an active Republican, and on oc-

[27] For Tourgée's judicial career see *North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, 1869-1876;* William A. Devin, "Footprints of a Carpetbagger," *The Torch,* XVII (April, 1944), 16-19, 21, hereinafter cited as Devin, "Footprints of a Carpetbagger"; R. C. Lawrence, "Judge Albion W. Tourgée," *The State,* XII (January 20, 1945), 6-7, 16-18; *Senate Report No. 1,* Forty-Second Congress, First Session, Part II, 39-48; *Haskins v. Royster,* 70 N. C. 601 (1874); manuscript court addresses and Albion W. Tourgée to Lucy J. Rider, March 2, 1869, Tourgée Papers.

[28] *Greensboro Patriot,* June 17, July 8, 1869; *Daily Standard,* July 27, 1868; *Minutes of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . 1871* (Philadelphia, 1872), 7, hereinafter cited as *Methodist Church Minutes* with appropriate year; *Methodist Church Minutes, 1878* (Greensboro, 1878), 11.

[29] *Greensboro Patriot,* January 18, 1872, September 10, 1873; *New North State* (Greensboro), September 3, 1873, hereinafter cited as *New North State;* Early Winfred Bridges, *Greensboro Lodge No. 76, A. F. and A. M.* (Staunton, Virginia: Privately printed, 1951), 81-82, 261.

[30] *New North State,* January 10, 24, March 7, 1878; clipping from *Current Thought,* February, 1878, Tourgée Papers.

casion he attracted prominence by his involvement in minor political disputes and his vociferous denunciations of the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that was particularly active in his judicial district. In 1874, his term as judge having expired, Tourgée vainly sought a congressional nomination, and his opportunity to renew his judgeship was sacrificed when the Republican Party decided to support a moderate Conservative in what proved to be a futile attempt to defeat an extremist opposition candidate. The handicap of being a Carpetbagger had been telling in the defeat of Tourgée's aspirations. But the following year he achieved another and final popular political triumph by being elected to the Constitutional Convention of 1875 from Guilford County.[31] In that convention, Republicans failed in their strenuous attempt to nullify a slight and fraudulently obtained Conservative majority, but Tourgée led his Party's partially successful efforts to minimize the amount of constitutional revision. The Redeemers succeeded, however, in establishing a degree of political centralization which contributed enormously to the subsequent disintegration of the Republican Party in the State.

The ability, accomplishment, and courage of Albion W. Tourgée amid the tempers and trials of Reconstruction eventually won much admiration and friendship. Political foes frequently noted his abilities and on occasion defended him against the more atrocious slanders, and some Conservative attorneys considered Tourgée the best judge under whom they had ever practiced.[32] Often social relations were friendly and close, especially after Republican power declined and, consequently, political tension faded.[33] Tourgée encouraged further friendship by his own understanding of and compassion for the South. During the 1870's his Memorial Day addresses, which lauded the heroism of Unionist and Confederate but appealed for an end to the rancor born of war, prompted praise; his "excellent advice" to Negroes was applauded; and during Tourgée's last years in the State his anony-

[31] For this convention see, *Journal of the Constitutional Convention . . . 1875* (Raleigh, 1875); Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 631-643; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860*, Volume III of *History of North Carolina*, by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 185-187; William Durham Harris, "The Movement for Constitutional Change in North Carolina, 1868-1876" (unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1932), hereinafter cited as Harris, "Movement for Constitutional Change"; *Report . . . on the Robeson County Contested Election Case* (Raleigh, 1875), *passim*; and the *Daily Sentinel*, the *Daily Constitution* (Raleigh), and the *New North State*, September-October, 1875.

[32] *Daily Standard*, December 29, 1868; John W. Norwood to Albion W. Tourgée, May 5, 1869, Tourgée Papers; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 415*n*.

[33] Albion W. Tourgée to Emma K. Tourgée, January 4, 6, 12, 1873, Tourgée Papers; *Greensboro Patriot*, April 22, 1869, February 2, 1871; clipping from *Goldsboro Messenger*, n.d., Tourgée Papers.



Albion W. Tourgée. Photograph from Tourgée Papers, Chautauqua County Historical Museum, Westfield, New York.

mous "C" letters, a series of clever tracts promoting division within the Democratic Party, received wide acclaim.[34] Illustrative of Tourgée's accomplishments, when he left North Carolina he was flooded with complimentary letters of regret from those of all political shades, and upon his death in 1905 he was intriguingly praised by one of the State's leading newspapers. More recently the lasting admiration for this Carpetbagger was expressed by a retired Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, William A. Devin.[35]

This brief survey of the accomplishment and praise which accompanied Tourgée's career in North Carolina might suggest that he was never classed in the notorious Carpetbagger category, but such was not the case. Frequently it was Tourgée's very ability and success that made him a special target for abuse. "Tourgée the infamous—Tourgée the sepulchral—Tourgée the Cain-marked" was maligned at every step of his southern career with an intensity beyond description. In his role as editor, politician, code commissioner, judge, husband, and citizen, he was denounced as vindictive, dishonest, incompetent,

[34] *Greensboro Patriot*, January 4, 1872, May 14, 21, 1873; *The Morning Star* (Wilmington), quoted in the *North State* (Greensboro), July 25, 1878.

[35] Various letters to Albion W. Tourgée, 1879, Tourgée Papers; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), May 28, 1905, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer;* Devin, "Footprints of a Carpetbagger," *passim.*

ignorant, unfaithful, evil, corrupt, and partisan until he became one of the most detested men in the State. Tourgée's initial political activities had inspired the hatred of the moderate Governor Jonathan Worth, who freely described him as "this vile wretch Tourgée," "the meanest Yankee who has ever settled among us," and "a wretch . . . who stinks in the nostrils of all men of honor." To the press, in 1868 Tourgée was "a shallow-brained revengeful yankee judge," and in 1869 "a partisan judge upon the bench—administering laws made by partisans for partisan purposes." In 1870 he was publicly described as "venal and vicious as a man; undignified, partial, and unlearned as a judge; [one] who would, without hesitancy, prostitute the powers of his official station to the purposes of party or of personal revenue"; and that same year he was assailed by a State legislator "as the cause and origin of all the [Ku Klux] trouble in the county of Orange."[36] So it continued year after year, increasing or dwindling in accordance to existing political needs, until 1879, when he left the State amid descriptions as "a miscegenationist" and "about as unprincipled and obnoxious a carpet-bagger as ever cursed this or any other state. . . ."[37] These denunciations had been accompanied by threats, planned assaults by the Klan, fisticuffs, and ostracism and insult for his entire family.[38]

Not only Tourgée's Republicanism, but also his youth, his status as a Yankee conqueror, and his hostility toward the Confederacy inspired resentment, and in certain respects he contributed unnecessarily to his difficulties. Similar to many of his aristocratic opponents, Tourgée was proud and assertive and considered the frank expression of his beliefs a matter of personal and national honor. At times he was loud and blunt, even aggressive and self-righteous, in his speech and behavior; and his tendency to exaggerate in his enthusiasm gave some basis for certain complaints against him. He did not display an abundance of tact, patience, or self-restraint, but principles and courage were involved in his activities as well as foolishness and pride; and it was never easy to draw a line between propriety, recklessness, and surrender during an era as explosive as Reconstruction. In final

[36] Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 776, 1,120, 1,123; *The Times* (Greensboro), April 9, 1868; *Greensboro Patriot*, August 26, September 2, 9, 1869; *North Carolinian* (Tarboro), February 1, 1870, clipping, Tourgée Papers; *Daily Standard*, February 1, 1870.

[37] C. H. Belvin to Secretary of Interior, March 23, 1877, and W. M. Robbins, to Secretary of Interior, April 9, 1877, Appointments Division, Department of Interior Records, National Archives.

[38] Angie Kilbourne to Emma K. Tourgée, May 17, 1867; Albion W. Tourgée to Emma K. Tourgée, March 20, 1870; Albion W. Tourgée to Angie Kilbourne, September 5, 1870; confessions of Willis C. Truit and William M. Troy, March, 1870, all in Tourgée Papers; Ethel Stephens Arnett, *Greensboro, North Carolina, the County Seat of Guilford* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 400.

irony, it may well be that Tourgée's unflinching boldness enhanced his reputation among some of his gallant foes.[39]

Although slanderous accusations against Tourgée were widespread and enduring, investigation invariably reveals them to have been distorted or false. Many of these criticisms had absolutely no basis in fact, and many others merely magnified minor faults or errors, such as Judge Tourgée's lateness to some of his first courts, which was scathingly denounced and quickly remedied.[40] The criticism of most substance appeared some time after the period of greatest malignment and involved $3,500 which Tourgée had received from two notorious railroad manipulators (Milton S. Littlefield, a Republican Carpetbagger, and George W. Swepson, a native Conservative-Democrat). Although never repaid, assertedly because of Tourgée's financial collapse in the crash of 1873, this was a straight-forward loan for the purchase of a house and was secured by interest-bearing notes.[41] No collateral was pledged, but Tourgée's credit was undoubtedly good, with his handsome salary of $5,000 per year as judge and code commissioner, and railroad manipulators were anxious to secure the good graces of highly placed men. There is no trace of Tourgée's influence having been secured for any purpose by this or any other means. To the contrary, he helped restrict State aid to railroad projects.[42]

Hatred for the Carpetbagger Tourgée had been created primarily by the effective but dishonest tactics of the Conservative press. The stereotype of the Carpetbagger Tourgée and of Reconstruction in his area was not a true image but a political weapon inspired by differences over matters of politics and race. This hostile view has also en-

[39] For example see the obituary notice in *The News and Observer*, May 28, 1905: "His was a striking personality, and none the less so because of the fact that he was for many years the most thoroughly hated man in North Carolina. The consensus of testimony from these sources shows that he was not a mean man. He was open, bold, determined, fearless, and self-reliant. He neither asked nor gave quarter. He never betrayed his party nor sold a friend. He was neither a toady nor a humbug. He had convictions, and with them the courage and the resources with which to proclaim and maintain them. He was clean handed and clean of life."

[40] Many such cases have been studied; compare the false accusations of the *Greensboro Patriot*, September 2, 1869, with the copied pages from the Superior Court Record Book, and Tourgée to *The Union Register*, September 6, 1869, both in Tourgée Papers.

[41] Albion W. Tourgée to George W. Swepson, September 17, 20, 27, 1868, February 20, April 7, May 30, 1869, and four notes dated May 22, 1869, George W. Swepson Papers, State Department of Archives and History; Albion W. Tourgée to Emma K. Tourgée, May 10, 1869, Tourgée Papers; Tourgée's letter in the *Sun* (New York), December 9, 1880. Compare Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 430-431, and William L. Royall, *A Reply to "A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools"* (New York: E. J. Hale and Son, Second edition, 1881), 87-95.

[42] Albion W. Tourgée to Governor William W. Holden, May 11, 1869, copy in Tourgée Papers.

dured, and one eminent North Carolinian recently recalled Tourgée as the worst Carpetbagger that the State had ever seen.[43]

The persistence of this evil, and soon traditional, image of Reconstruction eventually convinced Tourgée that he could never be anything but an alien in the Redemption South. After fourteen years in North Carolina, which he had come to love in many, many ways, he returned North in 1879.[44] Perhaps it was a fortunate choice. His personal success was undoubtedly threatened by his political past, and Republicanism was dying as a vehicle for reform. But although Tourgée would spend the remainder of his life outside the South, he would never escape the impact of that region. Not only had he been indelibly impressed by his southern experiences, but the phenomenal success of his autobiographical novel, *A Fool's Errand by One of the Fools,* launched him upon a literary career which nurtured and exploited his Reconstruction memories.

As suggested earlier, Tourgée had retained his literary interests during Reconstruction and had produced an intermittent flow of speeches, articles, and poems analyzing social and political conditions. He also kept records of his political, legal, business, and personal experiences as a source for future literary efforts; and in 1874 he published, under a pseudonym, a first novel, *Toinette: A Tale of the South.*[45] While expressing his revisionist views on slavery and on the southern aristocracy and yeomanry, the major theme of this novel was one which would thereafter dominate Tourgée's writings—the illogic and injustice of race prejudice. Similar to most of Tourgée's fiction, this tale was derived directly from his personal experiences, in this instance from a freed slave woman and her daughter who were employed and befriended by the Tourgée family. The heroine, Toinette, despite her remarkable beauty, training, and ability, is cruelly ostracized and victimized because of a slight touch of Negro ancestry. Through *Toinette,* Tourgée sought to suggest that the critics of slavery had hitherto exaggerated the physical cruelties of that system while neglecting the more pervasive and equally atrocious racism which slavery had fostered. The implications of Toinette's experiences were carried to their logical but ludicrous end in a later novel, *Hot Plow-*

[43] Judge Robert W. Winston, quoted in Harris, "Movement for Constitutional Change," 100-108.

[44] Interview with Tourgée, quoted in the *New York Herald,* September 3, 1879.

[45] Henry Churton, *Toinette: A Tale of the South* (New York: J. B. Ford and Company, 1874), revised and republished under Tourgée's name as *A Royal Gentleman* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1879), hereinafter cited as Tourgée, *A Royal Gentleman.*

shares, wherein another young woman suffers similarly because of a completely erroneous assumption of Negro ancestry.[46]

The success of *Toinette* was negligible, but the next novel, *A Fool's Errand,* published shortly after his departure from North Carolina, was a literary triumph, due in no small part to the fact that it drew thoroughly from Tourgée's experiences and dealt with the fascinating Reconstruction epoch in its entirety. The success of this novel enabled and encouraged Tourgée to devote the remainder of his life to a long-desired literary and journalistic career.

Tourgée's most significant and successful writing dealt with Reconstruction and the Negro, and he was the only Carpetbagger and important participant in southern Reconstruction politics who wrote pertinent literature dealing with these topics.[47] His fiction is not only a valuable testimonial of the views of such a participant but noticeably benefits from his firsthand knowledge and experience, while also suffering from the political prejudices acquired or strengthened through that experience. In Tourgée's typical blend of tendentious analysis and romanticized, too often contrived, plot, his two Reconstruction novels and probably most important works, *A Fool's Errand* and *Bricks Without Straw* interpret Reconstruction from an openly equalitarian point of view. Despite this partisanship, however, Tourgée's novels are characterized by realism and understanding and keenly portray various significant Reconstruction types—the illiterate but able Negro leader, the white yeoman Unionist and Republican seeking benefits for himself, the gentleman southern Republican guided by his intellect and an enlightened attitude toward the Negro, the able and respectable Conservative motivated so decisively by racist beliefs, the typically race-conscious southern white, and the idealistic but northern-oriented

[46] Tourgée, *Hot Plowshares* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1883).

[47] Tourgée's major Reconstruction novels are *A Fool's Errand; Bricks Without Straw: A Novel* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1880), hereinafter cited as Tourgée, *Bricks Without Straw;* and *Eighty Nine; or The Grand Master's Story* (New York: Cassell, 1888), published under the pseudonym Edgar Henry. A less critical view of the South is found in his *John Eax and Mamelon; or, the South Without the Shadow* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1882), which endorses certain romantic traditions associated with the gentry; and "Zouri's Christmas," a short story included in some editions of his *A Royal Gentleman,* which analyzes the kindly relations between an ex-slaveowner and his Negro tenants. Tourgée's *Hot Plowshares* is an insignificant portrayal of the prewar sectional dispute; his *Pactolus Prime* (New York: Cassell, 1890), an unusual treatment of the race problem, is a mediocre novel; and his *The Veteran and His Pipe* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke and Company, 1886), consists of the fictional reminiscences of a Union veteran. Tourgée's major nonfictional works include *An Appeal to Caesar* (New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1884), hereinafter cited as Tourgée, *An Appeal to Caesar,* an interpretation of sectionalism, Reconstruction, and race relations; and "The Invisible Empire," a study of the Ku Klux Klan included in some editions of Tourgée, *A Fool's Errand.* In addition, Tourgée wrote many articles and columns in magazines and newspapers. For a more complete bibliography, see Dibble, *Tourgée,* 149-153.

Carpetbagger. Sketching rather than developing these primarily political types, Tourgée depicted Reconstruction in the South as essentially a struggle of Republican political equality and reform versus Conservative reaction, racism, demagogy, and force. Indicative of Tourgée's historical realism, almost every character and incident in *A Fool's Errand* can be directly identified with an individual or event encountered in North Carolina.

Tourgée also attained an unusually balanced view of the national crisis of Civil War and Reconstruction. With a somewhat deterministic emphasis, he ventured that these two tragedies largely originated in mutually unrecognized differences between two essentially disparate civilizations—a North guided by the political and economic ideas of the modern world, especially freedom and democracy, and a South welded to an anachronistic slavery which had fostered racism and caste. According to Tourgée, the victorious, optimistic, and spreading civilization of the North undertook the task of Reconstruction with an inadequate understanding of a South embittered and hurt by defeat, destruction, emancipation, and poverty and still tied to an ante-bellum culture, which the simple act of emancipation could not destroy. Policies considered lenient and just by the North were insult and degradation and appeared to be vengeance to the vanquished South.[48]

This broad concept was supplemented by much detailed and perceptive analysis and portrayal, especially of the southern scene; and Tourgée pioneered in the destruction of various myths about the South, as in his portrayals of the sturdy southern yeomanry (including likeable slave overseers) or of the fluidity of ante-bellum slave society. While persistently abhorring his opponents' racial and political beliefs, Tourgée also depicted the origins, strengths, and sincerity of these beliefs with understanding and compassion. He recognized Conservative honesty and ability and paternal interest in Negro welfare, although he also considered this paternalism unacceptably limited by its insistence upon the permanent inferiority of the Negro; and accompanying Tourgée's contempt for the cruel and cowardly atrocities of the Ku Klux Klan was an admiration for the Klan's courageous and successful defiance of a recent conqueror.[49] Nor did Tourgée hesitate to criticize his own allies, and he especially emphasized the North's mutual responsibility for the existence of slavery and sole responsibility for the Reconstruction tragedy. The sincerity of his efforts even evoked

[48] See Tourgée's *Bricks Without Straw*, 35, 109-110, 147, *A Fool's Errand*, 125-134, and *An Appeal to Caesar*, 24-28.

[49] Tourgée's *An Appeal to Caesar*, 96-98, *Bricks Without Straw*, 177-189, and *A Fool's Errand*, 286-291.

praise from one of North Carolina's most determined opponents of Reconstruction, Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, who concluded that *A Fool's Errand* was

> the only book on South & North that presents a true picture. He has done it very well—& tells the truth as nearly as a c-bagger & a Tourgée could possibly be expected to do. I think he has *tried* to be fair.[50]

There are, however, many serious limitations to Tourgée's writings. For example, his heavy reliance upon his own experience limits the validity of the picture he presents. His judicial district was not typical of North Carolina, and its resemblance to the South as a whole is unclear. A more serious criticism is that despite the significance of the characters and problems which he did emphasize, Tourgée neglected pertinent topics and types and created political stereotypes rather than human beings. The complex totality of character and events is lacking in his work. There is no adequate consideration of the behavior of Conservative planters in terms of issues other than race; and throughout his novels there is only a glimpse of the insincere Republican, or the moderate Conservative, or of such problems as the railroad fiasco. In exaggerating slavery as the origin of southern peculiarities, Tourgée also tended to minimize the extent of racism in the North and the progress of democracy in the ante-bellum South. These factors were all touched upon, but Tourgée concentrated unduly upon material which verified his interpretation and neglected material which qualified that interpretation. In presenting too pat an argument, he may have done more to undermine himself than did any general inadequacy of his basic thesis. Despite these limitations, Tourgée's novels on the South are a substantial accomplishment in realism and remain one of the most perceptive and interesting accounts of Reconstruction available. Only since the 1940's have they begun to receive proper appreciation, and revisionism has inclined to verify much of Tourgée's analysis.[51]

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[50] Cornelia Phillips Spencer to Charles Phillips, March 3, 1880, Cornelia Phillips Spencer Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[51] Especially significant is Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1962), 529-548. See also, Russel B. Nye, "Judge Tourgée and Reconstruction," *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, L (April, 1941), 101-114; George J. Becker, "Albion W. Tourgée: Pioneer in Social Criticism," *American Literature*, XIX (March, 1947), 59-72; Ted N. Weissbuch, "Albion W. Tourgée: Propagandist and Critic of Reconstruction," *The Ohio Historical Quarterly*, LXX (January, 1961), 27-44; Monte M. Olenick, "Albion W. Tourgée: Radical Republican Spokesman of the Civil War," *Phylon: The Atlantic Review of Race and Culture*, XXIII (Winter, 1962), 332-345; Theodore L. Gross, "Albion W. Tourgée: Reporter of the Reconstruction, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1959), *passim*; Martin E. Hillger, "Albion W. Tourgée: Critic of Society" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1959), *passim*.

The clash between Tourgée and the traditional South had been sharp and, though clouded by hate and imperfection, was often mutually beneficial. The personal faults of this Carpetbagger, no matter how many, were undoubtedly secondary considerations, and the basic dispute had been one of principles and ideas. Tourgée made a number of positive contributions to the South and had been repaid with material for a successful literary career and the awakening of a lasting critical concern with society. Following his departure from the South, Tourgée extended his critical reformism into anti-Negro prejudice in the North and a growing comprehension of the problems of industrial society, the latter best illustrated by his novel, *Murvale Eastman: Christian Socialist*. But a commitment to Negro equality occupied the center of the writer's attention until his death in 1905, and was expressed in his writing and lecturing, his authorship of an Ohio anti-lynch law, his involvement in organized Negro activity, and his participation as an attorney in the famous *Plessy v. Ferguson* case.[52] The decision in this case, endorsing the myth of "separate but equal," typified the constant frustration Tourgée encountered in his fight for Negro equality during the years that the position of the Negro in the United States descended to a new low. But in the face of despair and defeat, Tourgée made a mark that would not be easily erased. He undoubtedly contributed to Justice John Marshall Harlan's significant dissent from the doctrine of "separate but equal." In addition, Tourgée's work was influencing younger generations who would continue the struggle after his death, and it was fitting that the hand of the Fool was directly felt in the Brown decisions of 1954 and 1955.[53]

[52] The Tourgée Papers are replete with such material.

[53] The author is indebted to C. Vann Woodward and Paul A. Freund for the letter from Justice Robert H. Jackson to Ernest Cawcroft and Walter H. Edson, April 4, 1950, discussing Tourgée's role in the Plessy case. See also W. E. B. Du Bois to O. H. Olsen, June 4, 1956, in recipient's possession. See also *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 U. S. 483 (1954) and 349 U. S. 294 (1955).

JOSEPH HEWES AND INDEPENDENCE: A SUGGESTION

By Allan J. McCurry*

In any study of the Second Continental Congress and the movement for independence, the writings of John Adams are a major source of information. Adams played a prominent role in the struggle, and his views of the other individuals involved have thrown much light on the proceedings. He was one of the leaders of the aggressive group which supported the policies that resulted in independence. The sensitive Adams regarded any divergence from his point of view as indication of the existence of an organized group within the Congress completely opposed to the idea of independence. Quite naturally, he placed the supporters of his ideas in the advance camp which led the way to freedom.

John Adams' writings have thus created the impression that there were two distinct factions within the Second Continental Congress, one consisting of the advocates of energetic action leading to independence and the second composed of those delegates who hesitated to vote for such measures. This second group is described as the "cold party" or the "followers of Mr. Dickinson's system." (John Dickinson of Philadelphia was a leading conciliationist.) Any member of Congress who opposed the program suggested by Adams was relegated to the "cold party."[1]

Another impression that may be drawn from Adams' account, although perhaps a less important one, is that the success of the final vote on independence depended on the sudden decision of Joseph Hewes of North Carolina in favor of independence. Adams wrote to William Plumer in 1813, "For many days the majority depended on Mr. Hewes of North Carolina. While a member one day, was

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[1] Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations by his Grandson Charles Francis Adams* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 10 volumes, 1850-1856), II, 407-410, 503, 506, 510; III, 17, 31-35, hereinafter cited as Adams, *Works of John Adams.*

speaking, and reading documents from all the colonies, to prove that the public opinion, the general sense of all, was in favor of the measure, when he came to North Carolina, and produced letters and public proceedings which demonstrated that the majority of that colony were in favor of it, Mr. Hewes who had hitherto constantly voted against it, started suddenly upright, and lifting up both of his hands to Heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out, 'It is done! and I will abide by it.'" [2]

In 1819 Adams repeated the statement that the vote of Joseph Hewes was decisive. To Thomas Jefferson he wrote that "the genuine sense of America at that moment was never so well expressed before, nor since. Richard Caswell, William Hooper, and Joseph Hewes, the then representatives of North Carolina in Congress, you knew as well as I, and you know that the unanimity of the States finally depended on the vote of Joseph Hewes, and was finally determined by him." [3]

It will be noted that Adams' views emphasizing the importance of Hewes' vote were written years after the events they describe. It is also clear from the tone of the letters that Adams considered Hewes to be one of the members of the "cold party." Despite the fact that Hewes' vote was not decisive,[4] the views and actions of Hewes bear investigation because the Adams division of the Congress into two factions has now been challenged.

Studies dealing with the Second Continental Congress have generally followed the Adams view of the divisions within the Congress. Recently, however, the historian Curtis Nettels, in his *George Washington and American Independence,* has offered a different interpretation. Nettels states that there may be discerned *three* divisions within the Second Continental Congress. These groups were not organized parties but were collections of individuals with a similar point of view. The Nettels designation includes groups labeled conciliationists, moderates, and militants. All were united in defense of American rights but differed with respect to the methods to be pursued and in

[2] John Adams to William Plumer, March 28, 1813, Adams, *Works of John Adams,* X, 35.

[3] John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, June 22, 1819, Adams, *Works of John Adams,* X, 381. Jefferson's reply did not treat Hewes in quite so decisive a fashion. He described Hewes as "very wavering, sometime firm, sometimes feeble, according as the day was clear or cloudy. . . . " Lester J. Cappon (ed.), *The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press [Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia], 2 volumes, 1959), II, 544.

[4] See the Jefferson account of the voting on the independence resolve in Julian P. Boyd and Others (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 16 volumes and indexes, 1950—), I, 309-315.

their expectations of the outcome of the struggle. The conciliationist element, small in number, was strongly opposed to the ideas of independence and strove to restore the imperial relationship of the period before 1763. These leaders supported the creation of the Continental Army but expected it to be used primarily as a defensive weapon. Their chief reliance was on petitions, pleas, and economic boycott in an effort to secure a guarantee of American rights. A change of course by the English ministry was their hope. Nettels cites John Dickinson, John Jay, James Duane, and Robert Livingston as conciliationists.[5]

At the opposite pole stood the militants, also small in number. In the Nettels classification, this group was closest to the idea of independence. The militants had little faith in petitions or a possible change of course by the English ministry. Consequently they believed that a protracted war was in prospect. These individuals either favored independence for its own sake or realized that independence was an essential condition if American rights were to be attained. Independence might serve to unite the colonies or to bring in foreign aid, since it was evident to many militants that England would not retreat. Offensive action with all available strength was their goal. Nettels includes John and Samuel Adams among the leaders of this group.[6]

Since the largest number of the delegates to the Congress was attached to the third, or moderate, division, the position of this group was of especial importance. On some issues these delegates sided with the conciliationists; on others they voted with the militants. They disavowed any idea of independence but they had little faith in petitions and peaceful pleas and believed that only a strong show of force would bring recognition of American rights by England. Vigorous military action, they believed, might bring a change of heart or of ministry in England, leading to a settlement favorable to the American colonies. Nettels names James Wilson, John Rutledge, and Benjamin Harrison as moderates, and he has also placed Joseph Hewes of North Carolina in this category.[7]

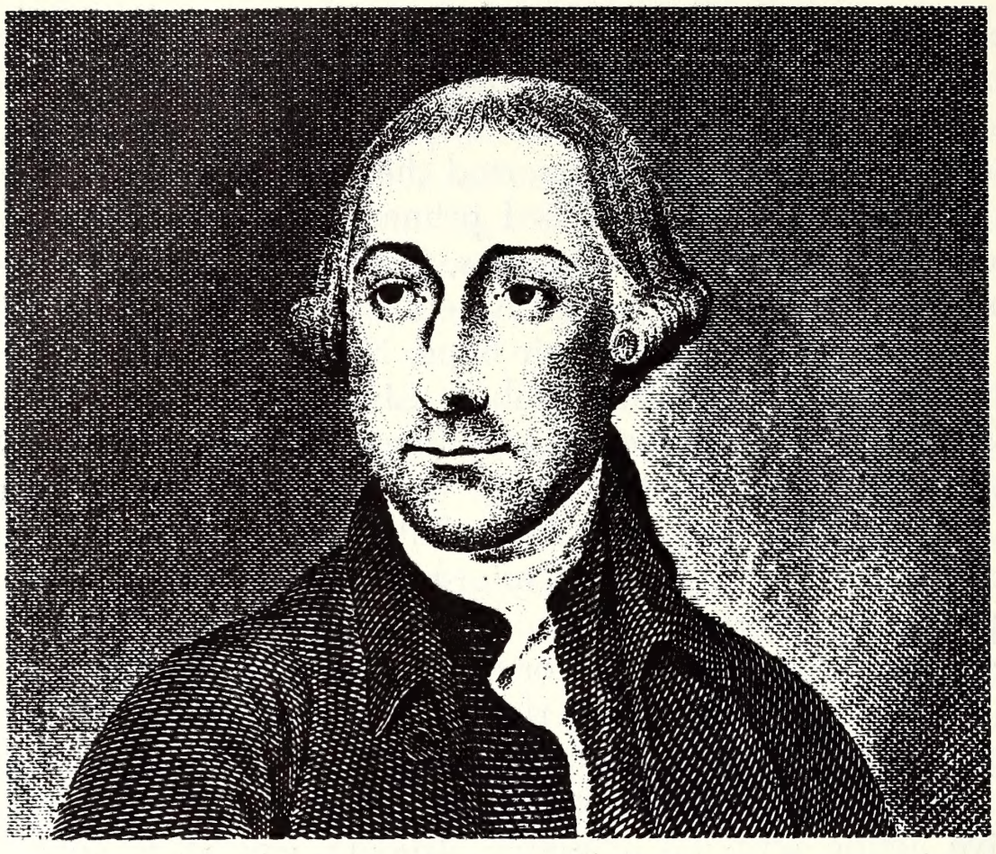
Was Joseph Hewes in the "cold party" or was he "moderate"? A closer look seems appropriate.

Joseph Hewes was born near Kingston, New Jersey, in 1730. In the 1750's he moved to Philadelphia where he was apprenticed to a merchant. After receiving a start in the world of trade, Hewes moved

[5] Curtis P. Nettels, *George Washington and American Independence* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), 100-103, hereinafter cited as Nettels, *Washington and Independence.*

[6] Nettels, *Washington and Independence,* 106-111.

[7] Nettels, *Washington and Independence,* 111-114.



Joseph Hewes. From the files of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

to Edenton, North Carolina, where he quickly became one of the leaders in the mercantile and shipping business in the later 1760's. He was a member of the firm of Hewes, Smith, and Allen. His prominence in the colony is attested to by his service in the colonial Assembly, commencing in 1766. Hewes became a member of the Committee of Correspondence in 1773 and the following year served as one of North Carolina's delegates to the First Continental Congress. As a member of that body he assisted in the drafting of the statement of colonial rights.[8]

When the Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia in May, 1775, Joseph Hewes appeared again as one of the delegates from North Carolina. The instructions from the North Carolina Provincial Congress contained no hint of independence but instructed the delegation to work for a redress of grievances from England. In general the instructions from the various colonies directed the delegates to strive for the recovery of American rights and liberties, to

[8] Accounts of Hewes' life may be found in Walter Sikes, "Joseph Hewes," *The North Carolina Booklet*, IV (September, 1905), 25-36; Eben Putnam, *Lieutenant Joshua Hewes: A New England Pioneer and Some of His Descendants* ([New York]: Privately printed, 1913); Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), VIII, 601-602.

advance the welfare of the colonies, and to agree to all measures which might accommodate the differences between the colonies and England upon a constitutional foundation.[9] With such views prevailing, the early action by the Congress contained no hint of independence. The Americans in arms outside Boston were adopted as a Continental army to defend American rights. *A Declaration of Causes of Taking Up Arms,* which denied the idea of independence, was issued.

The conciliationists relied on the idea of petitioning the King as the proper mode of obtaining a redress of grievances. Such a petition was only reluctantly accepted by the militant element. If the militants were to move to more advance measures, the petition method had to be discredited. They were convinced that it would receive scant attention in England. As Franklin wrote, "We have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them forever."[10]

During this period the letters of Joseph Hewes indicate his interest in the defense of American rights. He urged very strongly that North Carolina be placed in a state of defense and that the inhabitants acquaint themselves with military discipline. He expressed uneasiness, however, as to whether the people or the country would meet the heavy burden imposed upon them. As for himself, he felt no compunction for the role he had taken. In fact, Hewes was anxious to visit the camp of the American army outside Boston.[11] On the other hand, Hewes was vehemently opposed to independence at that early date. In a letter written late in July, 1775, and generally attributed to him, any thought of independence is denied. "We do not want to be independent; we want no revolution, unless a change of Ministry

[9] Worthington Chauncey Ford and Others (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 34 volumes, 1904-1937), II, 13-21.

[10] Benjamin Franklin to Joseph Priestly, July 7, 1775, Albert H. Smyth (ed.), *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin . . .* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 10 volumes, 1905-1907), VI, 408.

[11] Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnston, May 23, June 5, 1775, Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 8 volumes, 1921-1938), I, 97, 112-113, hereinafter cited as Burnett, *Letters of Members of Congress;* Hewes to Johnston, July 8, 1775, William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), X, 86, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

and measures would be deemed such."[12] The hope of reconciliation was uppermost in his mind.

England's response to the American petition was a blow to the cause of the conciliationists; the petition was ignored and the colonies were declared to be in a state of rebellion, a statement indicating that full power would be used to crush the revolt. This news from England in the fall of 1775 created doubts in the minds of many moderates about the possibility of a reconciliation. On November 9 Hewes wrote to Samuel Johnston that "we have but little expectation of reconciliation. I assure you from all the accounts we have yet received from England we have scarcely a dawn of hope that it will take place."[13] Despite these doubts, Hewes did not jump to the camp of the militants on the independence issue. He only faced the possibility, reluctantly and anxiously, that unless the English ministry changed its course independence might be the result of the constitutional struggle.[14] He continued to differ with the militants on the question of independence, but he also continued to give support to their aggressive program.

The militants moved gradually for the adoption of measures which savored of independence. They favored the establishment of colonial governments independent of British authority. A navy should be outfitted to carry the war aggressively on the high seas; such a step would widen the scope of the conflict and make a reconciliation more difficult. A more permanent confederation should be established. American ports should be opened to all nations, thus violating, or better, ignoring, the Acts of Trade and Navigation. The Congress should solicit foreign aid. Drastic action must be undertaken against the loyalists. Once adopted, these steps would lead the way to independence, the militants believed.

Joseph Hewes was an active supporter of much of the militant program. As a merchant he was experienced in maritime affairs. Consequently he was a strong navy man. He became an energetic member of the committee for fitting out armed vessels and later served as chairman of the Committee of Marine. In addition to his work for the navy, Hewes also served on the committee to draft new regulations designed to strengthen the army and to provide for more discipline.

[12] "Letter from a Gentleman in North Carolina and One of the Delegates of the Congress to a Principal House in Edinburgh, July 31, 1775," Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives . . . a Documentary History of . . . the North American Colonies . . .* (Washington, D. C.: Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force [Published for the United States Government], 6 volumes [Fourth Series], 1837-1853), II, 1,757.

[13] Hewes to Johnston, November 9, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 315.

[14] Hewes to Johnston, December 1, 1775, Burnett, *Letters of Members of Congress*, I, 267.

Preparation for a long struggle seemed necessary, and committee actions were taken in line with the views of Washington and the militants. From time to time Hewes reiterated his willingness to defend the American position even to the point of taking the field himself.

It was the news concerning England's response to colonial opposition that turned Hewes' thoughts toward independence. The hiring of German mercenaries by England and the interdiction of American trade by the Prohibitory Act played into the hands of the militants. Their appraisal of England's position seemed to have been more accurate and so they continued to push along the path to independence. Hewes' reaction to the news was one of discouragement. He saw no hope of a reconciliation and expected a fight to the finish. In this event he foresaw difficulties from the shortage of arms, ammunition, and money, and from lack of unanimity in Congress. He wrote on March 20 that "some among us urge strongly for Independency and eternal seperation, others wish to wait a little longer and to have the opinion of their constituents on that subject. You must give us the sentiment of your province when your convention meets."[15]

This letter indicates a change of approach on the part of Hewes. Although supporting the aggressive measures, Hewes had been unwilling to consider the question of independence. By the spring of 1776 the militants were attempting to secure positive instructions in favor of independence from the individual colonies, instructions that would open the gates for them in Congress. Hewes recognized this fact and seemed to be looking for guidance.

By the spring of 1776 the opinion was growing that England would not yield or grant concessions to the Americans. Actually the question at this time had been reduced to whether the colonies should become independent or remain tied to Great Britain. The delegates within Congress could either approve or reject the resolves leading to independence. At this point those conciliationists and those moderates who still maintained a hope of reconciliation pursued delaying tactics. To the questions of a confederation and a foreign alliance, now necessary prerequisites to independence, they answered that Congress should await the arrival of the peace commissioners provided for in the

[15] Hewes to Johnston, March 20, 1776, Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, and Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 16 volumes and 4-volume index [compiled by Stephen B. Weeks for both *Colonial Records* and *State Records*], 1895-1914), XI, 288-289, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records.*

English Prohibitory Act,[16] and that the people should be followed, not led. Their program was one of obstruction, delay, slow retreat, and a seizure of almost any thread of hope for reconciliation.

Despite this opposition, positive steps toward independence were adopted. Early in April, 1776, the ports of the colonies were opened to all nations of the world. In one stride the Congress completely overthrew the English Acts of Trade and Navigation. In was an act of independence minus the declaration. Hewes seemed reluctant to take this point of view. He informed a correspondent a few days later that the action on trade was not "looking toward independency." [17] Yet it was a positive step forward.

If Hewes was afraid to commit his home colony to the idea of independence, his responsibility was lessened by the receipt of new instructions from North Carolina. On April 12 North Carolina took the lead by empowering its delegates in Congress "to concur with the delegates of the other Colonies in declaring Independency, and forming foreign alliances. . . ." [18] While these instructions did not permit the North Carolina delegation to propose independence, they did authorize a vote in favor of such a proposal if it should be presented to Congress. Any doubts as to how his colony expected him to act in that event should have been removed from Hewes' mind. Nonetheless, the decision rested with the delegation, and Hewes still showed reluctance to move into the independence camp. As the only delegate from North Carolina in attendance at the moment, he presented these instructions to Congress of May 27. On the same day the Virginia instructions authorizing its delegation to propose independence were brought forward.

Richard Henry Lee, in accordance with the Virginia instructions of May 27, presented the resolution for independence on June 7. Hewes, still the only delegate present from North Carolina, carried the weight of that colony on his shoulders. The independence resolve was again

[16] Hewes spoke of these commissioners but expected that little would be gained from such a meeting: ". . . many people do not believe it, those [*sic*] who do have but little expectation from it, they are to treat under the confluence of a mighty Fleet & Army. What are we to expect from the mouth of a Cannon or the point of a Bayonet. . . ." Hewes to Johnston, February 11, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 447; see also, Clark, *State Records*, XI, 288-289.

[17] Hewes to Johnston, April 9, 1776, Burnett, *Letters of Members of Congress*, I, 417. Earlier Hewes had an interesting comment on the appearance of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*. He wrote, "The only pamphlet that has been published here for a long time I now send you: it is a Curiosity: we have not put up any to go by the Waggon, not knowing how you might relish independency." Hewes to Johnston, February 11, 1776, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 447. His comment is another indication of his uncertainty on independence, but it opened the door for a reply on that subject.

[18] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 512.

discussed on June 10. Finally, consideration of the resolve was postponed for three weeks. On June 28 Hewes wrote the following lines: "On Monday the great question of independency and total seperation from all political intercourse with Great Britain will come on. It will be carried, I expect, by a great majority, and then, I suppose we shall take upon us a new name."[19] On July 1 the independence resolution was carried in the affirmative by the votes of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina. Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted in opposition, Delaware was divided one to one, while New York did not vote. The following day, July 2, all concurred except New York which again did not vote.[20]

Adams was perhaps closer to the truth when discussing the reluctance of Hewes to accept independence. But a closer look at Hewes indicates that his decision may not have been so sudden a one, nor that he was so "cold." At the opening of Congress he emphatically opposed independence, but the measures pursued by the English ministry led him to doubt the possibility of a reconciliation. He was energetic in defense of American rights and played an important role on several significant committees. He did not hang back when aggressive action was proposed. The vote of North Carolina is verification of this fact. Throughout the spring of 1776 his correspondence indicates his conviction that independence was on the way. In asking for positive instructions from North Carolina on this subject, he indicated his willingness to follow the decision of his home colony. When the final vote on independence was cast, Hewes, along with John Penn, placed North Carolina on the affirmative side.

Three weeks after independence had been proclaimed, Hewes revealed his thoughts on the subject in a letter to Samuel Johnston.

> Much of our time is taken up in forming and debating a Confederation for the United States . . . a plan for Foreign Alliances is also formed and I expect will be the subject of much debate before it is agreed to. These two Capitol points ought to have been settled before our declaration of Independence went forth to the world. This was my opinion long ago and every days experience serves to confirm me in that opinion.[21]

[19] Hewes to James Iredell, June 28, 1776, Griffith J. McRee (ed.), *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell: One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York: P. Smith, 2 volumes, 1857-1858), I, 326.

[20] Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Works of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 12 volumes, 1904-1905), I, 28-32. Jefferson mentions the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina as the reluctant colonies.

[21] Hewes to Johnston, July 28, 1776, Burnett, *Letters of Members of Congress*, II, 28.

While this statement tends to support the Adams contention concerning Hewes' reluctance to vote for independence, this in itself should not throw him into the "cold party." Certainly his other actions and statements indicate that he was not as lukewarm as Adams suggests. He seemed committed to the idea of independence but felt that the time was perhaps not ripe. He had received instructions from his home colony to concur in declaring independence. The tendency of Adams to establish a sharp, distinctive division is unwarranted. An individual who backed most of the program of the militants cannot be classified as "cold" simply because he delayed in coming over to the side of independence. Nor can he be classified as a complete conciliationist when there were basic disagreements as to the course to be pursued in seeking a reconciliation with England. Consequently, the example of Joseph Hewes demonstrates that until the time when independence became the leading issue the Nettels divisions may be closer to the truth. Certainly this divergence of opinion points to the need of a more intensive study of the individuals involved.

NORTH CAROLINA AND FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION: PUBLIC REACTION TO THE BLAIR BILL, 1881-1890

By Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.*

The challenge of Soviet Russia has again focused attention upon the question of federal aid to education in the United States. Many Americans today believe that "education is a more powerful weapon of greater importance to our national defense than military hardware" and that only federal assistance to public schools can guarantee the "quality education" necessary to satisfy "our world demands and national needs." The federal aid question is by no means new; in fact, it has periodically been the subject of lively debate since the Civil War. It was an important issue in the 1880's and immediately after World War I. More recently the question received significant consideration in the Eighty-Sixth Congress and the presidential campaign of 1960. The appearance of acute, extraordinary demands on the national scene seem to have prompted the most serious discussions of the question. But regardless of the stimulus, the federal aid idea has invariably raised fundamental problems regarding federal-state relations and at times has become entangled in economic, political, and racial issues. At no time was this better demonstrated than during the period from 1881 to 1890.[1]

During this period federal aid to common schools elicited widespread interest among the people of North Carolina, and justly so in view of the existing educational conditions in the State. At the time North Carolina enjoyed the unenviable distinction of possessing the greatest degree of illiteracy in the Union. With more than 48 per cent of its population unable to write, the State expended less than $500,-

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[1] *The New York Times*, November 7, 1960; National Education Association, *Policies on Education and the 1960 Elections* (Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1960); National Education Association, *Federal Legislative Policy* (Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1960); F. J. Seidner, *Federal Support for Education: The Situation Today* (Washington: Public Affairs Institute, 1959); Walter W. Heller, *It's Up to Congress: Education Is a National Responsibility* (Washington: National Education Association, 1959).

000 on its public schools in 1881 and provided an average school term of only nine and a half weeks. Among the factors responsible for these unhealthy educational conditions were the economic plight of the people, the uneasy race relations, and the entanglement of the schools in political affairs.[2] The refusal of many to accept education as a civic obligation also helped to produce a public opinion which was indifferent to educational progress. The Scotland Neck *Democrat* in 1887 admitted that it was "desperately opposed to taxing one man to educate another man's son." The same newspaper declared: "Education has ruined a great many more people than it has made useful men. To educate a fellow, black or white, above the station he moves in or the position that he has created ruins his value as a citizen and destroys his usefulness as a member of society."[3] Other journals expressed the sentiments of numerous white taxpayers when they opposed taxing the white man to educate the Negro. The notion that educating a Negro merely "ruined a field hand" still had many adherents. The persistence of such views underlay much of the educational stagnation in North Carolina during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[4]

The improvement of public schools in the State obviously required a basic change in public opinion. This change was affected in part by the widespread discussion of federal aid to public education in the eighties which if nothing else focused attention on the sad plight of the State's educational system. Few questions were so thoroughly aired in the various media of communication. Editors, politicians and stump speakers, academic groups, and civic organizations debated the issue. Rare indeed was the North Carolinian in the eighties who possessed no opinion on the question of "national aid to common schools."

During the decade Congress considered various federal aid bills. Some created a public school fund from taxes on liquor; others set

[2] *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, 1881-1883*, 2-4, 61-62, hereinafter cited as *Biennial Report*, with appropriate dates; Hugh T. Lefler, *History of North Carolina* (New York: The Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 4 volumes, 1956), II, 645-648, hereinafter cited as Lefler, *History of North Carolina;* J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860*, Volume III of *History of North Carolina* by R. D. W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, and Others (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 6 volumes, 1919), 210-215.

[3] *The Democrat* (Scotland Neck) quoted in *The Eastern Reflector* (Greenville), October 26, 1887, the former paper will hereinafter be cited as *The Democrat* and the latter as *The Eastern Reflector*.

[4] *The Chatham Record* (Pittsboro), November 6, 1884, hereinafter cited as *The Chatham Record; The Morning Star* (Wilmington), February 5, 1883, hereinafter cited as *The Morning Star*; *The Wilson Advance*, January 5, 1883; *The Weekly Caucasian* (Clinton) quoted in *The Morning Star*, February 6, 9, 1883.

aside the proceeds of public land sales. These bills embodied several different plans for the distribution of federal aid among the States. The rate of illiteracy, total population, and school age population were the most popular criteria for distribution.[5] Of all proposals during the eighties the so-called Blair Education Bill stayed most constantly in the limelight. Its author, Henry W. Blair, Senator from New Hampshire, was an orthodox Republican on tariff, money, and pension matters; but he took an advanced position on many social questions. He figured prominently in the woman suffrage and prohibition movements, but during the eighties his name became synonomous with federal aid to public schools.[6] In 1881, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, Blair introduced a bill which represented a new departure in federal aid legislation. Different versions of this Bill passed the Senate in 1884, 1886, and 1888. None ever passed the House, and the Senate too rejected the measure in 1890. The various Blair bills called for a direct appropriation from the national treasury, to be distributed to the States on the basis of illiteracy. In the course of the decade there was considerable variation in the size of the appropriation, the duration of the financial aid, and the amount of federal supervision embodied in the measures. The Bill of 1881 provided for an appropriation of $120,000,000 over a period of ten years. In order to receive federal aid under this plan each State was to (1) provide a system of free public schools for all children without distinction of race, although separate schools for whites and Negroes were "not to be considered a violation of this condition"; (2) spend within a specified time an amount for schools equal to that received from the national treasury; and (3) submit to the Secretary of the Interior annual reports that described the operation of its school system and showed that federal funds had been expended in accordance with legal requirements.[7]

[5] *The Economist* (Elizabeth City), January 31, 1882, hereinafter cited as *The Economist*; Gordon Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid: A History of Attempts to Obtain Federal Aid for the Common Schools, 1870-1890* (New York: Columbia University, 1949), 88-89, hereinafter cited as Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid.*

[6] Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 22 volumes and index, 1928—), II, 334-335.

[7] The most comprehensive treatment of the federal aid question and the Blair Bill is found in Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid.* Other works which deal with the Blair bills include Davis Dewey, *National Problems, 1885-1897* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907); Edward H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927); Daniel Robinson, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935); and Rayford Logan, *The Negro in American Life and Thought, The Nadir: 1877-1891* (New York: Dial Press, 1954). Professor Allen Going has produced an excellent study entitled, "The South and the Blair Education Bill," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLIV (September, 1957), 267-290. The reception of the Blair Bill in North Carolina is treated briefly in Lefler, *History of North Carolina,* II, 648-650.

Federal aid to public schools first became an issue in North Carolina early in 1882. Quite naturally the educational forces were among the most vocal elements in the discussion. Local teachers' associations passed resolutions favoring the passage of the Blair Bill; schoolmen circulated petitions in behalf of the cause; and the North Carolina Teachers Assembly, the State-wide teachers' organization established in 1882, almost annually heard speakers champion federal aid. The State Association of County Superintendents endorsed the idea at its annual session in 1882. Two years later a poll by the Raleigh *State Chronicle* revealed that a "vast majority" of the county superintendents favored national aid to education "but with numerous restrictions." Their restrictions generally aimed at retaining local control of schools. Federal aid was also a popular topic among collegiate circles. It was the subject of a lively discussion at Wake Forest College in 1886; the following year the Hesperian Literary Society at Trinity College sponsored a similar debate. Editorials in *The University Magazine* at Chapel Hill recognized the merits of federal assistance to public schools but expressed concern that it "might invade the rights of localities and states." [8]

Both State Superintendents of Public Instruction during the eighties, John C. Scarborough and Sidney M. Finger, heartily endorsed the federal aid idea embodied in the Blair Bill. In 1883 Scarborough participated in the Inter-State Educational Convention in Louisville which drew up a plan for federal aid. The following year he appeared before the House Committee on Education in Washington where he spoke strongly in favor of the Blair Bill and particularly its "matching principle." In his opinion federal assistance ought to be "a stimulant rather than an intoxicant"; it ought to help those States willing to help themselves.[9] His successor, Major Finger, was equally enthusiastic

[8] *The North Carolina Teacher*, III (May, 1886), 385; IV (October, 1888), 82-83; *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the State Association of County Superintendents, 1882*, 15-16; *The State Chronicle* (Raleigh), quoted in *The Alamance Gleaner* (Graham), May 1, 1884, the former paper will hereinafter be cited as *The State Chronicle* and the latter as *The Alamance Gleaner; The Wake Forest Student*, V (March, 1886), 263; V (May, 1886), 319; Minutes of the Hesperian Literary Society, 1883-1889, Duke University Library, Durham; *The University Magazine*, New Series, V (March, 1886), 19.

[9] *Biennial Report, 1883-1885*, 41-42; House Reports, Forty-Eighth Congress, First Session, No. 495, 29-31; John C. Scarborough to Thomas J. Jarvis, December 22, 1884, Letterbook "G," Correspondence of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; J. C. Scarborough to County Superintendents, April 11, 1882, March 14, 1884, Calvin Henderson Wiley Papers, II, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; "Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, February 12-14, 1884," *Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education*, No. 1 (1884), 44, 106-110.

in his support of the Blair measure and stumped the State in its behalf. For him "all arguments about its constitutionality" were ridiculous and only served as a camouflage for those who opposed the public school principle.[10]

One of the most articulate spokesmen for federal aid among North Carolina educators was Robert Bingham, principal of the Bingham School in Asheville. His most popular treatment of the subject was an address delivered in 1884 at the National Educational Association entitled "The Educational Needs and Status of the New South." Newspapers reprinted the full text; pamphlet editions appeared throughout the State. In this address Bingham began by insisting that regardless of the plan of federal aid, "the two races in the South *must be dealt with separately*. . . .We could educate our own people with our own means," he continued, "but we cannot educate our own children even, when three-sevenths of the money raised in North Carolina must go to educate the blacks whom the United States Government armed with the ballot without making any provision for giving them the intelligence to use it." According to him, the federal government alone was equal to the task which clearly fell within its constitutional domain. Since the South had contributed as much proportionately as any other section, he argued, it should share in the treasury surplus and be trusted to expend federal funds equitably between the races. Bingham was convinced that federal aid should be spent only for teachers' salaries and be granted only to States which matched federal money with an equal amount from their own resources. "With national aid for ten years," he concluded, "we can manage illiteracy . . . but if we continue the unequal struggle for these most germinant ten years . . ., our people will be discouraged, and there is a danger that a darkness that will, sooner or later, make itself felt will envelop a people who need only *temporary* aid to put them where they can and will provide for themselves."[11]

The various federal aid proposals of the eighties also received comprehensive treatment in the educational journals of the State. *The North Carolina Educational Journal* opened its crusade for some form of federal assistance for public schools in January, 1882; by early

[10] *Biennial Report, 1885-1887*, 8-9; Josephus Daniels, *Tarheel Editor* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939), 294, hereinafter cited as Daniels, *Tarheel Editor; The Morning Star*, January 8, 1887.

[11] Robert Bingham, "The Educational Needs and Status of the New South," *The Journal of Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1884* (Boston, 1885), 76-95. For similar views of another eminent North Carolina educator. see J. Allen Holt, "National Aid to Education—A Reply," *The Century Magazine*, XXVIII (May, 1884), 156-157.

summer it had endorsed the Blair Bill as the most feasible plan.[12] *The North Carolina Teacher,* official organ of the Teachers Assembly, also strongly endorsed the Blair Bill. Its editorials insisted that if the treasury surplus could be used for pensions to Union Army veterans, then surely the South was entitled to aid in rebuilding its school system which had been destroyed by the Civil War. By 1887 *The North Carolina Teacher* was claiming that "federal aid to education means, in North Carolina, five months schools and fifty dollars a month teachers' salaries." [13] Finally, the Blair Bill received editorial support from *The Schoolteacher* which opened its columns to A. D. Mayo, a nationally prominent advocate of federal aid who sought to combat the charge that the measure would be injurious to the South "in the long run." [14]

The discussion of federal aid to public schools was by no means restricted to educational circles. Both political parties were extremely vocal on the subject; in fact, the most spirited debates occurred in the political arena and party-affiliated newspapers. The Republicans in North Carolina[15] stood almost solidly in favor of the Blair Bill. As advocates of the high tariff, they obviously saw in the treasury surplus a threat to the maintenance of such a tariff. Certainly, the existence of the surplus enhanced the arguments of those who favored tariff reduction. Therefore, with an eye toward reducing the surplus rather than the tariff, many Republicans advocated spending the surplus for education. Quite naturally, however, they emphasized the humanitarian aspects of their federal aid project.[16]

At any rate, the Republicans capitalized on the Blair Bill in every major political campaign in North Carolina between 1881 and 1890. Frequently the State Republican platform was more specific in its support of federal aid than the national party platform. In the early 1880's Republican politicians endorsed the idea of federal aid financed either

[12] *The North Carolina Educational Journal,* II (January 15, 1882), 98; II (February 15, 1882), 10; II (June 20, 1882), 38; IV (May 1, 1884), 79.

[13] *The North Carolina Teacher,* IV (December, 1886), 197; IV (January, 1887), 254; V (October, 1887), 101; V (November, 1887), 125; V (January, 1888), 231; VI (May, 1889), 464; VII (December, 1889), 213.

[14] *The Schoolteacher,* I (February, 1887), 42; II (July, 1888), 166-167.

[15] Professor Daniel Whitener concludes that between 1876 and 1894 "the Republican Party [in North Carolina] made little or no important contribution to public education." See Whitener, "The Republican Party and Public Education in North Carolina, 1876-1900," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXVIII (July, 1960), 382-396.

[16] North Carolina Republicans obviously did not publicize the intimate relationship which for them existed between the high tariff and the Blair Bill. Occasionally their association of the two projects was revealed in public announcements. For example, the Forsyth County Republican Convention of 1888 urged its congressman "to do all in his power to secure the passage of the Blair Educational Bill and to resist any measure looking toward Free Trade." *The Union Republican* (Winston), May 8, 1888, hereinafter cited as *The Union Republican.*

by an appropriation of the liquor taxes or the proceeds from public land sales. Republican candidates for Congress in 1882 accepted the former plan. Two years later, the State Republican Party officially endorsed Blair's proposal for distributing the surplus among the States for educational purposes; and its gubernatorial candidate, Tyre York, made quite an issue of federal aid in his campaign. He declared that he would continue "to advocate . . . the passage of the Blair Educational Bill, . . . the repeal of the Internal Revenue Taxes and the support of the General Government mainly from the tariff." He charged that the Democrats, recreant to their pledges, were hostile to federal aid and would try to prevent its implementation. The Republicans claimed that the State Democratic Convention refused to renominate Scarborough for the State Superintendency in 1884 because of his enthusiasm for the federal aid idea.[17]

Throughout the State the Republicans charged that the failure of the Democratic leaders to work actively for the Blair Bill provided ample evidence of their opposition "to the education of the masses." In 1883 Patrick H. Winston, Jr., deserted the Democratic Party to become a Republican ostensibly on the grounds that the Democrats hindered "intellectual growth" by interposing their dogma of State Rights against federal aid. "The Democratic leaders," Winston charged, "not only fail to educate our children but refuse to let others furnish the money."[18] This in general was the party line in the State political campaigns during the eighties. In 1888 Oliver H. Dockery, the Republican candidate for governor, appeared as the champion of federal aid to schools and maintained that the Blair Bill had been repeatedly thwarted by a Democratic-controlled House of Representatives.[19] During the same period several Republican congressmen from the State sponsored federal aid bills; others tried in vain to bring the Blair Bill to a vote in the House. Republicans in the State legislature figured prominently in the passage of resolutions which instructed North Carolina congressmen to support federal aid to education.[20]

Republican newspapers, all the while, waged a vigorous campaign in behalf of the Blair Bill. Their editorials not only described in detail the appalling rate of illiteracy and sorry condition of public schools,

[17] *The Union Republican*, June 22, 1882, May 8, July 3, 1884, October 28, 1886; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 3, 8, 1884, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*; *The Asheboro Courier*, October 1, 1884.

[18] *The Union Republican*, September 13, 1883, August 21, 1884.

[19] *The Union Republican*, October 9, 1884, May 31, July 12, September 19, 1888.

[20] *The Union Republican*, January 3, 1884, June 13, 1887, May 31, June 7, 1888; *The Greensboro North State*, March 1, 1888; *The News and Observer*, December 12, 1883, January 23, 1885; *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 437; *The Congressional Record*, Fiftieth Congress, First Session, XIX, 224.

but emphasized that North Carolina would receive one of the largest shares of federal money under the Blair plan. Republican editors depicted the bill as a magnanimous effort to provide long-overdue federal relief to the South and insisted that "no punctilious considerations of state pride should intervene to deter us from accepting" this benevolence.[21] To those who criticized the Blair Bill on constitutional grounds, *The Statesville American* replied: "Never mind the constitutionality of the measure; let us educate the people so that in the coming years they can intelligently discuss the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the measure."[22] To others who feared that federal aid would destroy individual self-reliance and initiative, the Republican press answered: "Is it not a bad thing then to accept the generous donations of . . . George Foster Peabody? Or is it not bad to endow colleges so worthy men may be educated free of charge?"[23] Republican journals also manifested considerable interest in Negro education which they hoped would be greatly improved through federal aid. But the Republicans were always careful to insist upon separate schools for whites and Negroes.[24]

One of the leading Republican organs in the State, *The Union Republican* of Winston, was a vociferous advocate of federal aid. Between 1883 and 1890, this weekly published twenty-one full length editorials on the question. In its opinion the Blair Bill would erase illiteracy and create an "enlightened society" in the South. To assure its readers of the constitutionality of the bill, *The Union Republican* pointed to the lavish federal expenditures for rivers and harbors as sufficient precedent for the measure. "If the federal government has a right to exist," the Republican journal concluded, "it has a right to protect its existence. In fighting illiteracy, it is moving against a danger that more than all others menaces its perpetuity."[25] Despite this rather lofty approach, *The Union Republican* possessed an interest in the Blair Bill which was not concerned with the educational welfare of North Carolina's children. As a strong advocate of the high tariff, it was convinced that the "protective system" was necessary for "industrial progress" and so long as a treasury surplus existed, this instrument of progress was in jeopardy.[26]

[21] *The Durham County Republican* (Durham), October 7, 14, 21, 1884, hereinafter cited as *The Durham County Republican*; *The Union Republican*, December 13, 1883, May 8, 1884, January 25, February 26, 1885, January 12, September 14, 1888.

[22] *The Statesville American* quoted in *The Morning Star*, April 15, 1884.

[23] *The Union Republican*, January 26, 1888.

[24] *The Union Republican*, January 25, February 15, 1883, April 17, 1884.

[25] *The Union Republican*, January 29, 1885, January 7, 1886, October 6, 1887.

[26] *The Union Republican*, November 1, 1884. This Republican journal insisted that sooner or later the South would realize that "our salvation lies in the encouragement . . . of manufactures. The North has grown rich by protection." *The Union Republican*, September 11, 1884.

Despite assertions that federal aid was a non-political question, it was utilized in the rankest partisan manner by both political parties in North Carolina. Depending on the occasion, *The Union Republican,* for example, insisted that the Blair Bill was "not a party bill in any sense" or that it was "a Republican measure." Republican editors reiterated the charge of their politicians that the Democrats were hostile to federal aid to schools in particular and to public education in general. Party organs proclaimed that the only hope of achieving educational progress was "the triumph of the Great Republican Party." [27] "Ignorance is the handmaiden of Democratic ascendancy," chirped *The Durham County Republican.*[28]

The Republican charge of Democratic hostility to federal aid was bolstered by the fact that on three occasions the Blair Bill passed a Republican Senate and died in a Democratic House. In 1884 Republican editors repeatedly asserted that "the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 33 to 11 with only 2 Republicans voting against it." A favorite target of their scorn was a leading Democratic opponent of the Blair measure, Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama, whom they described as the South's "monumental mummy." However, the fact that both North Carolina Senators, Zebulon B. Vance and Matt Ransom, voted for the bill considerably weakened the effectiveness of the Republican propaganda. The situation was less clear-cut in the House where the measure never reached a vote. The Republican press soft-pedaled the activites of several Democratic congressmen from North Carolina in behalf of the Blair Bill; it merely emphasized that "a Democratic-controlled House committee" had "smothered the measure." [29] *The Greensboro North State* declared that the only way to win support for the Blair Bill among Democrats was to allow them to control the federal school fund and "dispose of it through their party machinery.[30]

Negroes in North Carolina, like the Republican Party with which many of them were affiliated, figured prominently in the discussion of federal aid to public schools. In a sense the education of southern Negroes was the crux of the matter in the eighties. Many advocates of

[27] See *The Union Republican,* August 28, October 9, 1884, February 26, 1885, February 25, March 11, 18, April 22, May 6, June 24, 1886, February 23, September 27, 1888; *The Greensboro Patriot,* October 30, 1884; *The Durham County Republican,* October 14, 21, 1884; *The North Carolinian* (Elizabeth City), May 16, 1888, hereinafter cited as *The North Carolinian; The Greensboro North State,* February 25, 1886, March 8, 1888; *The Daily Charlotte Observer,* May 15, 1886.

[28] *The Durham County Republican,* October 14, 1884.

[29] *The Union Republican,* August 28, 1884; *The Greensboro North State,* February 18, 1886; *The North Carolinian,* May 16, 1888.

[30] *The Greensboro North State,* February 18, 1886.

the Blair Bill claimed that its primary purpose was to grant federal assistance for the education of an illiterate people recently freed from slavery by the federal government.[31] In any case, Negroes in the State, led by the colored teachers' associations, were almost solidly in favor of the Blair proposal. North Carolina congressmen received numerous petitions signed by hundreds of Negroes urging action on the measure.[32] James E. O'Hara, a Negro Republican congressman from North Carolina who endorsed Blair's plan, introduced a companion bill in the House in 1886. It, like others, died in the committee.[33] Few friends of federal aid in the State were more active than Charles N. Hunter, a Negro educator and editor. In an effort to secure the passage of federal aid legislation, he corresponded with several Republicans of national prominence including Blair and Senator John A. Logan of Illinois who favored federal aid distributed to the States on the basis of their total population.[34]

Largely through Hunter's influence Senator Blair attended the Negro Fair in Raleigh on November 11, 1886.[35] In an address there the Senator emphasized that "land and education" were the special needs of Negroes in the South and that his federal aid bill which would enable them to make intelligent use of the ballot would assure them of assuming their responsible position in American society. "The first quality of a freeman," he concluded, "is knowledge, for knowledge is power."[36] The Senator's visit to the Negro Fair received scant attention in the press; but one Democratic organ did remark that his comments "contained much good advice" and "were free from political bias."[37]

The high degree of unanimity exhibited by educators, Republicans, and Negroes in favor of federal aid to public schools was conspicuously

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[31] *The Concord Register* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 28, April 30, 1886; *The Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), March 18, 1886, hereinafter cited as *The Carolina Watchman; The Montgomery Vidette* (Troy) quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 25, 1886, the Troy paper will hereinafter be cited as *The Montgomery Vidette*; Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 291-293; Lee, *The Struggle For Federal Aid*, 151.

[32] *The News and Observer*, February 13, 1883; *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Seventh Congress, First Session, XIII, 3,777; *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 805, 5,390.

[33] *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 437.

[34] John A. Logan to Charles N. Hunter, December 7, 1885; Henry W. Blair to Charles N. Hunter, April 13, 1889, Charles N. Hunter Papers, Duke University Library, hereinafter cited as Hunter Papers.

[35] Henry W. Blair to George Wassom, August 30, 1886, Hunter Papers; Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 294-295; *The News and Observer*, November 11, 1886; Frenise A. Logan, "The Colored Industrial Association and Its Fair of 1886," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXIV (January, 1957), 58-67.

[36] *The Union Republican*, November 25, 1886; *The News and Observer*, November 12, 1886; Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 294-295.

[37] *The News and Observer*, November 12, 1886.

absent among Democratic spokesmen. Their disagreement over the question precipitated a debate within Democratic ranks that at times became more heated than the argument between the two parties. Evidence indicates that until the latter half of the eighties a majority of Democrats, indeed a majority of all North Carolinians, favored some form of federal assistance to public schools.[38] Although it is difficult to determine a sectional pattern in the Democratic split over federal aid, more opposition seems to have emanated from the eastern counties with large Negro populations. It is also interesting to note that usually if a town, regardless of its location, possessed two Democratic newspapers, one supported the Blair bill and the other opposed it.[39] Despite party discord, Democrats generally agreed on one aspect of the federal aid question—that Republicans espoused the issue for political and economic reasons solely.[40] The increasingly widespread acceptance of this partisan view helps to explain why even the stanchest Democratic advocates of federal aid had become almost silent by 1889.

Nevertheless, the Democratic politicians, who represented the majority party in North Carolina, were largely responsible for the various official actions taken on federal aid in the State. Every regular session of the Democratic-controlled legislature during the eighties passed resolutions which urged North Carolina congressmen to support an appropriation for public schools from "the overflowing national treasury." The resolution of 1881 requested that all federal money be applied "to primary schools exclusively." The resolutions adopted by the four succeeding legislatures included provisions designed to prevent federal control of schools from following federal money. The General Assembly of 1883 specifically stated that nothing in its resolution should be "construed to favor the retention of the internal revenue or the protective tariff."[41] Each of these resolutions elicited considerable debate

[38] Even those hostile to federal aid frequently admitted that a majority of North Carolinians favored it. The widespread popularity of the Blair Bill was attested to by (1) the almost unanimous support given it by congressmen, educators, and Negroes in the State; (2) its endorsement by a majority of newspapers until at least 1888; and (3) by the resolutions passed by five consecutive legislatures urging its passage. See also, *The State Chronicle*, May 11, 1888.

[39] For example in Charlotte *The Charlotte Home-Democrat* denounced the Blair measure, *The Daily Charlotte Observer* lauded it; in Wilmington *The Morning Star* opposed it, *The Daily Review* endorsed it. A similar situation prevailed in Goldsboro, Asheville, Statesville, and Raleigh. The latter Wilmington paper will hereinafter be cited as *The Daily Review*.

[40] Democratic State Executive Committee, *Democracy vs. Radicalism: Handbook of N. C. Politics for 1888* (Raleigh, 1888), 36-38, hereinafter cited as *Democracy vs. Radicalism*.

[41] Unnumbered resolution in *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session of 1881*, 627-628, hereinafter cited as *Laws and Resolutions*, with the proper year; *Laws and Resolutions, 1883*, 607; *Laws and Resolutions, 1885*, 680-681; *Laws and Resolutions, 1887*, 763; *Laws and Resolutions, 1889*, 524.

among the legislators and was passed over the objection of a small, though vociferous, minority.[42]

The Democratic governors of North Carolina during the eighties publicly endorsed the federal aid idea. In 1883 Governor Thomas J. Jarvis spoke strongly in favor of using the federal surplus for public school improvement. "I do not feel," he stated, "that I am assuming the attitude of a suppliant or in any way humiliating the State. I feel . . . we will only be getting back our own, and the United States Government will be but doing its duty." Jarvis claimed that the federal government had given the ballot to the Negro without equipping him to use it intelligently. Furthermore, the government's maintenance of "an odious system of internal revenue taxation" and an "oppressive and unequal tariff" had made the South financially unable to perform the task. In his opinion federal aid to schools would fulfill two federal duties, the education of southern Negroes and the restoration to an impoverished people of a portion of the taxes "unjustly wrung from them." [43] This view was shared by Jarvis' successor, Alfred M. Scales, who had championed federal aid earlier as a congressman.[44] By 1888 when Daniel Fowle was elected governor, Democratic support of federal aid was clearly on the decline. Fowle's position was that "if the Blair Bill were properly amended, he favored passing it." [45]

The State Democratic conventions which selected the gubernatorial candidates also drafted platforms that endorsed federal aid to public schools. Some believed that unless the Democrats officially supported federal aid, they would be defeated at the polls: "Thousands of teachers and educators and humanitarians in North Carolina . . . with no party predelictions, but warmly devoted to the [Blair] bill," so the argument went, "will vote against any party that omits to endorse the measure." [46] Others believed that the Democrats were forced to endorse federal aid, since the Republicans had used it to woo Negroes and poor

[42] The legislators who opposed federal aid raised several objections: (1) It would bring federal control of public schools; (2) it was clearly "unconstitutional"; and (3) support for federal aid was tantamount to acquiesing in the maintenance of the high tariff and internal revenue system. *The News and Observer*, January 7, 13, 1883, January 23, 1885, January 8, 1887.

[43] "Governor's Message," *Executive and Legislative Documents of the State of North Carolina, 1883*, Document No. 1, 31-32, hereinafter cited as *Executive and Legislative Documents* with the proper year.

[44] Governor Scales insisted that federal aid to education should never require additional taxation and should "be given and disbursed by the states *in their own way*." "Governor's Message," *Executive and Legislative Documents, 1885*, Document No. 4, 7-8. See also, *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Seventh Congress, First Session, XIII, 339, 3,439, 3,532.

[45] *The News and Observer*, August 30, 1888.

[46] *The News and Observer*, June 18, 1884.

whites.[47] At any rate, the drafting of the plank on federal aid in the State Democratic Convention of 1884 pointed up the party discord on the matter. Without question this plank, described as a "firebrand," elicited more discussion than any other that year. The leading opponent of federal aid in the convention was W. H. Kitchin, Editor of the Scotland Neck *Democrat* and a power in State Democratic politics.[48] Despite the opposition, the convention agreed on a resolution that requested the federal government to distribute its surplus money for school purposes, "*provided always* that the same shall be disbursed by state agents and not be accompanied by any objectionable features. . . ."[49] The Democrats asserted that they, "having all along sought to do everything possible here at home for our schools," now endorsed temporary aid from the federal government out of a desire to lift educational standards to a respectable level. They charged that the Republicans had refused "to put their own shoulders here at home to the wheel" and supported federal aid primarily as a means to retain the high tariff and internal revenue taxes. The Democrats consistently maintained that federal assistance should be temporary; the Party's handbook in 1888 emphasized that they desired "to distribute this surplus . . . and not to permit another to accumulate."[50]

With one exception North Carolina Democrats in Congress, overtly at least, supported federal aid particularly the plan embodied in the Blair Bill. By their votes and utterances in the Senate both Zebulon B. Vance and Matt Ransom were counted among the friends of the Bill; but neither exhibited an exceptionally strong stand in its behalf. Vance's crusade against the internal revenue system probably dampened his ardor for a measure that would eliminate the surplus, and thereby remove a potent argument for the abolition of the internal revenue.[51] His position on federal aid was probably best stated in 1884 during a Senate debate on the Blair Bill when he declared: "We will help ourselves if you [Republicans] will take your hands off us. . . . If you will quit taxing us to support your factories in the North, we will help ourselves."[52] Vance maintained that federal money

[47] *The Montgomery Vidette* and *The Concord Register* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 26, 1886, and April 30, 1886, respectively.
[48] *The News and Observer*, June 27, 1884; *The Hillsboro Recorder*, January 5, 1888.
[49] *The News and Observer*, June 27, 1884.
[50] *Democracy vs. Radicalism*, 37-38.
[51] See *The News and Observer*, January 30, 1882, March 27, 1884.
[52] *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Eighth Congress, First Session, XV, 2,209-2,210; *The Asheville Citizen*, April 16, 1884; *The News and Observer*, March 25, 1884; *The Union Republican*, September 11, 1884; *The Lenoir Topic*, April 2, 1884; Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte: Observer Printing and Publishing House, 1897), 411-423.

was not needed for the education of whites in his State, but only for the large illiterate Negro population. Senator Ransom's main contribution to the Senate discussion of the bill was to object strenuously to any provision which gave the Secretary of the Interior "discretionary power" over reports which the States were to submit in order to show that federal money had been spent "in accordance with the acts of Congress."[53] Although Ransom and Vance argued that North Carolina needed federal assistance only because of its illiterate Negroes, both vehemently opposed the so-called Allison Amendment to the Blair Bill which would have divided federal funds between the races on the basis of the illiteracy of each.[54]

Several North Carolina Democrats were among the stanchest friends of federal aid to education in the House of Representatives. These included Clement Dowd, William H. H. Cowles, John S. Henderson, and James W. Reid, all of whom spoke convincingly on the subject, presented numerous petitions in its behalf, and introduced federal aid measures of their own. They also actively participated in movements to bring a federal aid bill to a vote in the House. As a member of the Committee on Education, Reid in particular played an important role in these maneuvers; he worked closely with Representative A. S. Willis of Kentucky, the strategist of the federal aid forces in the House.[55] Their task was to get favorable action by an

[53] *The Morning Star*, March 3, 1886; *The News and Observer*, March 9, 1886; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 4, 1886. It is difficult to determine the position of Vance and Ransom regarding the Blair Bill; they seemed to have been all things to all men on the issue. Certainly, there was a noticeable discrepancy in the journalistic interpretation of their attitude toward the Bill. In some quarters, it was believed that both senators actually opposed the federal aid idea, but supported it because of its popularity among their constituents. Yet, Vance loudly proclaimed the constitutionality of the measure, saying that it was more legitimate than federal aid "for sick calves in Kansas." *The Eastern Reflector*, March 17, 1886. In 1890, when both North Carolina senators were "paired" in the vote on the Blair Bill, *The Union Republican*, March 27, 1890, declared that this was a "dodging tactic" which revealed their real opposition to the project. As early as December 24, 1887, the Wilmington *Morning Star* stated: "We hope Senator Vance will *continue* to fight it [Blair Bill] with his powerful brain to the bitter end." In an interview with Vance concerning the Blair proposal, a reporter of *The Carolina Watchman* stated that Vance declared that he "had no choice in the matter, that he was only carrying out home instructions in voting for the bill. He also said that he had no doubt but that there was a change of sentiment on the subject." *The Morning Star*, June 3, 1886.

[54] *The News and Observer*, March 3, 9, April 10, 1886; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 5, 1886.

[55] See *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Seventh Congress, First Session, XIII, 439, 3,396, 3,439, 3,532, 3,587, 3,624, 3,626, 3,665, 3,737, 3,899, 3,924; *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 2,573, 4,859. For the strong stand in favor of the Blair Bill which was taken by Clement Dowd see *The Daily Journal* (Charlotte), December 21, 1882, hereinafter cited as *The Daily Journal*. It is also interesting to note that beginning in 1886 the most numerous petitions sent to North Carolina congressmen in behalf of the Blair Bill came from local chapters of the Temperance Union. This organization's primary concern, the enactment of national prohibition laws, was one of the favorite causes of Senator Blair, the chief architect of the federal aid idea.

unsympathetic Committee on Education, persuade a hostile Speaker to allow a House vote on a federal aid bill, and overcome the opposition of diehard State rights advocates and high tariff Democrats.[56]

Since the Education Committee continually postponed action on the Blair Bill, Reid introduced a resolution in 1886 designed to force the measure from the committee. When this failed to achieve results, he and Willis convened a meeting of House members friendly to federal aid. The outcome was the introduction of a new bill by Willis which embodied the principal features of the Blair Bill and a measure previously sponsored by Reid. Then, according to pre-arranged plans, Willis and Reid succeeded in having the new measure referred to the Committee on Labor which was thought to be more sympathetic to federal aid.[57] One North Carolina Democrat, Risden T. Bennett, voted against this procedure and thereby gave credence to the widespread view that he was hostile to the Blair Bill and its companions.[58] Unfortunately for the federal aid advocates, the Labor Committee rejected the Willis Bill and presented a substitute measure of its own which made it virtually impossible to get House action on a federal aid bill before Congress adjourned. Thus, the House had again killed the project "by starvation rather than murder." [59] Reid resigned from

[56] *The News and Observer*, March 17, 18, April 1, 1886; *The Smithfield Herald*, May 6, 1886. While North Carolina Republicans claimed that the Democrats had killed the Blair Bill in 1884, the Democrats in the State laid the responsibility at the feet of Frank Hiscock, a New York Republican and leader in the House, who had "objected when unanimous consent was requested to refer the Blair Bill to the Education Committee in 1884." *The News and Observer*, September 23, October 1, 11, 1884; *The Asheboro Courier*, October 1, 1884; *The Greensboro Patriot*, October 30, 1884.

[57] *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 439, 2,410; House of Representatives, *Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 153, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, 1-2; *The News and Observer*, March 17, 18, 25, 30, April 1, 11, 1886; *The Smithfield Herald*, May 6, 1886; *The Danbury Reporter-Post*, March 25, 1886.

[58] *The News and Observer*, April 1, 1886. Risden T. Bennett, a so-called "watchdog of the treasury," introduced a resolution to divide the surplus in the treasury *as of* June 1, 1886, among the States on the basis of illiteracy. The resolution required that all appropriations and outstanding debts be paid prior to the distribution. The amount left would constitute an educational fund to be allotted to the States "without any strings attached" except that at least one-tenth of the amount received by each State had to be used in school construction. *The Congressional Record*, Forty-Ninth Congress, First Session, XVII, 4,859. Although Bennett was the only North Carolina congressman overtly opposed to federal aid in general, there were several others who were suspicious, if not hostile, to the Blair Bill specifically. In 1884 William R. Cox and Wharton J. Green were opposed to the Blair measure "as it passed the Senate." Within a year both endorsed the Bill. R. M. Armfield of Statesville, a member of Congress in 1882, believed that his early opposition to the Blair Bill had "weakened" his availability for governor in 1888. *The Goldsboro Messenger*, April 17, 1884; *The News and Observer*, January 24, 1885; *The Morning Star*, January 19, 1888.

[59] After some "badgering" from Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, the Labor Committee rejected the Willis Bill and finally reported a substitute measure which provided an educational fund to be derived from public land sales and to be distributed on the basis of the school age population of each State. Reid in vain sought to save the federal aid measure by getting the original Blair Bill on the calendar. *The Progressive Farmer*, I (May, 1886), 5; *Orange County Observer* (Hillsboro), March 20,

Congress shortly thereafter because of his alleged involvement in a Rockingham County political scandal.[60] After 1886 North Carolina had no champion of federal aid in Congress comparable to him; and with the failure of the Reid-Willis strategy in that year the chances for the success of federal aid bills in the House thereafter diminshed considerably.

In North Carolina the debate over federal aid to education reached its greatest intensity in Democratic newspapers which of course reflected party discord over the issue. Journals which favored the project carefully explained that their support was compatible with Democratic traditions, particularly the protection of State rights. Their editorials continually asserted that federal assistance in no way presumed federal control of public schools. Their view was that the Blair Bill provided the temporary help necessary to tide the South over its "critical period." No Democratic newspaper, however, argued that the federal government ought to levy taxes for schools; federal aid was to be derived from the treasury surplus which the Democrats insisted had been created through excessive taxation under the Republicans. Therefore, the excess revenue should be returned to the people "with no strings attached."[61] The Democratic editors vigorously maintained that their support of federal aid in no manner indicated their acquiescence in the internal revenue or tariff; just the opposite, these should be adjusted in order to prevent the accumulation of another "embarrassing surplus." The Democratic journals that favored federal aid justified their position by various historical precedents, notably the Northwest Ordinance and the land grant college act. Much was also made of the fact that ante-bellum public schools in North Carolina had been financed in part through federal funds distributed during the administration of Andrew Jackson. These editorial spokesmen claimed that unless the South gained a generous share of the surplus for education, all excess money in the national treasury would be doled out to Union veterans as pensions.[62] "Shall we decline to receive

May 8, 1886; *The Union Republican*, May 20, 1886; *The News and Observer*, April 22, 25, 28, 29, 1886; *The Morning Star*, March 20, April 1, 1886.

[60] Daniels, *Tarheel Editor*, 340.

[61] *The New Berne Weekly Journal*, May 22, December 25, 1884, December 24, 1885, April 8, 1886, March 1, 1888; *The Daily Journal*, December 14, 1882, January 18, 1883; *The Landmark* (Statesville) quoted in *The Smithfield Herald*, July 1, 1886, the Statesville paper will hereinafter be cited as *The Landmark*; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, April 2, 1884, February 20, 28, 1886; *The News and Observer*, March 20, April 13, 1882, January 10, 1883, February 20, March 25, April 25, 1884, January 13, 1885, December 23, 1887, January 8, 1888.

[62] *Raleigh Register*, March 12, 26, April 9, 1884; *The Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 21, 1886; *The Economist*, January 31, 1882; *The News and Observer*, January 10, 1883, February 10, March 2, 1884, April 28, May 21, November 16, 1886, June 7, 1887; *The New Berne Weekly Journal*, January 15, 1885, May 20, 1886; *The Goldsboro Messenger*, April 3, 1884, February 4, 1886.

a pittance," they asked, "to help educate the children of the poor boys who wore the Gray."[63]

Despite elaborate justifications for their position, many Democratic newspapers never seemed wholly comfortable in the company of the Blair Bill. Its identification as a "Republican measure" and questions about its constitutionality and compatibility with Democratic principles were causes for their uneasiness. There was also the fear that an elimination of the surplus might endanger attempts to revise the internal revenue and tariff. In some cases, therefore, Democratic editors friendly to federal aid but not wholly satisfied with the Blair Bill supported it *faute de mieux;* they believed that the acute situation in the South demanded immediate remedy and left little room for "constitutional stickling." Nevertheless, many of these journalists maintained an interest in the establishment of a federal school fund derived from the proceeds of public land sales and distributed on the basis of illiteracy. This procedure, they reasoned, was less likely to arouse antagonism within the party and was more nearly in line with precedents.[64]

One of the most influential Democratic organs which endorsed the Blair Bill was the Raleigh *News and Observer* edited by Captain S. A. Ashe. Always insisting that the measure was consistent with Democratic principles, *The News and Observer* hammered away at the dire need of federal assistance for North Carolina schools in dozens of editorials throughout the 1880's. It asserted that the project was not designed to give "federal officers control of our schools" and would in fact leave public education "unhampered by federal supervision." In its opinion there was no danger under the Blair measure of North Carolina children being taught that "old John Brown was a saint or that Lee and Jackson were evil men." *The News and Observer* admitted that it could support the bill "more easily because the Southern States will get a larger share of the funds." This alone was undoubtedly sufficient reason for many Democratic journals to endorse the measure.[65]

[63] *The News and Observer,* June 1, 1884.

[64] *The Economist,* January 31, 1882; *The News and Observer,* January 31, 1882, March 27, April 29, 1886; *The New Berne Weekly Journal,* January 5, 1888; *The Goldsboro Messenger,* March 31, April 3, 10, 14, 17, 1884, February 4, March 11, May 6, 20, 1886. By late 1886 when the prospects for the Blair Bill had begun to dim, *The News and Observer* began to suggest as an alternative a distribution of the federal surplus among the States according to their population in a manner similar to that employed during the Jackson administration. *The News and Observer,* November 16, 19, 1886, June 7, July 16, 1887.

[65] *The News and Observer,* March 20, April 13, 1882, January 10, March 20, September 12, 1883, February 12, 20, March 2, 16, 19, 25, April 5, June 1, December 20, 1884, January 13, 24, 1885, February 13, March 7, 27, April 2, 3, 10, 17, 23, May 1, November 16, 17, 1886, January 9, 14, December 23, 1887, January 6, 8, 9, 27, February 10, 1888, June 26, 1889. See also, *The Newton Enterprise,* January 26, 1888.

The views on federal aid expressed in Captain Ashe's paper were shared by other prominent journals in the capital city, especially *The State Chronicle* and the *Raleigh Register.*[66] Walter Hines Page and Josephus Daniels, successive editors of *The State Chronicle* in the 1880's, were among the ablest editorial champions of federal aid. Earlier as Editor of *The Wilson Advance,* Daniels had taken up the cause of the Blair Bill and insisted that its passage was necessary "to wipe out illiteracy" even though it "might militate against our notions of State Rights." He later presented a paper on the subject to the Watauga Club in Raleigh, an influential group interested in the educational improvement of the State. In preparing this paper Daniels consulted William L. Saunders, a Democratic elder statesman and Confederate veteran, whose endorsement of federal aid to public schools was all the more remarkable in view of his strong advocacy of State rights and his reputation as former head of the Ku Klux Klan in the State.[67]

In general Democratic editors in all sections of North Carolina who supported federal aid pursued essentially the same arguments as the Raleigh newspapers. Among the most vocal champions of the Blair Bill in the Coastal Plain were the Wilmington *Daily Review, The Rocky Mount Phoenix, The New Berne Weekly Journal,* the Elizabeth City *Economist,* and *The Smithfield Herald.*[68] In the Piedmont the leading advocates included the Charlotte *Daily Journal, The Daily Charlotte Observer, The Durham Tobacco Plant, The Greensboro Patriot,* and the Statesville *Landmark.*[69] Although many editorial supporters of the Blair project in the Mountain area were Republican, strong Democratic endorsement came from the Danbury *Reporter and Post, The Hickory Press,* and Rutherfordton *Mountain Banner.*[70] For

[66] *Raleigh Register,* March 12, 26, April 9, 1884; *The State Chronicle* quoted in *The Union Republican,* March 25, 1886; *The State Chronicle,* May 11, 1888.

[67] Daniels, *Tarheel Editor,* 257, 292-294; *The Wilson Advance,* January 19, 1883.

[68] *The Daily Review* quoted in *The Union Republican,* March 4, 1886, and in *The News and Observer,* April 11, 1886; *The Rocky Mount Phoenix* quoted in *The News and Observer,* February 2, 1888; *The Economist,* January 31, 1882, and quoted in *The News and Observer,* April 20, 1884; *The Smithfield Herald,* March 11, May 6, 1886; *The New Berne Weekly Journal,* May 22, December 25, 1884, January 1, 8, 15, December 24, 1885, January 14, February 18, 25, March 11, 18, 25, April 1, 8, May 20, 1886, December 29, 1887, January 5, 12, February 2, March 1, 1888.

[69] *The Daily Journal,* December 14, 21, 1882, January 18, 1883; *The Daily Charlotte Observer,* March 26, April 4, 9, 1884, February 20, 21, 28, March 4, 6, 11, 25, May 2, 15, 22, 1886; *The Durham Tobacco Plant,* February 11, 1882; *The Greensboro Patriot,* March 6, October 20, 1884; *The Landmark,* quoted in *The Smithfield Herald,* July 1, 1886; *The Hillsboro Recorder,* February 2, 1886; *The Newton Enterprise,* January 26, February 23, 1888.

[70] *The Reporter and Post* (Danbury), February 2, 1882, January 28, 1886; *The Mountain Banner* (Rutherfordton) quoted in *The Union Republican,* February 9, 1888; *The Hickory Press* quoted in *The Morning Star,* February 25, March 10, 1886.

most of these newspapers a democracy required an enlightened electorate, and federal aid offered an expedient solution to the acute problem of illiteracy. A few, however, seemed to be primarily interested in federal aid as a device to prevent the increase in State school taxes advocated by Superintendents Scarborough and Finger.[71]

Although a majority of the Democratic editors endorsed federal aid to education early in the eighties, those who opposed it waged such an intense campaign that their influence was far greater than their number would indicate. The Wilmington *Morning Star* was the most influential opponent of federal aid in the east and probably in the entire State. Early in 1882 *The Morning Star* had cautiously endorsed the Blair Bill but within a few months reversed its position and waged a persistent campaign against the passage of any measure of "paternal pedagogy" for the remainder of the decade. The Wilmington paper repeatedly stated that "there are far greater evils than illiteracy and a breaking down of State barriers is one of them."[72] Such views were echoed by a phalanx of eastern journals including *The Tarboro' Southerner,* the Scotland Neck *Democrat,* the Greenville *Eastern Reflector,* and *The Fayetteville Observer.* In the Piedmont *The Charlotte Home-Democrat* and *The Carolina Watchman* of Salisbury were the most caustic critics of federal aid, while *The Asheville Citizen* led the opposition chorus in the Mountain section.[73]

Democratic organs hostile to the Blair Bill and similar measures consistently described such projects as unconstitutional and without historical precedent. In their opinion Congress had no authority "to vote away money for education that was put in the Treasury for altogether another purpose." These critics attempted to prove that the federal aid projects of the 1880's were in no way like the distribution

[71] See *The New Berne Weekly Journal,* December 17, 1886; *The Newton Enterprise* quoted in *The Morning Star,* March 10, 1886; *The Person County Courier* (Roxboro) quoted in *The News and Observer,* June 21, 1887.

[72] *The Morning Star,* March 9, 10, April 10, 13, May 29, 1882, February 27, 1883, January 28, February 15, 18, March 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, April 2, 5, 1884, January 24, 30, 1885. By its own count *The Morning Star* had published 100 editorials on the Blair Bill by 1887, exclusive of numerous excerpts reprinted from other anti-Blair Bill papers. *The Morning Star's* bitterness toward Blair was demonstrated in its description of him as "the wildman in the Senate who is as full of crochets and vagaries as the bed-bug of an old-fashioned inn is of blood after it has feasted for an entire night upon a sleeping victim too maudlin to be a witness to the performance." *The Morning Star,* January 21, 1886.

[73] *The Tarboro' Southerner,* February 15, 1885, March 27, 1890; *The Democrat* quoted in *The Morning Star,* March 9, 20, 1886, January 30, 1888; *The Eastern Reflector,* July 11, 1883, February 17, March 31, 1886, February 22, 1888; *The Fayetteville Observer,* January 19, 1888; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat,* February 12, March 5, 12, 19, 26, April 2, 23, 30, 1886; *The Carolina Watchman,* February 4, 25, March 18, 27, April 1, 8, 29, 1886, February 9, March 8, 1888; *The Asheville Citizen,* May 22, 1882, December 13, 1883, January 3, February 21, April 16, July 10, 1884, April 8, 15, 22, 1886, January 19, 1888.

of the surplus that took place under Andrew Jackson or the provisions for land grant colleges. Their contention was that both of these "so-called precedents" involved public lands which clearly came within congressional jurisdiction. The Wilmington *Morning Star* emphasized too that not only was the surplus under Jackson created by proceeds from public land sales, but it was distributed to the States as loans rather than gifts as envisioned in the Blair measure.[74] In short, newspapers such as *The Morning Star* believed that the federal surplus could be used more judiciously for purposes other than public schools. However, many journals which decried federal aid to education as paternalism urged that the surplus be spent for road construction or even the purchase of land and livestock "for poor people."[75]

The most severe criticism of federal aid to education by its editorial opponents concerned its so-called "sneaking invasion of state rights." Local control of public schools, they predicted, would be replaced by a national educational system supervised directly from Washington. Dark memories of Reconstruction were conjured up; North Carolinians were warned against providing any pretext for the return of "Yankee overseers in our midst." The federal aid panacea, according to *The Carolina Watchman,* was simply another "Freedman's Bureau scheme" spawned by designing Republicans. Such constant reminders of a past era which North Carolina Democrats considered as a hideous experience undoubtedly contributed to the decline in the popularity of the federal aid idea. The Democratic journals in the opposition camp described federal aid as an "insidious Republican plot" to gain control of the public schools, destroy State Rights, enhance the party's status in the South, and retain the tariff and internal revenue.[76] "A high tariff, a productive revenue, and the Blair Bill," *The Asheville Citizen,* observed, "all go together." *The Tarboro' Southerner* agreed that "if the Blair Bill becomes law, there and then ends all hopes of reforming the tariff or repealing . . . the revenue."[77]

The Democratic editors who opposed federal aid to education also argued that it would destroy the "self reliance and sense of respon-

[74] *The Clayton Bud,* May 28, 1886; *The Morning Star,* February 27, 1883, March 20, 25, April 2, 21, 23, 24, 26, 1884, January 9, 24, 30, December 16, 1885, February 25, 26, March 10, April 21, 1886, November 26, 1887, January 6, 1888, February 19, 1890; *The Anson Times* (Wadesboro), April 1, 1886, hereinafter cited as *The Anson Times*; *The Rockingham Rocket* quoted in *The Morning Star,* March 24, 1886.

[75] *The Carolina Watchman,* February 4, 1886; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat,* April 2, 1886.

[76] *The Eastern Reflector,* February 17, March 31, 1886; *The Carolina Watchman,* February 12, March 5, 12, 1886; *The Morning Star,* February 18, March 20, 1884, December 16, 1885, February 24, 1888.

[77] *The Asheville Citizen,* January 19, 1888; *The Tarboro' Southerner* quoted in *The Morning Star,* March 29, 1886.

sibility" of the Southern people. The Wilmington *Morning Star* insisted that "national help . . . means mendicancy." [78] *The Anson Times* claimed that "wholesale feeding from the public crib" stifled individual initiative. *The Times* presented an elaborate argument drawn from Roman history to demonstrate that federal aid to schools would mark the beginning of the decay of the American Republic.[79] Other journals asserted that the passage of the Blair Bill would lead to an immediate reduction in State school taxes and eventually North Carolina would rely solely on federal aid. Therefore, Democratic papers hostile to federal aid appeared as enthusiastic friends of an educational system maintained through local effort. They argued too that the increasing wealth of North Carolina eliminated the need for federal assistance. At any rate, a gradual improvement of school facilities through local initiative was vastly preferable to a more rapid advance with the help of the federal government. "We should rather see," *The Asheville Citizen* asserted, "our school system developed, slowly though it may be, by the honest efforts of our own people, than grow suddenly of a factitious splendor by the idea of a corrupting fund, distributed at the hands of a government not so much to enlighten the people as to buy a fresh hold on power." [80] The Greenville *Eastern Reflector* and the Scotland Neck *Democrat* added that a large portion of federal aid for schools would never benefit "the poor children of the state" because it would be squandered in "greasing the fingers" of various federal officers.[81]

Another, and somewhat contradictory, argument used by the hostile Democratic press was that federal aid would inevitably increase both State and federal taxes. A fertile source of propaganda on this point was the "matching principle" embodied in the Blair Bill which stipulated that a State must in time match federal money in order to share in the distribution of the national educational fund. The Shelby *New Era,* along with other journals, played upon the popular hostility to any increase in school taxes by predicting that North Carolina would have to double its current school tax in order to receive federal aid. If the State refused to levy additional taxes, they argued, it would not receive federal funds for education but its people would still have to contribute their portion of the federal revenues, a part of which would

[78] *The Morning Star,* March 11, 19, 27, 1884, December 16, 1885, January 14, 1886, January 14, 1887. See also, *The Fayetteville Observer,* January 19, 1888.

[79] *The Anson Times,* March 30, 1882.

[80] *The Asheville Citizen,* January 3, 1884. See also, *The New Era* (Shelby) quoted in *The Morning Star,* April 13, 1886, the Shelby paper will hereinafter be cited as *The New Era.*

[81] *The Eastern Reflector,* March 31, 1886; *The Democrat* quoted in *The Morning Star,* January 30, 1888.

be spent for schools in the North. Several journals argued that within two years the surplus would be eliminated by such costly projects as veterans' pensions and federal aid to education; yet the Blair Bill provided aid for ten years which meant that federal taxes would have to be increased within the near future. Such arguments were not without their influence upon a people who already considered their taxes burdensome.[82]

The journalistic critics of federal aid did not fail to utilize the racial prejudices of North Carolinians in an effort to discredit such measures as the Blair Bill. According to their view, Senator Blair suffered from "acute negrophobia," and North Carolina Republicans used his bill to attract Negro votes.[83] The Salisbury *Carolina Watchman* and *The Charlotte Home-Democrat* maintained that "the most dangerous features" of the Blair measure were those which required equitable allocations of school funds "without regard to race" and granted the Secretary of the Interior authority to investigate complaints concerning discriminatory divisions of such funds. For these newspapers such provisions meant the end of segregation in public schools. The Wilmington *Morning Star* agreed that federal aid would lead to "mixed schools" and considered it ridiculous "to violate the organic law . . . so that Sambo may be taught the three R's." *The Pittsboro Home* also warned against the "negro-social-equality" inherent in federal aid projects.[84] *The Montgomery Vidette* stoutly asserted that the Blair Bill "would force taxes from the people to educate the negro—which twenty years of experience shows only makes him indolent and a fit subject of the vagrant act." "White men," *The Vidette* warned "whether they are willing or not, are to be taxed to educate the negro."[85] In brief, the play on racial prejudices by critics of the Blair Bill undoubtedly cooled much of the enthusiasm for federal aid.

Not all newspapers took a clearcut stand on the federal aid issue. For a few journals it posed a serious ideological dilemma; they recog-

[82] *The Monroe Enquirer and Express* quoted in *The Carolina Watchman*, February 25, 1886; *The Pittsboro Home*, January 12, 26, March 22, 1888; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, March 19, April 30, 1886; *The Morning Star*, February 19, November 20, 1887, January 13, February 18, 1888, January 15, 1890; *The New Era*, *The Gastonia Gazette*, *The Weldon News*, and *The Franklin Times* (Louisburg), quoted in *The Morning Star*, April 13 and May 12, 1886, May 6, 1886, February 15, 1888, December 8, 1887, respectively.

[83] *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, March 12, 26, April 2, 1886, February 9, 1888; *The Carolina Watchman*, March 18, 1886; *The Concord Register* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 28, April 30, 1886.

[84] *The Carolina Watchman*, February 25, March 27, April 8, 29, 1886, February 9, 1888; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat*, March 26, April 2, 1886; *The Morning Star*, February 2, April 3, 1884; *The Pittsboro Home*, December 22, 1887, January 12, March 22, 1888.

[85] *The Montgomery Vidette* quoted in *The Morning Star*, March 25, April 21, 1886. See also, *The Anson Times*, April 1, 1886.

nized the financial needs of the public schools and the popular hostility toward additional State school taxes but feared the consequences of federal aid. This quandary resulted at first in noncommittal treatments of the Blair Bill. Editors who assumed such positions ultimately joined the enemies of the measure.[86] In fact, newspapers which changed their attitude toward federal aid almost invariably shifted from a position of lukewarm support to overt hostility. Notable examples included *The Rockingham Rocket, The Monroe Enquirer and Express,* and the Kernersville *News and Farmer.* There is no evidence that any journal moved from active opposition to endorsement of federal aid. This development indicated, among other things, that the foes of the project had executed their arguments skillfully.[87]

In North Carolina public interest in federal aid to education disintegrated rapidly after 1888. When the protracted discussions of the issue failed to produce congressional approval by that date, many people felt that the cause was lost and further efforts would be futile. This decline of interest pointed up significant weaknesses in the crusade for federal aid legislation in North Carolina. First, the Republicans constituted a minority party which suffered from its educational record during Reconstruction. Second, the educational profession lacked the coherence and organization to act as an effective pressure group. Third, the Negroes furnished relatively few articulate spokesmen for the cause and could not be counted upon for the political power that they had formerly wielded. Finally, the split within the State Democratic ranks was a serious detriment to the maintenance of a public opinion favorable to federal aid.

The failure of the Blair Bill to pass even the Senate in 1890 concluded another round in the struggle. For a decade North Carolinians had discussed their schools in regard to the possibility of federal assistance. Probably never before had public education undergone such a searching scrutiny by the people of the State. The discussion poignantly described the woeful inadequacy of the school system, the alarming rate of illiteracy, and the future consequences of the State's

[86] *The Lenoir Topic,* April 16, 1884, declared: "We are divided in our opinion as to this thing [federal aid to public schools]. The dark cloud of illiteracy would seem to make expedient almost any measure calculated to dissipate it, and yet we dread to see the General Treasury opened to alleviate local troubles. Let us hope it will not be an entering wedge that shall encourage the centralizers . . . and above all, let us make good use of it." For *The Topic's* ultimate opposition to federal aid see the issue of March 26, 1890. See also, *The Alamance Gleaner,* April 10, May 11, 1884; *The Chatham Record,* April 10, 1884, March 11, 1886.

[87] *The Monroe Enquirer and Express* quoted in *The Carolina Watchman,* February 25, 1886; *The Charlotte Home-Democrat,* March 12, 1886; *The Rockingham Rocket* and *The News and Farmer* (Kernersville) quoted in *The Morning Star,* March 24, 1886, and January 20, 1888, respectively.

intellectual backwardness. Even the most apathetic citizens must have been jolted and embarrassed by the exposure of educational conditions in their State. By 1890 the movement for educational reforms was gaining momentum in part because public opinion was becoming sympathetic to its goals. The lengthy discussion of federal aid contributed to this shift. The fading of prospects for such help meant that the State would have to continue to rely upon its own resources in the matter of public education. The opponents of federal aid now had adequate opportunity to validate their claims that North Carolina was able to improve educational conditions through its own efforts. Such spokesmen could scarcely afford to oppose greater State support for schools. At any rate, the diagnosis of public education during the debate over federal aid was a significant factor in setting the stage for the successful educational crusade of Charles D. McIver and Edwin A. Alderman between 1889 and 1891. Under the impetus of various forces the school ideal ultimately became integrated in a public opinion that expressed itself in increased taxation for educational purposes.[88]

[88] Rose H. Holder, *McIver of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 80-109; William K. Boyd, "Some Phases of Educational History in the South Since 1865," *Studies in Southern History and Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 264-266; Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid*, 160-162.

CHAMPAGNE AT BRINDLETOWN: THE STORY OF THE BURKE COUNTY GOLD RUSH, 1829-1833

By Edward W. Phifer*

The early 1830's are years to be remembered in Burke County. Andrew Jackson (Old Hickory) was in the White House, and although most local folk did not understand exactly what it was all about, there was a great deal of talk about nullification, high tariff, Calhoun, and State rights.[1] The county government became unusually extravagant and spent $15,000 to build a fine new courthouse out of stone blocks.[2] In the meantime, "Frankie" Silvers was tried for allegedly murdering her husband, was found to be guilty, and was hanged at Morganton.[3] Those who farmed (and that was almost everybody) recalled the summer and autumn of 1830 particularly, because of the drought—one of the worst they had ever seen. The locust and the weevil thrived, and there was not enough water in the streams to grind what grain the farmers did make.[4] Then in November of 1833, the stars fell—"a resplendent shower of meteorites" one word-happy local observer called it.[5]

But this was not all. In 1828 gold was found out in the far end of the county, and by late February of the following year it had been discovered "in at least 100 places in Burke." It was estimated that $200 worth of gold had already been recovered in addition to undetermined amounts of "Native Sulphur, Copperas, and Quicksilver."[6] This news could not have come at a more auspicious psychological moment.

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* Dr. Phifer, a practicing surgeon in Morganton, was recently appointed to the Executive Board of the Department. This paper was originally read in 1961 at the spring meeting of the Burke County Historical Society.

[1] W. W. Avery to Thomas I. Lenoir, January 12, 1833, in Lenoir Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Lenoir Papers; A. C. Avery, *History of the Presbyterian Churches at Quaker Meadows and Morganton from the Year 1780 to 1913* (Raleigh: Privately printed, 1913), 21-22.

[2] Memoirs of Colonel Thomas G. Walton (a typewritten copy), 3, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Walton Memoirs.

[3] Clifton K. Avery (ed.), *Official Court Record of the Trial, Conviction and Execution of Francis Silvers, First Woman Hanged in North Carolina* (Morganton: The News-Herald, 1953), 3-12.

[4] *The North Carolina Spectator and Western Advertiser* (Rutherfordton), September 3, 1830, hereinafter cited as *The Spectator.*

[5] Walton Memoirs, 42-43.

[6] Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, February 22, 1829, Lenoir Papers.

A nationwide and world-wide shortage of gold existed. The deficiencies of the national and State monetary systems, the frequent economic upheavals, and the "hard money" versus "paper money" political controversy had made the people of the country gold-conscious. They knew that gold had already been found in Cabarrus, Anson, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, and other western North Carolina counties prior to 1820, so that the news of the strike in Burke was not altogether unexpected.[7] But this much is certain. For a few frenzied years it convulsed the cultural, social, and economic life of this county. It provided the spark for a period of rapid industrialization, commercial activity, fiscal organization, and rife speculation such as has never been duplicated in this area since that day. The flame that was ignited lit the countryside, burned with great intensity and brilliant color for a quarter of a decade, settled to a quiet glow for a few years, and then smoldered on almost into the twentieth century.

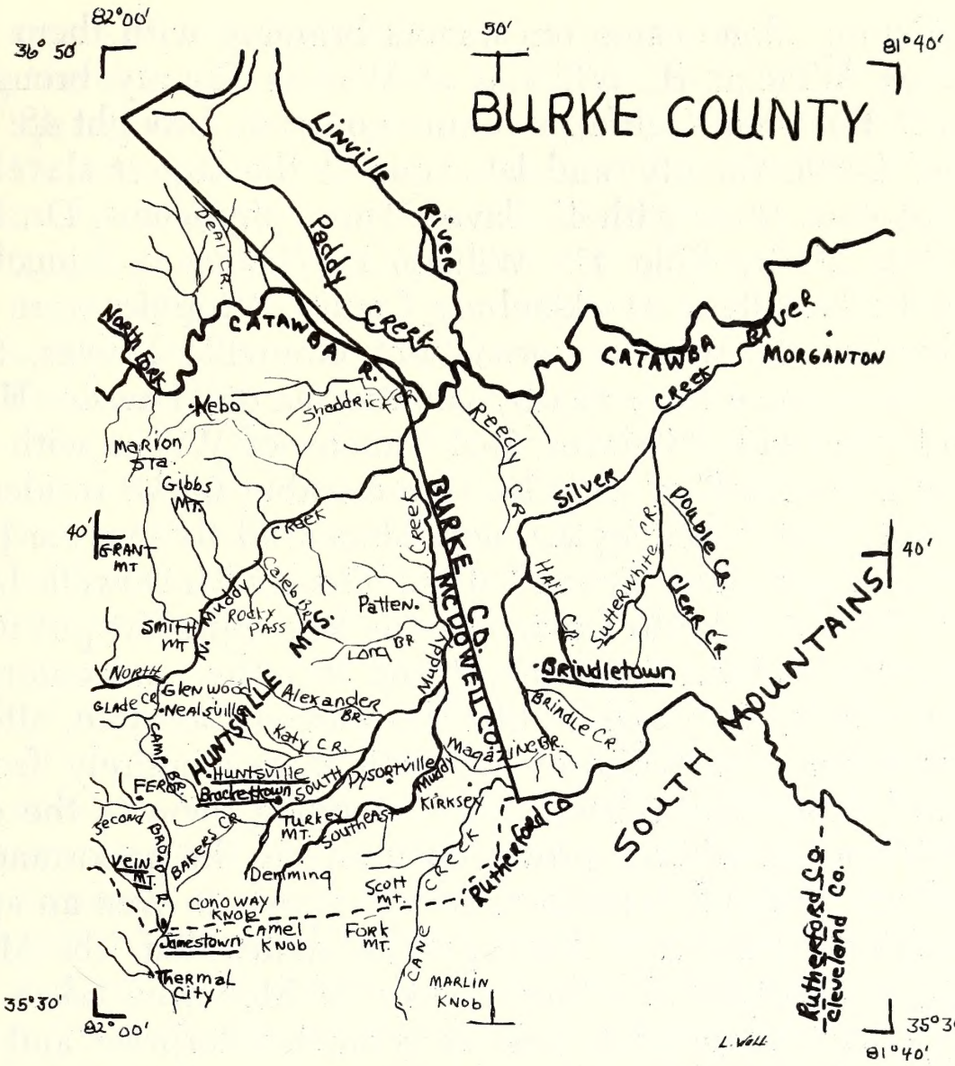
In so far as it is possible to determine, things did not begin to really crackle and pop until late spring of 1829. It was then that the Rush actually began with a rapid influx of large numbers of nonresidents who came for the sole purpose of mining gold. A local businessman wrote in late February of 1829," The gold is here," and then added with a tinge of skepticism "but if we can make more by digging potatoes, they are the surest business. I have felt the symptoms and made some [land] entries, but as yet have escaped the fever."[8] A little more than four months later, however, he changed his tune entirely, and wrote:

> I mentioned in one of my letters the Discovery of Gold in Burke . . . but just about that time, a disease called the Gold Fever, became, and still continues [to be], the most universal epidemic that ever visited our County. The sale of sweet Water lands, produced nothing like the excitement that has been witnessed here within three months past . . . indeed half the Citizens of Wilksboro and its vicinity are in Burke, either as actual operatives in Mines, or as Speculators buying Gold Lands. A single Mine has averaged from $2,000 to 2,500 weekly since the first of April, and I do not hesitate to say, that there will be 2,000 men employed in Burke as Miners by the first of August. . . . I do not intend to try to inoculate [*sic*] you with the Fever but [I] do not know that it would be safe for you to visit the infected district.[9]

[7] Fletcher M. Green, "Gold Mining: A Forgotten Industry of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XIV (January, 1937), 9, hereinafter cited as Green, "Gold Mining."

[8] Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, February 22, 1829, Lenoir Papers.

[9] Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, July 4, 1829, Lenoir Papers. The mention of "sweet Water lands" undoubtedly refers to the land boom in middle Tennessee.



NOTE: McDowell County had not been formed in 1829-1833. All of the area shown on the map west of this line was then in Burke County.

Map prepared by Linda Smith Wall.

The area in which these people "struck it rich" was situated in mountainous southwestern Burke County and the adjacent parts of Rutherford County. On the headwaters of Silver Creek and on its tributaries—Brindle, Hall, and Satterwhite creeks—lay the rich Brindletown district with Brackettown to the west on the headwaters of the South Muddy; beyond this lay Huntsville, Vein Mountain, and the fabulous Jamestown where the land of James Jeans [Jaynes] bordered the Second Broad River. In Rutherford County miners began to work on the headwaters and tributaries of the First Broad as it ran through Golden Valley, and mining companies were active in the Whiteside Settlement.[10] Into this gold-rich district poured the great slaveholders of the North Carolina Black Belt and adjoining southside Virginia. From

[10] Clarence W. Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties, North Carolina, 1730-1936* (Asheville: Miller Printing Company, 1937), 195-208, hereinafter cited as Griffin, *Rutherford County;* Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, June 13, 1831; W. W. Avery to Thomas I. Lenoir, January 12, 1833, Lenoir Papers.

Granville County alone came ten miners bringing with them a total of 293 slaves. William H. Williams of Warren County brought 88; Hutchings G. Burton of Halifax, a former governor, brought 48; Cullen Capehart of Bertie County, and later one of the largest slaveholders in North Carolina, came with 42 slaves. Three physicians, Dr. Horace B. Satterwhite of Granville, Dr. William F. Thomas of Lincoln, and Dr. John S. Baskerville of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, were among the gold-hunters, as was the prominent Granville lawyer, Samuel Hillman. Others came from nearby counties as did Lawson H. Alexander of Lincoln with 26 slaves, Joel Vannoy of Wilkes with 6, and John Logan of Rutherford with 10. Innumerable Burke residents entered into the quest.[11] Among the more affluent of these were John E. Butler, John Carson, John Erwin Patton, Charles McDowell, Isaac T. Avery, and William Alberto Erwin. As one local optimist put it: "The fact that numbers of our most intelligent, wealthy, and enterprizing citizens from the eastern and middle counties of the State, after personal examination, are withdrawing their slaves entirely from the cultivation of cotton and tobacco, and removing them to the deposit mines in this county, while it proves conclusively the importance they [the mines] are destined to assume, [yet it] prevents even an approximation to ultimate results." [12] And again he writes that "the Mines in this County have attracted hither, a body of Men who taken collectively will perhaps be found, to possess as much enterprize, and intelli-

[11] Microfilm copies (originals in National Archives) of Manuscript Population Schedules, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Census, 1820-1840, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, list the following slaveholders in Burke County Census of 1830, but not in 1820 or 1840 (number of slaves enclosed in parentheses following each name): Thomas J. Robards (116), Henry M. Clay (37), Thomas Jones (31), Zachariah Blackwell (29), Nathaniel W. Daniel (18), Daniel Jones (16), John L. Henderson (15), William D. Henderson (14), Soloman Allen (12) and John Blackwell (5), all probably from Granville County; William H. [enry] Williams (88) was from Warren County; Hutchings G. Burton (48) later of Lincoln County, James Allen (26), Oscar Willis (10) were probably from Halifax County; Cullen Capehart (42) was from Bertie County; John G. Wingfield (20), William A. Graham (10) and possibly William D. Womack were from either Mecklenburg, Dinwiddie, or Brunswick counties in southside Virginia; others listed who probably came from eastern or central North Carolina were William Herring (18), possibly from Duplin, Lenoir, or Sampson County, Green B. Palmer (15), Thomas Gibson (10), George Hill, Jr. (10), Zedekiah Robinson (10), John Queen (6). Other large-scale participants in gold mining industry of Burke County not noted in Fifth Census were: Dr. John S. Baskerville of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, see "Barnard Letters," 348 (cited in footnote 14, below); also see Table 1 for reference to following participants: Robert Hamilton, Patrick Hamilton, Thomas Turner, Joseph H. Bryan, William Robards, Nathaniel Robards, Samuel Henderson, Alexander Henderson, Thomas T. Hunt, Stephen K. Sneed and Dr. Horace B. Satterwhite all of Granville County, Kemp P. Willis of Halifax County and William H. Hodge of Southside, Virginia; others noted were James D. Johnson, Thomas Green, William J. Alexander, Sidney Haiskell, and Joseph Nelson who could not be further identified.

[12] Isaac T. Avery to Samuel P. Carson, *Report No. 89*, Twenty-Second Congress, First Session, 23, hereinafter cited as *Report No. 89*. This is also cited by Green, "Gold Mining," 12-13.

gence, as can be found among an equal population any where. . . ." [13] A Yankee traveler visiting the area in the spring of 1833 found the mines to be "spread over the whole country, south of this point [Morganton]." He was introduced to Dr. Baskerville, mentioned above, who immediately took him in tow and "introduced him to about 20 young men engaged in the mining business—and a fine set they were to [*sic*]. In the course of the evening," our admiring visitor continues, "Champagne and Madeira were brought in and a right merry time we had of it. . . . This morning before I left I called upon several Ladies—and heard a very fine piano [played] in a log hut." And then he added: "There are 5,000 slaves engaged in mining in this county." Not all the mines were worked by these slaveholding grandees. As a matter of fact, this same visitor describes the mine of a certain "Mr. Mitchell" in this way: "His mining land is situated on a little creek—he employs 30 hands, who turn out a pwt [pennyweight] and a half a day per hand." Here, he found men, women, girls, and boys all working together in the mines. At another spot he saw 60 men ditching in one field and over 100 in another. All the miners, rich and poor alike, lived in one-story log houses, many of which had two rooms.[14] Pleasure and patriotism were intermingled with hard work and fine wine. Such an occasion was the Fourth of July celebration held "near Col. Brian's [probably Larkin B. Bryan of Rutherfordton] Store in Burke County." The Fourth came on Sunday so the celebration was held on Saturday and began at noon: "The day was ushered in by firing a Hickory tree as a substitute for a cannon. . . . The Declaration of Independence was read by Mr. Daniel Jones, and followed by an Oration from Kemp P. Willis, Esquire. . . . A barbecue collation was then served by Mr. Thomas Jeans, Jr., of which about one hundred partook; Mr. Daniel Jones officiating as President, and Lawson H. Alexander, Esquire as Vice President. The assemblage of people was very great, and besides those of the neighborhood, were many gentlemen from different parts of the Union, drawn hither to gather the golden fleece." Thirteen "regular" and twelve "volunteer" toasts were drunk and the newspaper account of this event closes by saying: "The day was fine and the company separated at an early hour." [15] Several historians and contemporary observers have suggested that the miners were a motley group—"poor,

[13] Henry T. Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 5 volumes, 1950-1956), II, 107, hereinafter cited as Shanks, *Mangum Papers*.

[14] B. C. Steiner (ed.), "The South Atlantic States in 1833, as Seen by a New Englander (Henry Barnard)," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIII (1918), 346-348, hereinafter cited as Steiner, "Barnard Letters."

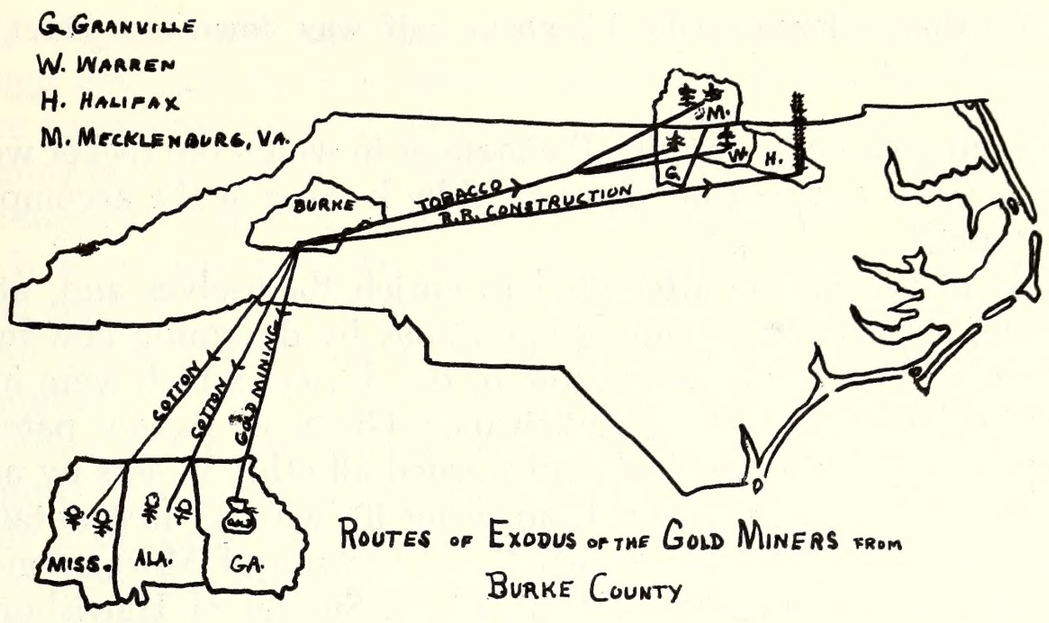
[15] *The Spectator*, July 9, 1830.

ignorant and morally degenerate."[16] In the case of Burke County, the records do not support this view. In fact, the editor of a regional newspaper denied contemporary indictments of this kind when he wrote in 1831 that such charges "will not hold good as to the mines in this neighborhood; it is very far from the truth, and a libel on the character of our miners. At the principal mines much system is pursued, and no more immorality exists than in any other pursuit of industry."[17]

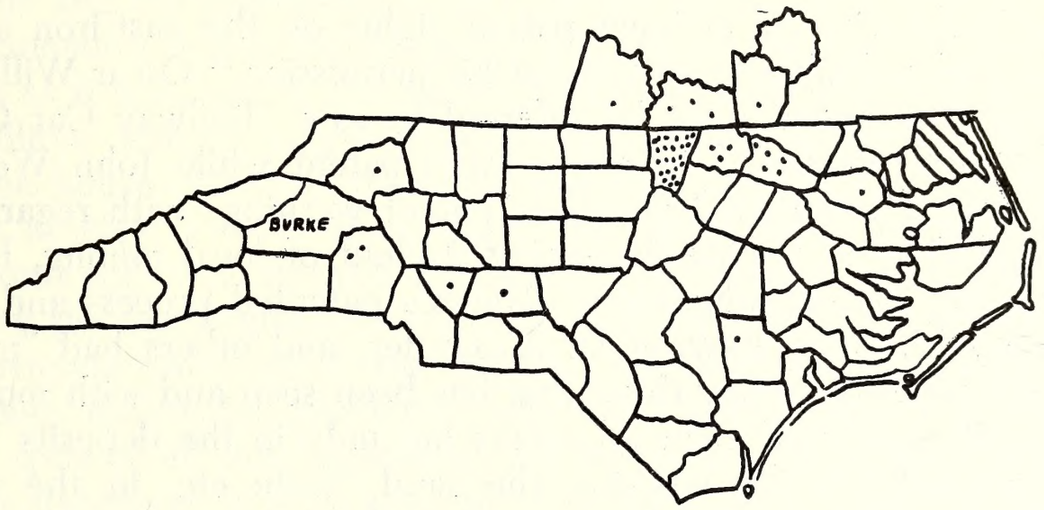
Technically speaking, the mining of gold in Burke County was a relatively simple operation in the early thirties. The source from which the gold was removed is referred to today as a placer but that term was not ordinarily used in contemporary accounts. The term that they did use was "deposit." The gold removed by this method from the sand and gravel of a stream or old stream bed was aptly referred to as "branch gold" or "alluvial gold" and the manner of removal was called "deposit mining." This method of mining was in contradistinction to so-called "vein mining" which required extensive excavating and rock crushing equipment in order to recover the gold from a vein in the rock and transfer it to a point where existed machinery for washing. Obviously "vein mining" required more capital, more equipment, and more technical knowledge; and it afforded opportunity for much greater reward, assuming that veins of gold were present. On the other hand, deposit mining required nothing more than pick, shovel, a stream of water, and a pan—or at most a rocker—with which to separate the heavy particles containing gold from lighter sand, gravel, and debris.[18] Hence there were many individual miners working alone in the deposit mines of Burke County—in 1829 the number was estimated at 1,000. At first the gold was recovered without the use of quicksilver, but since this substance was readily available, it was soon generally employed in the separation process. Here is a contemporary account of the mining process as it was carried out at Brindletown in 1833:

> On the top of course is the soil and dirt varying from 4 to 8 feet, then comes a layer of gravel, which is found always upon a strata of slate, in this gravel, especially toward the bottom, the gold is diffused in very small particles. The top soil is removed—then the gravel is washed, by being thrown into what is called a rocker, or cradle, which is in fact a [*sic*]

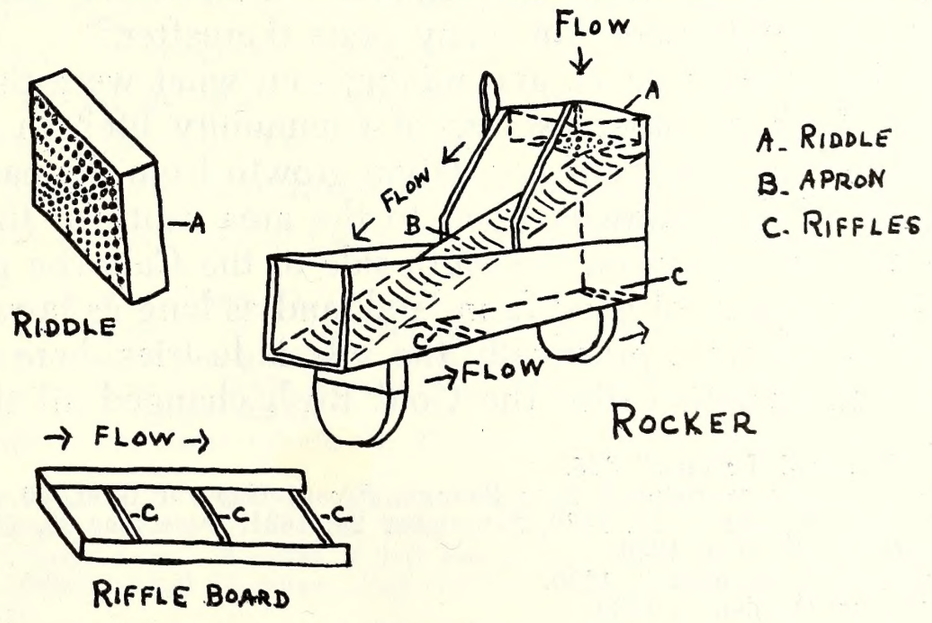
[16] Green, "Gold Mining," 15; Griffin, *Rutherford County*, 205.
[17] *The Spectator*, June 11, 1831.
[18] Isaac T. Avery to Samuel P. Carson, *Report No. 39*, 23; Green, "Gold Mining," 12-13; Walton Memoirs, 26-28; see also accompanying diagrams. For other technical information, see T. A. Rickard, *Man and Metals* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 2 volumes, 1932), II, 728-734 and Eros M. Savage, *Prospecting for Gold and Silver* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934), 1-62, hereinafter cited as Savage, *Prospecting for Gold.*



ROUTES OF EXODUS OF THE GOLD MINERS FROM BURKE COUNTY



AREAS FROM WHICH BURKE MINERS CAME



Mining machinery, adapted from Eros M. Savage, *Prospecting for Gold and Silver*, 40.

little more than a large cradle [.] about half way down is a sheet iron riddle. . . .[19]

The account goes on to describe the manner in which the rocker works, a process which can best be understood by looking at the accompanying diagram.[20]

Certain of the miners attempted to enrich themselves and, at the same time, improve their mining operations by designing new-model rockers or by modifying one or more of the devices which were incorporated in the basic washing contrivance. Green B. Palmer patented his "Improved Panning Rocker" and warned all other miners by newspaper advertisement to refrain from using it "without first obtaining written permission from his agents R. C. Pearson of Morganton and Henry M. Clay of Jamestown."[21] T. W. A. Sumter of Harrisburg in western Burke County claimed patent rights on the cast-iron sieve or riddle and forbade its use without his permission.[22] Oscar Willis of Brackettown designed what he referred to as a "Railway Car Gold Riddle"[23] and proceeded to apply for a patent while John Woody of Jeanstown [Jamestown] issued a "patent warning" with regard to "The Gold Cradle."[24] One discerning student of local mining, however, was not too sanguine about Palmer's patented process and felt that Henry M. Clay, Lawson H. Alexander, and others had "made machinery superior to any thing that has been seen and with modifications, will superceed [*sic*] all others not only in the deposits [the deposit mines] but for working the sand, paste etc. in the vein Mines."[25] There is no way of knowing which of these principles survived but, out of it all, came the famous "Burke rocker" which was widely used by gold miners for many years thereafter.[26]

So much for mines, miners, and mining—but what were the effects of the Gold Rush on other aspects of community life? In the first place, it shifted the centers of population growth from the part of the County north of the Catawba River to the area south of the River. The great alluvial valleys on the north side of the Catawba provided a far greater total area of good farm land, and as long as farming and animal husbandry were practically the sole industries, here was the population concentration. But the Gold Rush changed all this. The

[19] Steiner, "Barnard Letters," 346.
[20] These sketches are reproduced from Savage, *Prospecting for Gold*, 40.
[21] *The Spectator*, December 10, 1830, September 24, 1831, December 29, 1832.
[22] *The Spectator*, April 9, 1830.
[23] *The Spectator*, September 3, 1830.
[24] *The Spectator*, October 1, 1830.
[25] Isaac T. Avery to William B. Lenoir, June 13, 1831, Lenoir Papers.
[26] Green, "Gold Mining, 18.

influx of miners not only increased the population south of the River through immigration from other counties and States, but it drew the native population to these centers of increased economic activity. The incoming tide of miners brought little with them except people. All had to be supplied with food, clothing, and mining supplies. Unfortunately, very few of these products could be obtained locally. Pork was imported from Kentucky; bacon and flour from Tennessee; iron casting, mining tools, shoes, and clothing for Negroes had to come from Philadelphia or other manufacturing centers of the North. Only corn, vegetables, and beef could be produced locally in quantities sufficient to supply the swelling population.[27] This put a great strain on the wholly inadequate system of currency and credit. If it had not been for the entirely fortuitous establishment of the branch bank at Morganton and the processing of gold by the Bechtlers at Rutherfordton, the monetary system would undoubtedly have collapsed in this area.[28] Even as it was, one of the mining combines from Granville County—Hamilton, Turner, and Robards—found it necessary to issue drafts on the house of James Hamilton and Son payable at the Chemical Bank of New York.[29] This commercial paper was pumped into the economy and was allowed to circulate as currency in an attempt to relieve the distressing scarcity of money. Finally, President Jackson's unfortunate handling of the national banking system added to the currency difficulties, psychologically if not otherwise.

In spite of all this hindrance, commerce and trade were most certainly stimulated in both Morganton and the mining areas by the Gold Rush. Large merchandising establishments such as William A. Erwin and Company, John Caldwell and Company, or Walton and McEntire monopolized the business at the county seat.[30] Sidney Stanhope Erwin operated stores at both Brindletown and Brackettown.[31] Felix W. Bracket and Albert G. Forney also had stores at Brackettown, while Charles Carson was in business at Brindletown.[32] Major John E. Patton also owned a store in the gold mining area.[33] The Rush provoked an

[27] Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 107-111.

[28] Griffin, *Rutherford County*, 173-174, 195-204. For a more detailed account of the local currency woes at this particular time, see Edward W. Phifer, "Money, Banking, and Burke County in the Ante-Bellum Era," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVII (January, 1960), 22-37.

[29] *N. Carolina Free Press* (Tarboro), November 15, 1833; Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, 108-109.

[30] Minutes of the Burke County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, April Session, 1832, July Session, 1834, hereinafter cited as Burke County Court Minutes.

[31] Burke County Court Minutes, April Session, 1830, April Session, 1832.

[32] Burke County Court Minutes, July Session, 1831, April Session, 1830, January Session, 1831.

[33] Burke County Court Minutes, April Session, 1831.

inevitable and intensive speculation in some of Burke County's poorest farm land [See Table I]. Thousands of acres changed hands on several occasions and the number of land transactions increased markedly during this period. Larger mining companies were formed as the industry

TABLE I

Recorded Title Transfers of Burke County Land for Mining Purposes, 1830-1834
[Incomplete listing]

Term of Court Recorded	Seller	Buyers	No. of Acres
April, 1830	Samuel Miller	Sidney Haiskel, Kemp P. Willis	
	Job Upton	Kemp P. Willis, Oscar Willis	
	William Marshall	Joseph Nelson, Samuel Henderson, Kemp P. Willis	
October, 1830	Joshua Hall, Sr.	John Carson, Sr., Joseph McD. Carson, Charles Carson, Samuel P. Carson, Kemp Willis, Oscar Willis, James McDowell	50
	John Sudderth	Joseph Brendle	
January, 1831	John Pullum	Joseph H. Bryan	
	Nathaniel Robards	William Robards	
	James Dykes	Joseph H. Bryan, Nathaniel Robards, William Robards	
	Dr. Samuel Tate	William A. Graham	
	Stephen K. Sneed	James D. Johnson	
	John Pullum	William A. Graham	
	Thomas Green	William H. Hodge, Thomas T. Hunt	
	James Mason	William H. Hodge, Thomas T. Hunt	
	William Murphy	Thomas T. Hunt, William H. Hodge	
	Israel A. Morrison and Hunt	Cornelius Welch	
	Stephen K. Sneed	James D. Johnson, William A. Graham	
	Carter Hedgepeth	William Hodge, Thomas T. Hunt	
	Cullen Capehart	Patrick Hamilton	
	Samuel Henderson	Alexander Henderson, William J. Alexander, Kemp P. Willis	7,580
September, 1831	William C. Butler	Joseph H. Bryan, William Robards	Interest in 30,000
January, 1832	James Harris	William A. Graham	
	Stephen K. Sneed	William A. Graham	
	James D. Johnson		
April, 1834	Jesse H. Simmons	William McGeahee, Patton and Thomas, Erwin and Carson	
October, 1834	Isaac T. Avery	Robert Hamilton	1,050

began to mature, such as the Burke County Gold Mining Company incorporated in 1834 by Kemp P. Willis and Oscar Willis with a capitalization of $100,000, shares having a par value of $100 each.[34]

[34] *Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at the Session of 1834-35*, c.XXXIX.

There is no possible way to determine the amount of gold that has been recovered in Burke County from first to last, for the desultory and intermittent mining of this metal continued for many years after the Gold Rush was over. In 1841, for example, it was estimated that $12,000,000 worth of gold had been removed from the mines of Burke and Rutherford counties. On the other hand, another authority estimated on the same date that $6,000,000 was nearer the correct figure.[35] Ordinarily, during the Rush years, a hand could produce one and a half to two and a half pennyweight of gold per day. One of the new mines opened at Jamestown in 1830 was reported to produce four pennyweight per hand.[36] The Bank at Morganton bought fluxed gold for eighty-four cents a pennyweight. This gold was transported to the United States Mint at Philadelphia where it was coined for general circulation. The Bechtlers claimed that the miner saved about six cents a pennyweight if the coinage was performed in their mint. Undoubtedly some of the gold was exported in bullion form or utilized in the arts and trades, but there is no reason to believe that this method of disposal was any more profitable to the miners.[37] According to tradition, the Golden Valley gold brought five cents a pennyweight more than that which was mined at Brindletown, Brackettown, and Jamestown.[38]

By autumn of 1833, mining activities had begun to diminish and it was estimated that one-third to one-half of the labor force would leave before winter.[39] A local enterpriser, who had been among the most optimistic during the height of the Rush, now furtively admitted that he was "trying to dig out as much gold between pulling fodder, and gathering corn as will pay for my salt, sugar, coffee etc." And then he added pessimistically, "I don't know whether I shall accomplish it."[40] In late summer of 1835, he again wrote that he was "mining some on Little Silver Creek. Hope to raise enough by cold weather," he continued "to pay for my sugar, coffee and salt."[41] By the following spring, the "smart money" had gone and the Gold Rush in Burke County was a thing of the past.

It is interesting to speculate as to why the miners gave up when

[35] *American Almanac* (Boston: David H. Williams, 1841), 216, quoting John H. Wheeler, who in turn cites a letter of Isaac T. Avery who includes an estimation by Albert G. Forney in his report.

[36] *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette*, April 15, 1830; *The Spectator*, May 14, 1830; Griffin, *Rutherford County*, 205-206.

[37] Griffin, *Rutherford County*, 198.

[38] Thomas Neal, in an interview with Edward W. Phifer, February, 1961. Mr. Neal, inhabitant of the Brindletown area, has always been interested in this subject.

[39] Isaac T. Avery to Isaac T. Lenoir, September 30, 1833, Lenoir Papers.

[40] Isaac T. Avery to Isaac T. Lenoir, September 30, 1833, Lenoir Papers.

[41] Isaac T. Avery to Thomas Lenoir, August 30, 1835, Lenoir Papers.

they did. The traditional reason given is that the discovery of gold in California depressed the price of gold so that it was no longer profitable to mine in this section. Yet the real Rush had burnt itself out in this county as least twelve years before it actually began in California. Why, then, did the more discerning entrepreneurs abandon the mines of Burke County at this particular time? There is no single answer to this question but a complex of them. In the first place, smart operators believed that the future of gold mining lay in the realm of vein mining rather than in deposit mining, and vein mines were being discovered with encouraging regularity in Habersham, Hall, and Carroll counties in Georgia.[42] In the second place, the price of cotton was skyrocketing, and slave labor was better adapted to agriculture than to any other pursuit. Furthermore, railroad building was beginning in eastern North Carolina, which in turn greatly increased the demand for slave labor and insured a more stable return on slave investment. Finally, some miners decided to return to their home counties to raise tobacco, an occupation with which both slave and master were well acquainted.

Consequently, it can be said with assurance that some of the miners migrated to Georgia to try their luck in another gold field, some were lured to the cotton belts of Mississippi and Alabama, and others retraced their steps to the North Carolina border counties of southside Virginia, there to hire their slaves to a railroad contractor or to utilize them on tobacco plantations.[43]

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[42] *The Spectator*, June 18, 1830; John A. Jones to Thomas Foster, *Report No. 39*, 24.
[43] Isaac T. Avery to Isaac T. Lenoir, September 30, 1833, Lenoir Papers.

BOOK REVIEWS

Poets of North Carolina. Edited by Richard Walser. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1963. Index. Pp. xvii, 142. $4.00.)

For *Poets of North Carolina*, the latest addition to a growing list of North Carolina-centered anthologies, both the poets and the editor, Professor Richard Walser of North Carolina State College, are to be commended. The volume may take its place without apology alongside Mr. Walser's earlier collections of North Carolina drama, short stories, articles, and poetry. Unlike his *North Carolina Poetry* (1941), which spanned two centuries of poetic composition, the current volume includes the work of only twenty poets, all either native-born North Carolinians or now "apparently permanent residents" here and all "active in North Carolina during recent times." The anthology thus in no way supersedes, but rather supplements, the earlier volume, last revised in 1951 and now out of print.

To his editorial task, Professor Walser comes admirably prepared to deal effectively with his twenty poets. His own North Carolina background, his keen critical insights, and his responsiveness to both the old and the new in poetry serve him well as he selects from and introduces, with comments biographical and critical, the work of each poet.

The selections themselves offer the reader a varied fare. The poets range from traditionalists to experimenters for whom no category has yet been devised. Their forms range from the oft-used sonnet and blank verse to the seldom-seen cinquain and the "pulsing jazz meters" of one young poet. As do the poets of all times and all places, "the composite North Carolina poet" finds his materials in the age-old but perennially new issues of life. Here is death, poignantly caught, starkly terrifying, or stoically borne. Equally pervasive is the theme of love, many-faceted and variously known. The weary sigh of one lyric deepens into the anguished cry of another; the good-natured chuckle at some human frailty in one bit of light verse sharpens into the sardonic quip of another; the ancient wisdom of the earth-bound philosopher finds its counterpart in the musings of the academic mind steeped in the poetry of the ages.

Less ambitious in scope than some of this regional anthologist's earlier ventures, *Poets of North Carolina* does more than fill a gap on the North Carolina shelf. Here is proof incontrovertible that many a "wordsmith" is currently and successfully at work in The Old North State.

Norma Rose.

Meredith College.

The North Carolina Portrait Index, 1700-1860. Compiled by Laura MacMillan. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1963. Illustrations, descriptive text, and indexes. Pp. x, 272. $15.00.)

Several years ago the Historic Activities Committee of the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames in America, with Mrs. Roger Gant as Chairman, decided upon a project of great intrinsic worth but seemingly impossible of execution: to locate and photograph and catalog all of the "old portraits" in the State. As the project took shape, assistance came from several sources. The National Society of Colonial Dames offered a grant to help with expenses. The Frick Art Reference Library in New York, which has been engaged for many years in this work on a national scale, offered its facilities and staff. Thus the "Portrait Project," now under the leadership of Mrs. James O. Moore, got underway. The accumulation of information was of course the major task, involving the related research facilities in the State and, one can imagine, endless rumor, hearsay, disappointments, and unexpected treasures. For the Frick teams, itineraries had to be set in advance and owners' permissions obtained. Other portraits outside the field of the Frick's interests had to be located, photographed, and documented.

After this great mass of material was assembled, the current Chairman, Mrs. Laura MacMillan, and her committee undertook the job of selecting the works to be presented in the volume under review. Many factors were involved in each decision; the criteria for eligibility are given in the Preface. The Committee wisely included portraits now owned within the State regardless of origin of subject, as well as portraits of North Carolinians even if owned outside the State.

The resulting volume is a handsome book. There are 500 portraits illustrated, each with full descriptive information and location, given alphabetically by subject. In a separate index, the artists are listed with short but comprehensive biographies and with page references for their works—a most useful feature that is surprisingly often omitted in other works of this kind. Another section of the book gives an

extensive list of portraits not illustrated. And in a final section, the reader will be surprised and delighted to find the portraits indexed by location.

As for the main body of the work, the 500 North Carolina portraits, there can be very few North Carolinians, no matter what their interests, who will not find them totally engrossing on many levels, for here is a record of history, of art, of people. The North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames has made a major contribution to the history and culture of the State, presented in an attractive and useful format.

Catherine G. Barnhart.

State Department of Archives and History.

William Swaim, Fighting Editor: The Story of O. Henry's Grandfather. By Ethel Stephens Arnett. (Greensboro: Piedmont Press [Distributed by Straughan's Bookshop, Greensboro]. 1963. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. Pp. xi, 401. $6.95.)

William Swaim was Editor and owner of the *Greensborough Patriot* from May 23, 1829, until his death at the age of thirty-three on December 31, 1835. During this short time, he made the *Patriot* one of the leading newspapers in ante-bellum North Carolina, a reputation continued by his cousin and successor Lyndon Swaim.

Mrs. Arnett, known for a previously published history of Greensboro, as well as a biography of O. Henry, begins her study of Swaim and the *Patriot* with a brief history of Centre Community, the largely Quaker area in southern Guilford County where Swaim was born December 16, 1802. Here she establishes the relationship of Swaim with Jonathan Worth, later Governor of North Carolina, whose sister Ruth became the paternal grandmother of William Sidney Porter (O. Henry). Swaim's only child, Mary, married the eldest son of Ruth Worth Porter, thus making William Swaim the maternal grandfather of Greensboro's distinguished short story writer.

The greater part of this book is devoted to the editorial career of Swaim. Mrs. Arnett not only describes the positions taken by the *Patriot* on the leading issues in North Carolina politics during the six years of Swaim's editorship, she also reprints long excerpts from the paper which expressed the editor's opinions; thus, in effect, making her book important as a primary source. In this connection, Mrs. Arnett organizes her material along topical lines. Of particular interest to a student of early newspapers are the reproductions of examples of lay-

out employed by Swaim in making the *Patriot* one of the more attractive newspapers published in ante-bellum North Carolina.

Mrs. Arnett has written a substantial account of one of North Carolina's early newspapermen. It is based on an earlier biography written by Will L. Scott which appeared in the *Greensboro Patriot* in 1866. This is supplemented by extensive use of extant files of the *Patriot* and other contemporary newspapers. A rather full Index makes her book of considerable value to a student of this period.

Robert N. Elliott.

North Carolina State of the University
of North Carolina at Raleigh.

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume II, 1817-1818. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1963. Frontispiece, bibliography, and index. Pp. xciv, 513. $10.00.)

This second volume of the John C. Calhoun papers was edited by W. Edwin Hemphill who succeeded the late Professor Robert L. Meriwether as editor of the papers. In his Preface the new editor informs his readers that he has made many independent judgments and decisions as to the handling of the papers. This is evident in the internal details of editing, and in the somewhat differing philosophies concerning the arrangement and abstracting of letters and documents.

Dr. Hemphill has no less admiration for his subject than did Professor Meriwether. In an extensive essay the editor evaluates to a large extent the qualities of John C. Calhoun but likewise the quality of judgments made by his many biographers. In this connection Dr. Hemphill and all the other editors and sponsors of the important papers editing projects, must raise questions as to how worthwhile to historians and biographers are the papers. The basic assumptions are three: First, new papers will be found in the far more intensive searches which are made by the federal archival agencies, by private collectors, institutional archivists and librarians, and by the several editorial staffs than were ever possible for individual scholars. Second, a competent editing of the papers would supply an astronomical amount of identification which is an impossible task for the individual scholar. Third, the editors could both select and abstract papers which should be considered by scholars. In making their judgments editors have been faced with the task of determining what to include and what to leave out, how deeply to cut into papers they abstract, but

most important of all is the evaluation which they make of the papers. Some scholars now complain the projects are too expensive, and the editors do not make extensive enough appraisals of their subjects. All of these criticisms can largely be classed as both pertinent and carping.

In this second volume of the Calhoun papers Dr. Hemphill attempts to give a value appraisal of John C. Calhoun as Secretary of War. At the same time he makes some interesting observations on the manner in which biographers and historians have treated this phase of Calhoun's career. The essay greatly amplifies the importance of this part of Calhoun's official career. His prefatory essay is an exceedingly useful part of this volume. It is competent, critical, and analytical.

Papers included in this volume are almost altogether War Department documents dating from November, 1817, to July, 1818, a period of approximately seven months. The nature of the correspondence is almost completely official. It pertains to all sorts of problems ranging from personnel and supply problems of the Army to reports and observations on domestic and border problems, including those provoked by the Seminole War. All of this documentary material reflects the monstrous task which fell on the energetic young South Carolinan. Perhaps the multitudinous staff of the Pentagon today would have greater difficulty imagining how Calhoun operated with such meager staff than Calhoun would have in imagining how the Pentagon works.

The quality of this volume is to be appraised in four areas, the selection of documents, the scope of the period, the abstractions, and the editorial notes. All of these have been achieved with scholarly expedition. One shudders to think of the monstrous task yet to be done, if the future volumes are confined to such short chronological periods.

Thomas D. Clark.

University of Kentucky.

The Southeast in Early Maps: With an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America During the Colonial Period. By William P. Cumming. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1962. Preface, table of contents, listings of maps, index to the introductory essay, and supplement. Pp. ix, 284. $12.50.)

The Southeast in Early Maps is again available in a welcome reprint edition from the University of North Carolina Press. Professor Cum-

ming has added a small supplement containing corrections to the original text and a few additional manuscript map listings.

This valuable work, the result of Professor Cumming's long interest in the field of cartography, contains reproductions of the principal pre-Revolutionary maps, both general and local, of the southeastern United States. The author has written an excellent introductory essay which details the history of maps and mapmakers through the three centuries of discovery, settlement, and expansion.

The list of known maps of the period, which comprises the bulk of the text, is a tribute to the author's thoroughness. Each map is described and discussed carefully. References are specified and the location of copies given.

This book provides the kind of information that is indispensable to a thorough study of early American history. It illustrates the gradual, painful accumulation of knowledge of the southeastern "New World," from the first recorded soundings of the coast to the relatively sophisticated survey maps made prior to the war with England. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this study is the wealth of misinformation that was propagated through the use of "mother" maps from which subsequent cartographers borrowed without any particular concern for new findings.

The map plates themselves are excellent and show no perceptible deterioration in quality from the first edition.

Roger Jones.

State Department of Archives and History.

Four Years on the Firing Line. By James Cooper Nisbet. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1963. Illustrations, notes, and index. Pp. xxi, 267. $5.00.)

Originally published in 1914, Colonel Nisbet's narrative of his experiences in the Confederate Army has been re-edited with both scalpel and axe by Professor Wiley and livened up with the addition of interesting pictures and editorial comments. At the beginning of the War Nisbet, who had graduated from Oglethorpe University in 1858, was engaged with his brother in running a large stock farm in Lookout Valley, in the northwestern corner of Georgia. He was well connected with influential people in his native State and was a young man of poise, who was unawed by great names.

Nisbet entered the Confederate Army as a captain in the Twenty-First Georgia Regiment and arrived with his men in Virginia just after

Second Manassas. From that time on he always seemed to be where the fighting was. In four years "on the firing line" he was bruised by one bullet and hurled into the air by an exploding shell but never sufficiently injured to require hospitalization. He was in Ewell's division in Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign. He was at First Cold Harbor and was closely associated with General Lee at Sharpsburg. On one occasion he was called to confer with President Davis concerning recruiting. Promoted to full colonel, Nisbet went to Georgia, where he was successful in enlisting a regiment. He took his recruits, whose number included a large number of veterans, to Chattanooga, where he served in Hardee's corps of General Bragg's army. He was in the thick of the Confederate defensive campaign from Missionary Ridge to Atlanta, under Joe Johnston. He served under General Hood in the Battle of Atlanta and was captured. Nisbet spent the rest of the War in captivity on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie. Describing the sufferings of the prisoners there, he blames the Federal government and suggests that it was also responsible for the much advertised sufferings of Federal prisoners at Andersonville.

The book's style is matter-of-fact, and the evaluation of men, both friends and foes, is terse and judicious. Few emerge as all hero or all villain. Nisbet's language is not that of a man under the stress of danger and responsibility, and the narrative was obviously written long after the events in which the author participated. Quotations from other authors and frequent digressions fill out the train of thought but bore a sophisticated reader. The editor has pruned heavily and edited vigorously, but the narrative still lacks freshness. Oh, what a story Nisbet could have told if he had kept a day-to-day diary of his observations and emotions!

James F. Doster.

University of Alabama.

Slavery Defended: The Views of the Old South. Edited by Eric L. McKitrick. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. [A Spectrum Book]. 1963. Contents and footnotes. Pp. viii, 180. $1.95, paperback; $3.95, cloth.)

This little volume of selected essays on the pro-slavery argument covers every aspect of the argument. There are fifteen of them, written by the familiar figures of the day—John C. Calhoun, J. B. D. DeBow, George Fitzhugh, James Henry Hammond—and by several less familiar, but still prominent defenders of slavery. Each essay is selected

because it represents a different aspect of the argument or because of its historic importance, like the Mud Sill speech of Senator Hammond.

These essays cover the familiar pro-slavery arguments—economic, political, social, religious, physiological, anthropological—and they are well chosen.

The author's purpose in reprinting these selections is to give modern readers an opportunity to discover anew in convenient form the intellectual quality of the southern mind. He finds the pro-slavery argument more intriguing than that of the abolitionist because more difficult and more complex. As he says, "Nothing is more susceptible to oblivion than argument, however, ingenious, that has been discredited by events." But the unfortunate fact is that these ideas have not been discredited by events except insofar as they relate to legal, chattel slavery. As arguments, however spurious, for maintaining white supremacy and Negro servitude, they are as prevalent today as the day they were written. The parallels with the arguments of today's leading segregationists are complete. Here in this little booklet is proof that the roots of the modern-day white supremacy philosophy are solidly grounded in the pro-slavery argument of the ante-bellum South.

Philip Davidson.

University of Louisville.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., 1960-1962. Edited with an Introduction by Francis Coleman Rosenberger. (Washington: Columbia Historical Society. 1963. Contents, illustrations, introduction, and notes. Pp. xx, 496. $9.00.)

Again Mr. Rosenberger has come forth with a handsome triennial volume of the records of the Columbia Historical Society, an organization devoted to the preservation and publication of the kind of history which is usually neglected, that is, local history. As might be expected in a work dealing with the history of the nation's capital, the articles mention figures and events of national as well as local significance. The report of the Chronicler, however, is devoted, as always, almost exclusively to events seldom referred to in national news coverages.

In his Introduction Mr. Rosenberger identifies in some detail each of the contributors. Following the articles and the chronicles are the report of the Recorder, lists of officers and members, and the necrology. Scattered through the volume are almost a hundred illustrations. An index will appear later in the fourth volume of the General Index to the Records.

The articles range in subject matter from the visit of Baron Alexander von Humboldt to Washington in 1804, through the origin of "capital" and "capitol" as names for seats of government and legislative buildings, respectively; Georgetown between 1812 and 1871; Washington during the Civil War, including an account of the work of the United States Sanitary Commission; the career of German brewer Christian Henrick, whose mansion is now both a museum and headquarters for the Columbia Historical Society; and seven other organizations, the National Presbyterian Church, Arlington National Cemetery, Providence Hospital, 1861-1961, the Cosmos, Metropolitan, and Capital Yacht clubs, art in the Capital, and Bolling Airfield.

As the title suggests, this volume is principally a reference work. Considering this fact, it is well that in the writing of the papers details were not sacrificed for smoothness of style. Some of the authors, though, have been more skillful than others in weaving numerous data into their accounts.

Mattie Russell.

Duke University Library.

The Road to Independence: A Documentary History of the Causes of the American Revolution, 1763-1776. By John Braeman. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1963. Pp. 314. $6.50.)

Formerly historians compiled collections of documents, useful but dull and static works (Commager's *Documents of American History*, Morison's *Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution*); now historians write documentary histories, with the sources and expository narrative smoothly interwoven, useful but fascinating and dynamic works (Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats*, Lefler and Klingberg, *A History of the United States*). John Braeman, assistant professor of history at Brooklyn College, has happily added a volume to this new breed.

After a succinct and informative chapter on the changing interpretations of the coming of the American Revolution, Braeman in five chapters covers English colonial policies and American reactions from the end of the French and Indian War through the Declaration of Independence. His arrangement of material is chronological, but, since the book lacks a list of cited documents, a topical though incomplete inventory of his sources may be helpful.

On the English side his documents include: royal proclamations (Proclamation of 1763, Proclamation of Rebellion); acts of Parliament

(Sugar Act, Stamp Act, Declaratory Act, Townshend Revenue Act); speeches, debates, and testimony in Parliament (Grenville, Pitt, Barré, Franklin, Burke); and letters by colonial executive officials (Bernard, Hutchinson, Gage, Colden, Dunmore).

On the American side his documents include: speeches against English writs and taxes (Otis, Henry, Samuel Adams); resolutions and petitions (Boston town meetings, Massachusetts and Virginia assemblies); nonimportation agreements (New York, Philadelphia); pamphlets (Dulany, Dickinson, Wilson, Jefferson, Paine); letters by colonial agents (Franklin, Garth); newspaper excerpts (*Providence Gazette, Massachusetts Gazette*); and Continental Congress State papers (Galloway Plan of Union, Declaration of Rights, Continental Association, Declaration on Taking Arms, Olive Branch Petition, Declaration of Independence).

The leaders of the American Revolution were constructive conservatives who anxiously insisted that the righting of wrongs must not degenerate into an enraged crusade for vengeance, who invariably emphasized that liberation must be accompanied by order, and who dogmatically demanded that liberty must be linked with property. Unlike the leaders of the later French Revolution, they did not connect freedom with elimination of economic exploitation, so they lacked the passion of compassion.

Any anthology is an act of faith, and Braeman's credo stresses political, economic, and constitutional articles. He tells a familiar story, but he makes it exciting.

Unfortunately, this nation born in revolution often seems to forget its revolutionary heritage. The speeches of Truman, Ike, and JFK hardly match those of Franklin, Jefferson, and John Adams. Braeman's book proves that a drink at the revolutionary spring is more delicious and refreshing than Coca-Cola.

Frank W. Ryan.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Independent Historical Societies: An Enquiry into Their Research and Publications Functions and Their Financial Future. By Walter Muir Whitehill. (Boston, Massachusetts: The Boston Athenaeum [Distributed by Harvard University Press]. 1962. Footnotes and index. Pp. xxviii, 593. $12.50.)

To those who labor in the vineyard, it is a well-known fact that historical societies never have enough money. "Lack of hands, lack

of space, and lack of funds for acquistions, cataloguing and binding" is as true today as it was in 1791 when the Reverend Jeremy Belknap founded the Massachusetts Historical Society and thus began a movement which spread throughout the United States.

In 1958 the continuing financial crisis facing the independent historical society prompted the Council of Library Resources, a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation, to make a grant for the study of independent historical societies and their problems. Walter Muir Whitehill, the distinguished librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, was selected to survey the situation and report his findings. This exceptional study is the result.

Dr. Whitehill's research has been meticulous and thorough. He visited three-quarters of the fifty States and corresponded with knowledgeable people in the States he could not visit. He was impressed with what he found in the collections, which often contain priceless materials, and also with the guardians of the collections, those "highly intelligent, energetic and amiable people" who keep the societies going, with or without money. Dr. Whitehill has not confined himself to the independent historical society. He has ranged over the whole field of historical endeavor, including the public supported societies and commissions, the archival collections of religious bodies, the rise of professional historians' associations, the preservation of buildings, and the work of museums. He has labored and brought forth a work of infinite variety and factual perfection, which bears the mark of an erudite man of wit and charm. Who can forget the chapter headings: "The Shinto Temple," "The Ship of Theseus," "The Virtuoso's Collection," or "The Tombstone with a Footnote." North Carolinians may be dismayed that "The Tombstone with a Footnote," which so well describes the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, neglects to mention the Moravian Archives in Salem.

Dr. Whitehill concludes that independent historical societies should retain their independent status, and that their support should come from individuals and foundations. He states further that the independent historical society is "as reliable and suitable a recipient of such funds as a university or a laboratory." He suggests that foundation support, which would provide for the services of competent scholars to arrange and calendar manuscript collections belonging to historical societies, would be of immeasurable service to the historian and also to the Library of Congress, which is now at work on a national union catalog of manuscripts. Along with this he recommends the wide availability of manuscript material in microform.

Publication, which is a natural function of the historical society (and sometimes its only function), would be greatly aided if there were better means of selling the finished product. Dr. Whitehill suggests a co-operative effort in setting up a common warehouse where publications could be sent on consignment by individual societies for distribution and sale.

This is a big book, well designed and well printed, and with an adequate Index. It is a book to be read and enjoyed, and it is also a book to be kept at hand for ready reference.

Margaret L. Chapman.

University of South Florida.

Early American Homes for Today: A Treasury of Decorative Details and Restoration Procedures. By Herbert Wheaton Congdon. (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company. 1963. Illustrations, glossary, and index. Pp. xi, 236. $12.50.)

This book with long and curious title is intended for the do-it-yourself man who has an early American home and who wants to restore and adapt it for his use today. The author, a photographer and an architect of "homes in the old style," organizes his book into a series of chapters on windows, fireplaces, stairways, and other decorative details. The text gives restoration procedures—how to repair chimneys, foundations, and so on—and there is advice on the planning of improvements, additions, and a new home in the old style.

The do-it-yourself man will be delighted in looking into this book. A limitation, however, is that the illustrations show only Vermont houses, not featuring all types of them, and not providing models from other regions of America. Then, in general, the author's concept of Our Heritage is that it consists of homes from a good, early period which was brought to an end by a bad Victorian period with its porches, towers, and meaningless and fussy design. He does not present the house as a whole changing from decade to decade and gradually turning into one or another kind of Victorian house.

Thus, in improving an old house, strip off the Victorian porch; however, the author admires the recessed doorways on certain Vermont houses of the nineteenth century, and suggests them as a little change to make a notable composition. He holds two ideas on embellishment which open the way for the home craftsman to operate freely: One, some early houses are too plain; they never were given decoration to make them beautiful; they are "never-was-its." Two, it is all right

to add to an early house the embellishment from a "later period in colonial style." Thus, if inside trim or a gable end is too plain, add moulding strips, and other additions. Such embellishment would be debated a long time by an expert, a student of old architecture who would not want to impress his personal taste on a house of another personality. The serious home craftsman should somewhere be told about experts and how they could help him.

The book has no special chapters on the design of an addition or of a new house in the old style, but here and there suggestions are offered. For example, in planning an addition be harmonious, avoid combination of brick and clapboard—even though photographs of such houses appear in the book. During a discussion of stairs and halls the author says: It would be good to design the stair first. It would be well if he suggested that the craftsman see an architect, a good architect who understands and admires the old architecture of his region.

In the book are many good things: The charm in the photographs of old Vermont houses, the sensitive and loving comments about these old homes which the author knows so well, the pictures he paints of colonial builders at work, his sound instruction on restoration, and the many procedures he outlines for the home craftsman.

John Allcott.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The White Oak Scene, May 17, 1963, a small news sheet which is published in Swansboro, has been received by the Department. It contains news items from the local library and a number of brief articles on local history. Subscriptions are $2.00 for six months and are available from the Onslow Print Shop, Box 98, Swansboro.

North Carolina Hurricanes: A Descriptive Listing of Tropical Cyclones Which Have Affected the State was recently issued by the U. S. Department of Commerce of which former North Carolina Governor Luther H. Hodges is Secretary. The study was prepared by Albert V. Hardy, U. S. Weather Bureau State Climatologist for North Carolina, and Charles B. Carney, U. S. Weather Bureau Meteorologist in Charge, Raleigh. Most of the tropical storms (known to the authors) have been identified by date and description. The pamphlet is for sale

by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for 20 cents.

Dr. Joseph L. Morrison has presented to the Department a reprint of his article, "Josephus Daniels—Simpatico," which appeared in the April, 1963, *Journal of Inter-American Studies.* Dr. Morrison, the author of the recently published volume, *Josephus Daniels Says . . . An Editor's Political Odyssey From Bryan To Wilson and F. D. R., 1894-1913,* is Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

The Fabled Doctor Jim Jordan:A Story of Conjure by F. Roy Johnson is available for $3.00 from the Johnson Publishing Company, Murfreesboro. The 136-page book, which is illustrated with pen and ink sketches, tells the fascinating story of one of North Carolina's most famous "faith healers." Dr. Jim, a Negro, had a large and varied clientele and prescribed many unorthodox remedies. Nonetheless, his practice grew and the traffic to his store and office included all types of vehicles, many bearing out-of-state license plates. Before his death in 1962 he had amassed a large fortune, much of which he gave away or lost through poor investments. Many of his descendants live near Como, but Dr. Jim did not leave them the secrets of his cures and magic powders.

Miss Margaret Carroll, former Wake Forest resident and alumna of Wake Forest College and the University of North Carolina, recently aided in presenting her new book, *Historic Preservation Through Urban Renewal,* to President John F. Kennedy in ceremonies at the White House. Miss Carroll is an urban planner with the Urban Renewal Administration, Washington, D. C. Wilmington, North Carolina, is one of the fourteen American cities described in the book as having a federally-assisted program of urban renewal to preserve historic sites and structures.

The Department has received a reprint of an article, "Source Materials for the Geography of Colonial America," written by H. Roy Merrens, San Fernando Valley State College, California. It appeared originally in *The Professional Geographer,* XV (January, 1963).

The recently-published *Directory: Historical Societies and Agencies In the United States and Canada* contains information for more than 2,200 historical organizations. Addresses, membership figures, found-

ing dates, number of staff, publications, and library and museum hours of publicly and privately supported historical societies, associations, commissions, and departments of archives and history are included. The *Directory*, published biennially by the American Association for State and Local History, will be invaluable to historians, librarians, genealogists, and others interested in the field of history. Copies may be ordered from the Association, 151 East Gorham Street, Madison 3, Wisconsin, for $2.00.

Number 154 of *Preliminary Inventories*, published by the National Archives, is entitled *Records of the Office of Territories*. The 117-page booklet was compiled by Richard S. Maxwell and Evans Walker. Copies are available free upon request to the Exhibits and Publications Division, National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington 25, D. C.

The Department recently received Volume LXXII of *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, covering the period October, 1957, through December, 1960. Published by the Society, the *Proceedings* include papers on a variety of subjects in the field of history. Additional information may be obtained from the Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts.

HISTORICAL NEWS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

The 1963 General Assembly: Legislation Enacted in the Field of History

The General Assembly at its regular 1963 session was more generous in its appropriations for historical purposes than any General Assembly in the past. The total amount appropriated in this field amounted to more than $5,000,000. The principal items are as follows:

A.	*Capital Improvements*	
	Building for Department of Archives and History and State Library	$3,000,000
	Security Vault (for records or microfilm of records)	50,000
	Fort Fisher (Visitor Center-Museum), New Hanover County	96,000
	Brunswick Town (Visitor Center-Museum), Brunswick County	80,000
	James K. Polk Birthplace (Visitor Center-Museum, reconstruction of Birthplace, etc.), Mecklenburg County	67,000
	Historic Bath (various improvements), Beaufort County	12,500
	Museum of the Albemarle (subject to approval of Historic Sites Advisory Committee), Pasquotank County	43,600
	Daniel Boone Homestead (subject to approval of Historic Sites Advisory Committee), Davidson County	15,000
		$3,364,100

		1963-1964	*1964-1965*
B.	*Department of Archives and History: Maintenance and Operations*		
	Total Requirements	$653,307	$686,167
	Less Estimated Receipts	23,545	24,145
	General Fund Appropriation	629,762	662,022
C.	*Other Agencies: Maintenance and Operations*		
	Tryon Palace, Craven County	$124,892	$126,825
	North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission	60,432	60,432
	Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission	36,476	
D.	*Grant-in-Aid*		
	Old Salem	$ 50,000	$ 50,000

The appropriation of $3,000,000 for a new building represents the successful termination of a ten-year campaign conducted by the Department, together with various allied groups and individuals. As of the

present writing (July 2), work is proceeding on the selection of a site and the drawing of plans. It is expected that token groundbreaking ceremonies will be held on October 3, during the annual joint conventions in Raleigh of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History.

The Security Vault ($50,000) is intended for the storage of security microfilm copies of essential records.

The Fort Fisher Visitor Center-Museum ($96,000), New Hanover County, will be erected as soon as practicable so that it can be opened to the public in time for the one-hundredth anniversary of the bombardment and Union capture of that Fort, December-January, 1864-1865. There was difficulty in acquiring the necessary land, but the required authorization has now been given and the requisite funds have been provided, by action of both the Governor and the Council of State.

The Brunswick Town Visitor Center-Museum ($80,000), Brunswick County, will provide a much-needed facility at this Historic Site which is arousing a great deal of public interest.

For the James K. Polk Birthplace Visitor Center-Museum ($67,000), Mecklenburg County, the land has not yet been acquired, but it is expected that this will be done and steps taken to develop the property within the near future. As is indicated below, funds are available for maintenance as a State Historic Site.

For Historic Bath, Beaufort County, $12,500 is available for various Capital Improvements. Funds are also available for maintenance of Historic Bath as a State Historic Site (see below).

For the Museum of the Albemarle, Pasquotank County, $43,600 was appropriated, subject to the approval of the Historic Sites Advisory Committee. The Committee had previously considered this proposed appropriation but had postponed a recommendation until further study could be made.

For the Daniel Boone Homestead, Davidson County, $15,000 was appropriated, subject to the approval of the Historic Sites Advisory Committee. The bill making this appropriation was introduced subsequent to the only meeting of the Committee to date (May 7), and therefore the Committee had made no recommendation on this subject.

The total budget of the Department of Archives and History for Current Operations, $653,307 for 1963-1964 and $686,167 for 1964-1965 may be compared to the Department's total budget for 1962-1963 of $657,041. Actually, the budget for 1962-1963 included a number of nonrecurring items, including Salvage Expense—Confederate Ships (off Fort Fisher), $13,277; Mobile Museum (gift from the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and General Motors Corporation), $35,000; Hodges Letter Book, $15,127; and land purchase (at Fort Fisher), $14,100. When these four items, totaling $77,504, are subtracted from the budget given above, there is a net remainder of $579,537. Viewed in this light, the budget of $653,307 for 1963-1964 and of $686,167 for 1964-1965 represents a considerable increase over that for 1962-1963.

The Department's new budget includes funds appropriated in the General Appropriation Act and also in several special acts.

The Department's total budget will permit continuation of its program on about the same scale as before, with no reduction or diminution. The following points are worth noting (most of them marking some expansion of the Department's program):

1. The amount for Repairs and Alterations at Historic Halifax is increased each year from $2,000 to $10,000.

2. For Maintenance and Operations of the Cupola House and Barker House in Edenton, there is a new item of $12,030 each fiscal year, subject to the approval of the Historic Sites Advisory Committee.

3. For Maintenance and Operations at Historic Bath, there is a new appropriation of $17,528 the first year and $15,828 the second year. Historic Bath thus becomes a State Historic Site.

4. For the Polk Birthplace for Maintenance and Operations $6,828 is appropriated for the first year and $14,028 for the second year. The Polk Birthplace thus also becomes a State Historic Site—or at least will do so when the necessary land is acquired.

5. The Colonial Records project, now conducted by the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, effective January 1, 1964, will be transferred to the Department of Archives and History. For this purpose $6,364 is appropriated for the first year and $17,528 for the second year. Actually, the first year's appropriation is only for a six-month period, January 1-June 30, 1964. The total appropriation for this purpose is far less than had been requested and than will be required. In order to supplement State funds, the Carolina Charter Corporation is now seeking contributions from private sources.

As for other appropriations for Maintenance and Operations, there is no material change in the appropriation for Tryon Palace.

The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission will continue operations on the previous scale.

The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission received an appropriation to operate only through December 31, 1963.

The Grant-in-Aid for Old Salem was increased from $35,000 to $50,000 each year of the new biennium.

In addition, the General Assembly enacted certain measures that require no State appropriation:

A George Washington Statue Commission was authorized, to raise from private sources funds for sculpting a copy of the Canova Statue of Washington.

The placing of plaques was authorized in the Capitol and State Legislative Building commemorating the first and last sessions of the General Assembly in the former and the first session in the latter (funds to be provided from the Contingency and Emergency Fund).

An act established procedures and limitations for making State funds available by special act for Historic Sites. Notably this act required the approval of a new Historic Sites Advisory Committee for all such expenditures.*

* For more complete details on the Historic Sites Advisory Committee, see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XL (Summer, 1963), 402-403.

A Historic Hillsborough Commission was authorized.
A Historic Swansboro Commission was authorized.

North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission

One of the most ambitious undertakings of the Centennial in North Carolina has been that of the Lenoir County Centennial Committee to salvage and restore the Confederate Ram "Neuse."

The "Neuse," which was built at Whitehall, now Seven Springs, North Carolina, in 1862, was scuttled by her own crew in 1865 to prevent her capture by Union troops marching toward Kinston.

Efforts to raise the vessel from the Neuse River have been underway since October, 1961. Until May of this year all attempts at salvage were blocked by rising river waters and depleted funds.

Through the intercession of the Lenoir County Committee, approximately $20,000 was raised through city and county appropriations and local contributions. This money was used to establish ownership of the Ram and to purchase artifacts recovered from her. A portion of the sum was also set aside to be used in removing the vessel to a permanent site once the actual salvage had been completed.

The raising of the "Neuse" took place in early May. A Rose Hill house mover, Mr. D. C. Murray, used jacks and house rollers to do the job that "couldn't be done." Now that the vessel is on dry land, there is danger that it will dry out too rapidly and deteriorate. To insure her safety until permanent preservation can be effected, a sprinkler system has been installed.

Once installed at a permanent site at the Richard Caswell Memorial Park, the "Neuse" will undergo a slow drying process, after which she will be injected with preservatives. Mr. Samuel Townsend, Chief Preservationist at the Fort Fisher Laboratory, will head the preservation aspect of "Operation Ram 'Neuse.'"

Governor Terry Sanford, members of the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, members of the North Carolina congressional delegation and the General Assembly, and a number of other distinguished Tarheels participated in the three-day commemoration of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3.

In Gettysburg specifically for the rededication of the North Carolina monument on July 1, many remained to witness a two-mile long parade on July 2 and the re-enactment of the Pickett-Pettigrew Charge on July 3. Rededication ceremonies of the Gutzon Borglum monument, which were sponsored by the North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, began with a band concert by the Twenty-Sixth Regimental Band of Winston-Salem followed by the invocation by Dr. Donald Heiges.

Presentation of the battleflags of all 41 North Carolina units participating in the Battle was made by the reactivated Sixth Regiment of Burlington. After the flag ceremony Governor Sanford, who spoke briefly, Governor Donald Russell of South Carolina, and Governor Karl Rolvaag of Minnesota placed wreaths at the base of the memorial in honor of the men who died at Gettysburg.

Senator Hector MacLean of Lumberton, whose father, former Governor Angus W. McLean, made the original dedicatory address in 1929, was principal speaker for the occasion. He was introduced by Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, widow of the former Governor of North Carolina under whose administration funds for the monument were appropriated. After a program of Civil War music by the South Rowan High School "Rebel" Band of Landis and China Grove, Dr. Heiges gave the benediction. Immediately following the ceremonies, a reception for some 250 guests was given by Governor Sanford and the North Carolina Commission.

Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission

The Honorable Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce and member of the federal North Carolina Tercentenary Celebration Commission, and Dr. Frank P. Graham, U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations and Chairman of the federal Tercentenary Commission, were the guest speakers at a Tercentenary commemorative observance held in Boone, June 27-29. On June 29 a prologue to the opening of the famed outdoor drama, "Horn in the West," was given in honor of the Tercentenary. A three-day simulation of "Daniel Boone Crossing the Blue Ridge" was enacted by wagon train as a part of the celebration.

Mr. Andy Griffith, North Carolina-born actor, officially launched the twenty-sixth season of "The Lost Colony" at Manteo and presented remarks in honor of the Tercentenary. The opening performance on June 29 was dedicated to the three-hundredth anniversary observance.

The Rhododendron Festival at Bakersville on June 22 featured Dr. Henry W. Jordan, Charter Commission member, as the guest speaker at a program honoring the Carolina Charter.

On July 11, 12, and 13 the Parkway Playhouse in Burnsville presented performances of "The Prince of Parthia" by Thomas Godfrey, the first play written and professionally produced in America, in commemoration of the Tercentenary.

The Charter Commission now has a number of souvenir items available for purchase, including a commemorative plate, coffee tile, ashtray, and key tags bearing the seals of the eight Lords Proprietors, the State of North Carolina, and the symbol for the Tercentenary.

A new leaflet in the series of free literature on life in Colonial Carolina is available from the Tercentenary Commission. The illustrated leaflet is entitled *Colonial Carolina Crafts.* It discusses briefly furniture and weaving, but the major portion of the text is devoted to pottery making in North Carolina.

Many other events have been held in commemoration of the Tercentenary, and speeches have been made to various organizations by members of the Charter Commission and staff.

Director's Office

Construction of a Visitor Center-Museum at the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Park will begin in late 1963, according to Dr. Christopher

Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History. The building will cost approximately $30,000 and will house exhibits depicting the life and times of Caswell, a Revolutionary leader and the first constitutional Governor of the State. Of the funds currently available $24,000 will be spent for site development and landscaping, with $17,558 of the amount being used specifically for landscaping. The 22-acre Caswell Memorial Park was purchased in 1955 for $43,000, of which $25,000 was appropriated by the State with the remaining $18,000 being raised locally. An additional $25,000 in 1957 and $30,000 in 1961 was appropriated by the State. A request for $23,856 was refused by the House during the 1963 session of the General Assembly. These funds were to have been used to maintain the grave site and museum and to employ personnel. Access roads to the Park are already under construction. Dr. Crittenden; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; and Mr. Loddie Bryan, Jr., landscape architect of Raleigh, met on July 3 with the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission in the Lenoir County Courthouse in Kinston. The Commission voted to permit the placing of the Confederate Ram "Neuse" on a part of the Caswell grave area. Those present heard Mr. Bryan outline plans for landscaping the Caswell grave property.

Dr. Crittenden on June 17 made a talk, "North Carolina History in a Nutshell," at the new cafeteria at the University of North Carolina at Raleigh. He spoke to college students from nine institutions who are participating in the North Carolina State Government Internship Program. Participants were assigned to work in different departments for a period of ten weeks. During this period they had one weekly luncheon and two weekly evening seminars dealing with governmental, social, and economic aspects of North Carolina.

On June 22 more than 400 persons gathered in the Snow Camp Community at the Cane Creek Meetinghouse, the oldest Friends (Quaker) church in the State, to observe the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663. The principal address was made by Dr. Holt McPherson, Editor of *The High Point Enterprise*. He noted the significance of the settlement of the community in 1750 by Simon Dixon, a Pennsylvania Quaker. Others participating in the program were the Rev. C. Kenneth Wood, Mr. Seth B. Hinshaw, Dr. Algie I. Newman, and Dr. Clyde A. Miller. Following the program the gathering examined exhibits of historical materials relating to the Cane Creek community and participated in an old-style picnic on the meetinghouse grounds.

Dr. Crittenden attended the dedication of the Gaston Dam in Halifax on June 26. On the same date he inspected the condition of the Person's Ordinary in Littleton and the grave of Annie Carter Lee, daughter of General Robert E. Lee, which is in Warren County.

On June 28 Dr. Crittenden spoke at Cook's Gap in Watauga County, near the Blue Ridge Parkway, to a large audience including the group arriving by wagon train in re-enactment of the pioneer crossing of the Blue Ridge Mountains in 1773. This event has become an annual affair and was one of the highlights in a three-day celebration in Boone. Other persons who participated in the Watauga County Carolina Charter Ter-

centenary Celebration included Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations; Dr. W. H. Plemmons, Dr. Cratis Williams, and Dean D. J. Whitener, Appalachian State Teachers College; Mr. Fred Kirby, of WBTV in Charlotte and Tweetsie Railroad; Mr. Jeff Wilson, Editor of *Tar Heel Wheels;* Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges; Mrs. Roscoe McMillan, President of the North Carolina Garden Clubs; Dr. I. G. Greer, President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association; Her Majesty's Minister, Hon. Denis A. Greenhill of Great Britain; and Congressman James T. Broyhill. Mr. Herman W. Wilcox of Boone served as General Chairman.

The Coastal Historyland Association met at Fort Raleigh, site of the Lost Colony, on July 12 to adopt bylaws and to discuss plans for the spring of 1964. The Association, which represents 34 counties, was chartered in April. State Senator P. D. Midgett of Engelhard serves as President and Mr. Glenn Tucker of Carolina Beach was Chairman of the Committee on Constitution and Bylaws. Those present responded favorably to the suggestion of Mr. John Fox, Vice-Chairman and General Manager of "The Lost Colony," that the Association offer package tours beginning in the spring, 1964.

Members of the Advisory Committee of the Department held their first meeting on July 17 with Mr. F. Carter Williams, architect for the new Archives and History-State Library Building.

Mrs. Memory F. Blackwelder, Editor, and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, Assistant State Archivist (State Records) were married in September.

Division of Archives and Manuscripts

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, spoke to a meeting of the Association of State Librarians in Chicago on July 13 in connection with the Association's adoption of standards for State library agencies. During the following week he represented the Society of American Archivists on the Survey and Standards Committee which developed the standards. On July 14 Mr. Jones met with the Planning Committee for the Third Assembly of the Library Functions of the States to prepare the program for the assembly scheduled at the Library of Congress on November 13-15. On July 15 and 16, respectively, he observed the historical programs in Madison, Wisconsin, and St. Paul, Minnesota. Mr. Jones attended the annual convention of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds in Morehead City on June 9 and on July 3 he addressed the Burlington Kiwanis Club.

The *Union List of North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1900,* edited by Mr. Jones and Mr. Julius H. Avant in co-operation with the Newspaper Committee of the North Carolina Library Association, was released on July 8 in a ceremony in Governor Terry Sanford's office at which time the first copy was presented to the Governor by Miss Mary Canada of Duke University, chairman of the Committee. In addition to the editors and Miss Canada, participants were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mrs. Elizabeth H. Hughey, State Librarian; and Mrs. Jane C. Bahnsen of the University of North Carolina Library and Miss Sangster

Parrott of the North Carolina State Library, Committee members. The publication, containing place of publication, title, inclusive dates, frequency, and location of issues of every known newspaper published in North Carolina through 1900, is available for $3.00 per copy from the State Archivist's office. The 152-page offset publication lists an estimated 2,500 newspapers, including an estimated 300 titles that had never appeared in previously published lists.

In the Newspaper Microfilm Project, all titles of Raleigh papers published to 1900 which had not heretofore been filmed were completed. These papers totaled 17 reels. The remaining Goldsboro, Rutherfordton, and Beaufort papers filled eleven, five, and one reels respectively. Work continued on the *Wilmington Messenger*. A second edition of *North Carolina Newspapers on Microfilm: A Checklist of Early North Carolina Newspapers Available on Microfilm from the State Department of Archives and History* (processed, 31 pages), edited by Mr. Julius H. Avant and Mr. T. G. Britt, has been issued and is available for fifty cents per copy.

In the Microfilm Processing Laboratory, 1,084 reels of microfilm were processed during the quarter ending June 30. Of these, 814 reels (79,355 linear feet) were negative film and 270 reels (26,350 feet) were positive film—most of the latter being positive copies of newspaper film. In all, 26,057 pages of deteriorating records were laminated by the Barrow process in the Laminating Shop, plus 7,068 pages of materials laminated outside office hours for other institutions and individuals.

Mr. C. Fred W. Coker joined the Archives Section staff on August 1 as Archivist III. After a period of orientation, Mr. Coker will succeed Mr. Cyrus B. King as Assistant State Archivist (Archives). Mr. King resigned effective June 30 to accept the position of Acquisitions Librarian at the D. H. Hill Library at North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh. Mr. Coker is a history graduate of the University of North Carolina where he did additional graduate work in history and is now completing requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Library Science. He also studied at Oxford University in England and was a Marine Corps officer for five years. Mrs. Frances T. Council served as acting head of the Archives Section for July and August.

Mr. F. Carroll Fraker, formerly of the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, was attached to the Archives Section through June 30 when he joined the staff of the Confederate Centennial Commission. Mr. Fraker was engaged in an inventory of the Civil War materials in the Archives.

For the quarter ending June 30, 609 visitors registered in the Search Room and 892 persons were given information by mail. Photocopies furnished totaled 773, plus 35 prints from microfilm, 57 typed certified copies, and 225 feet of negative microfilm.

In the program of inventorying, repairing, and microfilming county records, the one-third mark has been reached. With the completion of work in Pitt County, section microfilm camera operators have completed 30 counties, and are now working in Surry and Martin. In addition, Alamance, Gaston, and Mecklenburg counties are doing their own microfilming with Department advice and assistance.

Original records recently received include:

Gaston County: Marriage registers (1865-1905), official bonds (1868-1889), State grants (1845-1891), tax lists (1847-1859, 1863-1868), and 1 box of deeds and real estate mortgages (1860-1944).

Surry County: Rough minutes, County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (1800, 1802, 1805, 1823, 1836, 1843).

Positive microfilms processed and filed in the Search Room include:

Orange County: Deeds (1755-1961), marriage registers (1851-1862), indexes to vital statistics (1913-1961), minutes, County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (1752-1766, 1777-1868), minutes, Superior Court (1867-1944), equity partitions (1859-1938), records of estates (1869-1962), wills (1752-1946), incorporations and partnerships (1878-1962), maiden names of divorced women (1941-1962), inheritance tax records (1921-1962), records of elections (1857-1960), orders and decrees and special proceedings (1868-1962), military discharges (1918-1962), federal tax lien index (1928-1962), minutes, board of county commissioners (1868-1962), minutes, board of education (1872-1962).

Rowan County: Deeds (1753-1962), land entries (1778-1925), marriage registers (1753-1962), index to vital statistics (1913-1962), minutes of County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (1753-1768), minutes, Equity, Probate, and Superior Courts (1787-1848, 1904-1942), records of estates (1764-1959), wills (1761-1959), incorporations and partnerships (1904-1962), discharges (1922-1962), orders and decrees and special proceedings (1879-1962), tax lists (1778-1895), federal tax lien index (1925-1962), minutes, board of county commissioners (1872-1958), minutes, board of education (1847-1962).

Churches: Minutes and other records of the following churches: Brown Creek Baptist Church, Anson County, 1840-1936; Piney Grove Baptist Church, Polkton, 1853-1902; Calvary Episcopal Church, Wadesboro, 1840-1935; St. John's Lutheran Church, Concord, 1797-1820, 1800-1847; St. Stephen's Lutheran Church, Cabarrus County, 1837-1891; Rocky River Presbyterian Church, Cabarrus County, 1827-1859; First Baptist Church, Fayetteville, 1848-1962; St. John's Episcopal Church, Fayetteville, 1817-1954, 1837-1919, 1905-1962; Hay St. Methodist Church, Fayetteville, 1809-1941, 1822-1871, 1919-1952, 1838-1949, 1888-1928; The Bluff Presbyterian Church, Wade, 1784-1802, 1859-1904, 1915-1963, 1903-1963, 1958; McPherson Presbyterian Church, Fayetteville, 1867-1962, 1832-1838, 1960; Sardis Presbyterian Church, Linden, 1816-1819, 1835-1931, 1913-1962; Jersey Baptist Meeting House, Davidson County, 1784-1852; Johnston Baptist Church, Duplin County, 1922-1961; Kenansville Baptist Church, Kenansville, 1837-1958; Magnolia Baptist Church, Magnolia, 1890-1953; Groves Presbyterian Church, Duplin County, 1848-1890; Teachey Baptist Church, Teachey, 1885-1960; Warsaw Methodist Church, Warsaw, no dates; Alamance Presbyterian Church, Guilford County, 1829-1885; Brick German Reformed Church, Route 4, Burlington, 1857-1912, 1927-1945; Buckhorn Baptist Church, Murfreesboro, 1835-1963; Mt. Tabor Baptist Church, Hertford County, 1839-1932; Murfreesboro Baptist Church, Murfreesboro, 1842-1950; Union Baptist Church, Union, 1885-1922; Bas-

night Memorial Methodist Church, Ahoskie, 1897-1963; Murfreesboro Methodst Church, Murfreesboro, 1908-1945, 1945-1962, 1859-1963; St. John's Episcopal Church, Winton, 1907-1954; Bethany Presbyterian Church, Iredell County, 1829-1872; Union Presbyterian Church, Carthage, 1839-1904, First Baptist Church, Hillsboro, 1853-1962, 1958-1962; Hillsboro Presbyterian Church, 1816-1882; New Hope Presbyterian Church, Chapel Hill, 1820-1859; St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Orange County, 1839-1901; St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Hillsboro, 1889-1893, 1824-1839; Bethesda Presbyterian Church, Ruffin, 1819-1961; St. Andrews Episcopal Church, Rowan County, 1840-1880; Ursinus Evangelical and Reformed Church, Rockwell, 1935-1953, 1900-1915, 1938-1962; Organ Lutheran Church, Rowan County, 1774-1882; St. John's Lutheran Church, Salisbury, 1857-1906, 1954-1962; St. Peters Lutheran Church, Rockwell, 1855-1875; St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Route 2, Salisbury, 1880-1962; First Presbyterian Church, Salisbury, 1828-1905; Thyatira Presbyterian Church, Route 4, Salisbury, 1826-1962, 1858-1962, 1946-1961; Lowerstone Reformed Church, Rockwell, 1782-1797; Grace (Lowerstone) Reformed Church, Rockwell, 1874-1962, 1859-1883, 1923-1956, 1889-1895, 1893-1894, 1905-1915, 1910; Zion Reformed Church, China Grove, 1838-1916; Meadow Creek Baptist Church, Meadow Creek, 1811-1881; Bethel Lutheran Church, Stanly County, 1817-1913; Poplar Grove Church, Stanly County, 1862-1899; Church of Colonial Period in Rowan County, by Adelaide Fries; Diaries of Rev. Samuel Rothrock, Salisbury; Early Church Records of Rowan, Davie, Iredell, and Stanly counties, 1790-1843.

On June 3 Mr. Nash A. Isenhower joined the staff as Clerk III (Microfilm Camera Operator). Mr. Connis O. Brown, Jr., county records microfilm operator, resigned effective July 26 to accept appointment as Public Records Examiner in the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

Rear Admiral A. M. Patterson, Assistant State Archivist (Local Records), Mr. J. H. Hawley, and Mr. C. O. Brown, Jr., attended the eleventh annual convention of the North Carolina Association of Registers of Deeds, June 9-11, at Morehead City. On June 12 Admiral Patterson, a member of the Sesqui-Centennial Committee, Presbyterian Synod of North Carolina, attended the 150th meeting of the Synod and the dedication of a historical marker at Alamance Church, Guilford County. Admiral Patterson and Mr. Hawley also attended the fifty-fifth annual convention of the North Carolina Association of Clerks of Superior Court, July 5, at Durham.

Most of the personnel time in the State Records Section was devoted to erecting shelving and rearranging records holdings in the Records Center to fully utilize available space and to streamline reference servicing.

The electrical work required before the new shelving could be erected was completed early in April. The shelving was delivered late in April, and erection was completed late in July. The rows of new shelving were inserted between rows of existing shelving, which meant that all records had to be handled and rearranged.

Many of the more active groups of records in the Records Center were placed to make them more accessible for reference servicing. In addition, the Employment Security Records which were formerly in filing equipment

in the rear storage area were boxed; and for the first time in the history of the Center all records holdings were boxed and shelved.

The records management workshops continued. The Correspondence Management and Plain Letters workshop has been given seven times to 132 persons representing three agencies. It is being given to all supervisory personnel of the Prison Department. The Files and Filing workshop was given one time to 22 persons representing ten agencies.

The paperwork procedural survey of the Board of Nurse Registration and Nursing Education has been approved by the Executive Committee of the Board. The survey of the license renewal and examining procedures of the Board of Cosmetic Art was deferred until the effect of legislation passed by the General Assembly that affects the Board is fully determined.

The files of the Accounting Section, Budget Division, Department of Administration, have been revised. The revised filing system for the Board of Architecture has been approved by the Board. A study of the feasibility of converting the existing name index in the Registration Division, Department of Motor Vehicles, to a "batch" arrangement resulted in a recommendation that the file remain in telephone book order.

The State-wide survey of fiscal and budgetary paperwork and records has been completed and an extensive report drafted. The report includes proposed standards for the disposition of fiscal and budgetary records and is being reviewed. A standard for the disposition of State college and university records has been drafted and is being considered by a special Advisory Committee on College and University Records.

The third of the Records Management Handbooks, *State Records Center,* was published in August.

New records retention schedules for North Carolina State of the University of North Carolina at Raleigh, Department of Tax Research, State Board of Barber Examiners, State Board of Cosmetic Art, State Library, and State Board of Architecture have been approved. Schedules of the Real Estate Licensing Board and the Board of Pharmacy are awaiting approval of the respective Boards. The Laboratory of Hygiene schedule is in process. Amendments to the Department of Archives and History and State Board of Health schedules have been approved.

In the Records Center 932 cubic feet were accessioned in the quarter ending June 30 and 768 cubic feet disposed of, resulting in a new gain of 164 cubic feet. Total holdings of the Center are now 26,745 cubic feet.

The Records Center staff performed 9,979 reference services for 23 different agencies in the three months ending June 30. In addition, 46 visitors from 12 agencies visited the Center to consult records.

Separate groups of High School Principals' Annual Reports and Elementary Principals' Annual Reports were each merged into a single series, and records of the Department of Public Instruction were reviewed to remove non-archival material prior to their transfer to the Archives.

In the Microfilm Project 80 reels containing 306,819 images were filmed, and 133 reels of film of paid warrants were processed for the State Treasurer.

Mr. Milton S. Sims, Clerk II (Microfilmer) resigned effective June 30 and was replaced by Mr. Leland T. Jones.

Division of Historic Sites

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, recently prepared three "history tours" outlining places of interest to tourists using Greensboro as a base. The first, from Greensboro to Charlotte, includes the Quaker Meeting House, High Point City Park, Jamestown, the Daniel Boone Cave, the Setzer School, the Old Stone House, the Mint Museum, and the Hezekiah Alexander House. The second, from Greensboro to Wilmington, includes the House in the Horseshoe, the Shaw House, the Richmond Literary and Temperance Society Hall, the old Market House, the Oval Ballroom, Moores Creek National Military Park, the Cornwallis House, the New Hanover Museum, and the Battleship "North Carolina." The second tour also includes Fort Fisher State Historic Site, Orton Plantation, and Old Brunswick Town State Historic Site. The third, from Greensboro to Morehead City, includes the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, the Greensboro Historical Museum, Alamance Battleground State Historic Site, Bennett Place State Historic Site, the Duke Homestead, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Hall of History, the Capitol, the birthplace of Andrew Johnson, Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site, Charles B. Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site, the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial, Tryon Palace, the Attmore-Oliver House, the Firemen's Museum, and Fort Macon State Park.

The site of Bentonville Battleground State Historic Site was graded by the State Highway Commission in preparation for the Visitor Center-Museum to be constructed there. The Johnston County Historical Society is furnishing one bedroom in the Harper House, located on the site, appropriate to the 1860 period. Hand-woven curtains, made by Mr. George W. Coggin of Raleigh, have been hung and furnishings are being placed. The Jaycee Clubs of Smithfield, Benson, Clayton, and Selma have joined in an effort to pay the $3,600 note outstanding on the Visitor Center-Museum.

Mr. N. B. Bragg, Historic Site Specialist, spoke to the Jaycee Clubs mentioned above on July 12 on the subject "Bentonville, the Past, Present, and Future." He made the same talk to the Wendell Rotary Club on July 9.

Mr. R. O. Everett, Chairman of the Bennett Place Memorial Commission, announced on July 11 the gift of $3,000 from Mr. Samuel Tate Morgan, Jr., of Richmond, to be used in the Bennett Place restoration. Mr. Morgan is the son of the donor of the land. This sum will be added to $500 willed by Mrs. Blanche Morgan Gourmajenko and will be applied to the cost of the Visitor Center-Museum to be erected in the future. Improvements have recently been made to the ceilings in two rooms of the main house; plans have been made to complete the smokehouse and make minor alterations in the kitchen.

Mrs. A. C. Hall, Secretary-Treasurer of the Wake Forest College Birthplace Society, Inc., arranged a "Rock Party" at the site of the Calvin Jones house on July 16. Boy Scouts and others picked up rocks so that weeds could be mowed. The town of Wake Forest furnished a truck to move the rocks. Mrs. Hall, Mrs. George Mackie, and Mrs. A. C. Reid furnished cold drinks to the volunteers.

Mr. N. B. Bragg met with Mr. Ray Wilkinson of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association in Rocky Mount on July 1 to make plans for continuing the restoration of Colonial Halifax. Legislative appropriations, totaling $10,000 for each year of the 1963-1965 biennium, are making definite plans possible. The master plan provides for the completion of the Dutch Colonial House, the restoration of the Constitution House, and improvements at the Gaol, which is used as a museum.

Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist at Brunswick Town, spoke at a luncheon meeting of the Woman's Club, Whiteville, on May 14. He spoke on Brunswick Town, illustrating his talk with artifacts, as part of the Club's celebration of the tercentenary year.

The work at Brunswick Town during May and June has concentrated on preservation of the thousands of iron objects recovered from the ruins during the past several years. The objects were taken to the Fort Fisher Preservation Laboratory where they were cleaned by sandblasting, made chemically pure by boilings in distilled water, dehydrated in an infrared lamp oven, and dipped in wax or covered with a coating to prevent further oxidation. They were then stored in study collections for use in analysis of the Brunswick Town artifacts.

The colonial anchor recovered from the river in front of Brunswick Town by divers was processed, as was the 15-inch, 350-pound shell also recovered by divers in front of Battery B at Fort Anderson.

One of the Mullane shells found and donated by Mr. Hugh Zachary of Long Beach was found to be too dangerous to be disarmed as others had been, and the decision was made to disarm it through detonation. The shell was buried over three feet deep and armed with a dynamite cap. When the cap was exploded the one hundred-year-old shell exploded with a tremendous blast, opening a hole five feet deep and six feet across and throwing fragments over 150 feet. The entire project was filmed, and the fragments of the shell were recovered for future use in an exhibit. This procedure illustrates dramatically the need for persons to turn over to experts for deactivation shells from battlefield sites.

Excavations at Town Creek Indian Mound State Historic Site are progressing satisfactorily. Plans were made to delimit the southern margin of the Plaza by the end of the summer and to begin secondary excavation of important areas of the Plaza. This work will lead to the reconstruction of the Squareground, an important ceremonial structure found in most southeastern Indian centers. The reconstruction of this center, believed by the Indians to be the dwelling of the Talwa or soul of the tribe, will be a colorful and much needed addition to the site. Mr. Bennie C. Keel, Archeologist at the Site, is currently working with several Catawba potters on the South Carolina reservation in an effort to obtain traditional pottery for sale to visitors.

Plans for the reconstruction of Davidson's Fort in Old Fort by the McDowell County Historical Society are continuing. Assistance will be

given by Mr. Stanley A. South, Archeologist, Division of Historic Sites, and Mr. Robert O. Conway, Historic Site Specialist, Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace. Mr. Conway announces the completion of preliminary sketches of the new Visitor Center-Museum at the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace State Historic Site by the architect, Mr. J. Bertram King.

A meeting of the staff of the Division of Historic Sites was held on July 10 at the Aycock Birthplace State Historic Site. All of the historic sites specialists; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; Miss Mary Cornick, Budget Officer; Mr. R. V. Asbury, Jr., Tour Guide at Brunswick Town; Mrs. Stanley South; and Mrs. J. Barry Shannon, staff member at the Aycock Birthplace, were present. Dr. D. J. Rose, Chairman of the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission, welcomed the group. A proposed educational program was presented for discussion and comment. Reports were made on all historic sites in the State.

Division of Museums

A collection of materials from the "Modern Greece" was presented to the Navy History Section on June 25, as the second installment of artifacts to be given in appreciation of the Navy's work in recovering the materials.

Mr. Samuel P. Townsend, Administrative Assistant, spent the first week in June in Kinston inspecting the hull of the Ram "Neuse." He prepared a report on the preservation of the hull and artifacts from the ship, and sent it to Mr. Dan Lilley, Chairman of the Lenoir County Confederate Centennial Committee. Mr. Townsend also gave a talk and slide program to the La Sertoma Club in Raleigh on June 5, on the subject, " 'Modern Greece' Operations."

Construction of the Transportation Room and the Colonial Room in the Hall of History is almost complete.

Mr. Bob Jones, Education Curator, and Mrs. Madlin Futrell, Photographer, were in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, July 1-3, covering North Carolina's participation in the re-enactment of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Recent additions to the staff are Mrs. Peggy R. Hopson, who replaced Mrs. Ruth Drake as secretary to the Museums Administrator; and Mr. Samuel Earl Erwin, who is in charge of the Mobile Museum of History.

Division of Publications

During the second quarter of 1963 sales in the Division of Publications totaled $4,791, with $3,018 being retained by the Division and $1,773 being turned over to the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association. Publications distributed included 47 documentary volumes, 22 letter books of governors, 104 small books, 8,863 pamphlets, charts, and maps, 65,940 leaflets and brochures, and 2, 806 copies of the list of publications available from the Department. Including distribution of 1,937 copies of the Department's biennial report, the total was 76,839. Also mailed were 1,819 copies of the Summer, 1963, issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review* and

2,571 copies of the May issue of *Carolina Comments*. There were 150 new subscriptions and 376 renewals to *The Review*. Because of the increase in circulation, the order for *The Review* has been changed from 2,000 to 2,200 copies.

First copies of Volume I of *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance*, edited by Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, were delivered in August. Copies may be ordered from the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C., 27602, for $5.00 each. Galley proof for the Ellis Papers was received and page proof of Volume IX of the Moravian Records was supplied by the printer.

The manuscripts for two new pamphlets were submitted during the summer and will be published in the fall. These pamphlets will discuss North Carolina's role in World War II, written by Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon, and the history of colleges and universities in the State, written by Mr. W. S. Powell.

A subject-title-author index to the first 40 volumes of *The North Carolina Historical Review* (1924-1963) will be available by the first of the year. Though the index will not be the complete, cumulative index planned for the future, it will be of great help to persons wishing to use *The Review* for reference purposes. Copies will be available from the Division of Publications at the above address for $5.00 each.

A report on the Andrew Jackson birthplace problem, written by Mr. Max F. Harris, is being prepared for distribution in the early fall.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

North Carolina Wesleyan College received in June a wide assortment of books and memorabilia of the former Methodist Protestant Church. The collection, including portions of the private libraries of several distinguished Methodist Protestant ministers, all of the published histories of the denomination, and significant correspondence and records, was presented to the College by Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives of East Carolina College.

Professors William H. Cartwright of Duke University, Wendell H. Stephenson of the University of Oregon, and William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin are American members of the planning committee for the Indo-American Congress on American History and Institutions. Temporary headquarters of the Congress are at the University of Allahabad.

Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri, announces that applications may still be made from the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for grants-in-aid, providing up to $1,000 each for travel and living expenses while at the Library. The Institute favors grants to promising students and young scholars working on projects involving the Truman Administration and the history and nature of the Presidency. Application forms may be obtained from the Director at Independence.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., Chairman of the Department of History, Duke University, announces the promotion of the following persons to the rank of Associate Professor: Dr. Frederic B. M. Hollyday, Dr. William E. Scott, and Dr. Charles R. Young. The effective date of the promotions was July 1.

STATE, COUNTY, AND LOCAL GROUPS

The Spring, 1963, issue of *The Gaston County Historical Bulletin,* published by the Gaston County Historical Society, includes articles on the first woman doctor in Gaston County, Dr. Bess Puett; the revision of the Society's constitution and bylaws; Gaston's churches in 1890; and Gaston communities in the 1890's. An index to the 1962 issues of the *Bulletin* is also given in this number.

The Beaufort Historical Association heard Mr. W. B. Chalk of Morehead City speak on May 20 at a meeting at the Duke Marine Laboratory on Piners Island. He discussed the Historyland Trail. Mrs. Gilbert Potter reported on plans to open the Old Jail on May 26. The jail, now used as a museum, was built during the 1830's. The Association invites those interested in joining to communicate with Mr. John Costlow, President.

Mr. Robert Campbell, Editorial Page Editor of the *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel,* spoke at the May 27 meeting of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association in Boone. Dr. I. G. Greer, President of the Association, reported on plans for the production of "Horn in the West" Progress reports were also given on the Daniel Boone Botanical Garden and the Daniel Boone trail across the Blue Ridge.

The Cumberland County Historical Society on May 26 toured part of Harnett County. President Jack Crane announced the itinerary to include visits to Old Bluff Presbyterian Church (1758), Averasboro Battleground and the site of the town of Averasboro, and Chicora Cemetery. Mr. Malcolm Fowler, President of the Harnett County Society, served as host to the group. One of three old Smith homes, used as hospitals after the Battle of Averasboro and now owned by Mr. Jim Byrd, was also open to touring guests.

The Chatham County Historical Society met on May 16 at the Chatham County Courthouse in Pittsboro. Mrs. Edwards S. Holmes, President, presided; Mrs. Jessie R. Seagroves, Mr. Lemuel Johnson, Mr. John London, and Mrs. E. B. Hatch spoke briefly.

At its thirteenth annual meeting of Old Salem, Inc., Mr. Ralph P. Hanes was elected as Chairman of the Board. Mr. James A. Gray, formerly Vice-President, was elected President and in this capacity will continue as the organization's salaried executive. Other officers elected were Mr. W. K.

Hoyt, Vice-Chairman of the Board; Mr. Emil N. Shoffner, Secretary; Mr. Dalton Ruffin, Treasurer. Trustees elected to three-year terms were Mrs. A. L. Butler, Jr., Mr. John Fries Blair, Mr. Archibald Craig, Mr. Howard Gray, Mr. Gordon Hanes, Mr. Frank L. Horton, Mr. Charles N. Siewers, Mrs. Earl Slick, Dr. R. Gordon Spaugh, Mr. Edwin L. Stockton, Mr. Charles B. Wade, Jr., and Mr. Wallace Carroll. Honorary trustees chosen were Miss Grizzelle Norfleet, Mr. and Mrs. John C. Whitaker, Mrs. Robert McCuiston, Mr. Ralph M. Stockton, Mayor M. C. Benton, Representative Dan Drummond, Representative Claude Hamrick, Mr. Bert L. Bennett, and Bishop Kenneth Hamilton. The Executive Committee is composed of Mr. Hanes, Mr. Hoyt, Mr. Shoffner, Mrs. Slick, Mr. Ruffin, Mrs. Frank Forsyth, Mr. Alex H. Galloway, Mr. Dale H. Gramley, Mr. R. Arthur Spaugh, Mr. Charles B. Wade, Jr., and Mr. Frank F. Willingham. Outgoing President Archie K. Davis presided. Miss Mary Weaver, who retired as director of interpretation for Old Salem on July 1, was recognized for her four years of service. Mrs. Edna Crews was made acting tour director.

As part of the observance of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Carolina Charter, the Daughters of the Revolution sponsored a historical tour of the southern part of Rutherford County on June 1. Those planning the event were Mrs. Ray Stallings, Mrs. Fred Hamrick, Jr., Mrs. A. S. Harrill, Mrs. W. O. Geer, and Mrs. Grover Haynes.

The Wake County Historical Society sponsored a walking tour of the Capitol Square area on July 4. Approximately 150 persons visited the Capitol, churches in the vicinity, the Marshall DeLancey Haywood house, and the Treasurer John Haywood house. The tour was conducted by Miss Beth Crabtree and Mr. Thornton W. Mitchell, both members of the Society.

The annual meeting of the Littleton College Memorial Association was held at North Carolina Wesleyan College on July 13. Approximately 100 persons attended, and over $200 was added to the Littleton College Memorial Loan Fund at Wesleyan College. Dr. Ralph Hardee Rives of East Carolina College was the principal speaker. Mrs. Dora Hornaday Stephenson is President, Mrs. Lula McCall Usher was elected Secretary, and Miss Mary Shotwell, was elected Treasurer.

The fifth annual reunion of the Alston-Williams-Boddie-Hilliard Society, North Carolina's First Family Society, was held June 8-9. Mr. Byron Hilliard of Rocky Mount is President of the Society.

The Swansboro Historical Association met on July 20. Following the program, the members enjoyed watermelon.

The Perquimans County Historical Society Year Book for 1962-1963 was recently received by the Department. A record of the activities for the period covered by the publication, a list of items given to the Society, and a drama presented in connection with the Carolina Charter Tercentenary celebration give some indication of the scope of the *Year Book.* Illustrations add to the interest. Mr. Silas M. Whedbee served as President of the Society for 1962-1963.

The Hyde County Historical and Recreational Association recently held its final organizational meeting at New Holland. Mrs. Allen Bucklew, President, announced plans for an intensive membership campaign.

An outgrowth of the Cleveland County Civil War Centennial Commission, the Cleveland County Historical Association held an organizational meeting in Shelby on June 6. Mr. John Brock, Chairman of the Commission, announced plans for the establishment of a historical museum, the publication of a booklet on the County, and the production of a Civil War pageant.

Announcement has been made of the hours for the Orange County Historical Museum, which is open daily from 10:00 to 12:00 and from 2:00 to 4:00, week end hours are 2:00 to 5:00.

On June 8 the Catawba County Historical Association met in Newton. Mr. G. Sam Rowe, in the absence of Mr. Thomas Warlick, presided. Mr. Rowe gave a talk on the early history of Conover; Dr. J. E. Hodges reported on a book by Mr. Wright W. Frost on Frost genealogy and stated that the Catawba County Historical Association had furnished information for the book; Mrs. Marguerite May spoke briefly; and Dr. V. A. Coulter of the University of Mississippi talked on the milling industry in Catawba County. Gifts to the Association have been made by Mrs. D. A. Butts and Mrs. George Sigmon of Hickory. The Rader property, a recent gift to the Association, has been cleared of debris and underbrush. The museum hours are Wednesday and Sunday, 2:30 to 5:30, and Friday, 7:00 to 9:00.

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